

WRITING WITH SCISSORS & ARRANGING SKIN: WORLDS OF WOE & HAPPINESS IN
THE CHILD WELFARE SCRAPBOOKS OF JOHN JOSEPH (J.J.) KELSO, 1893-1894
ONTARIO.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues compiled by John Joseph (J.J.) Kelso, Ontario's first Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. Kelso was appointed to educate public sentiment following the passage of the 1893 Gibson Act that introduced new laws and policies regarding child management, and promoted the proliferation of the Children's Aid Society across Ontario. I provide the historical context for a 'snapshot' of the scrapbooks by focusing specifically on a fifteen-month period between 1893 and 1894. (The scrapbooks were assembled over the period 1893 to 1940). I pay attention to what is archived, including Kelso's handwritten notations and reflections, to explore what Kelso might be serving, and what is in service to him in his child-saving ideas and practices. The theoretical and methodological framing is inspired by critical studies that view archives not simply as objective depositories, but take seriously the notion of encountering the archives-as-process and subject. Most notably I invoke Ann Stoler's concern of the 'emotional economy' that underpins colonial archiving practices. The theoretical influences variously borrow from Michel Foucault, Mikhail Bakhtin, Northrop Frye, Roberto Gonzalez Echevarria, and Jacques Derrida who inspire a reading of the artifacts that interlaces myth, the novel, body-culture, and Kelso's personal experience into the narratives of law and governance in the animation of subjects. I examine Protestant culture, the liberal order, British Home Children, and Ontario's pastoral history to consider pervasive currents in Provincial culture that influenced Kelso's mission and archival choices. I explore how Kelso fabricates a personal archive alongside his professional mission of educating public sentiment with regards to a new understanding of the "everyday" of childhood experience in Ontario.

Acknowledgements

I would like to first acknowledge the Faculty of Education at York University. It has been a pleasure and an honour to learn from scholars whose commitment, curiosity, and creativity inspired me for a decade. Many thanks to Harry Smaller, Steven Gates, Rishma Dunlop, Deborah Britzman, and Geoffrey Reaume (in Critical Disability Studies) for their erudition and teaching. I am indebted to Mary Leigh Morbey and Joy Mannette who supported my master's work and advocated my application to the doctoral program.

Thank you to Cynthia Comacchio for serving as my external examiner and for taking special interest in the archival life of Little Johnny Conn. I am grateful to Aparna Mishra-Trac and Craig Heron for their enlivening additions to my defense (never did I imagine a discussion of Kelso would end up in such places!) A warm thanks to Lisa Farley for her careful reading, spot-on suggestions, and purging of my semi-colons, and to Paul Axelrod for his historical sagacity, generosity, and invaluable investment. An abundant thanks to my advisor Dan Yon – the quintessential scholar and gentleman. He motivated my ethnographic adventure into the archives, and oriented me when I got lost in their thickets. I am grateful for his chronic munificence, enduring encouragement, and the countless conversations, curries, and coffees. This was a magnificent partnership that I will forever cherish.

As I researched and wrote this dissertation I found myself thinking way, way back to my elementary and high school teachers. Grade 4: Mr. Rowe had us transform our classroom into an Egyptian tomb for what seemed like a month. His other vocation as a local historian and archivist evidently had a profound effect on me. Grade 6 and 7: Miss Ward supported us through reading Dickens' *Great Expectations*, and demanded that we abandon classroom conventions on "Wacky Wednesdays" and "Freaky Fridays." Grade 8: Mr. Hansen compelled his students to

appreciate the absurd, and directed us to belt-out songs from the Beatles, Godspell, and The Who (while he emphatically led the vocal charge). High school English: Mr. Picone, a pilot who confidently quoted Shakespeare while standing atop his desk and always instructed: “don’t think, *just write!*” High school history: Mr. Vacca was so dedicated to making history come alive that he had us sleep in Huronian longhouses in the dead of winter. All of these teachers are embedded in this work and are the reason that I wanted to teach. I thank them for steeping me in the notion of *the past*, igniting my curiosity, and engaging my faculties of education.

A shout-out to my dear friends (at times my Intemperance Union) whose company on stools, patios, and in parks across Toronto served as a warm tonic and a welcomed reason to reject the unhealthy attachment to my screen. Their friendship eased the anxiety wrought from a pulsing, vacant cursor, and their support was vital in seeing this project to a completion. Thanks to my brothers who are superb in their filial roles as elder kinsmen (i.e. they look out for me, make me laugh, and keep me humble). Thank you to my folks: my mom who engendered a historical sensibility and a love of words, and my dad the disposition of solitary craftsmanship.

Loving thanks to my dearest Kristy who patiently tripped over a precarious skyline of books for two years. I am grateful for her understanding when child-saving made me incorrigible, neglectful, and terribly independent.

And lastly to JJK: ***Thanks for the memories! Nov. 14. 14. SRG***

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Notes to Reader

In an effort to present the scrapbooks in a manner that represents Kelso's imprint, I have employed typographical cues.

Kelso's Pen & Overlay

Kelso's handwritten notes are presented in *Times New Roman Bold Italic 12pt*. This will include publication names, dates, and his personal marginal notions and signatures.

Examples:

News, Aug 11, 1893. Advocated Juvenile Court at these meetings Oct 1893. K.

JJK. Empire, July 21. 9

Other markings represent Kelso's highlighting of particular text and/or edits.

Examples:

{ }: when a portion of text has been put in parentheses or vertical lines have been made in the margins alongside a text passage.

(*r*): represents a text edit in pen.

A labor of love (underline): portions of articles that have been underlined with pen.

~~He Says That~~ – (strikethrough): portions that have been crossed out in pen.

Other Symbols

* - I include an asterisk where a part of text unreadable

Example: *Globe, July **

Preface: Hidden Histories

In a way this dissertation has been in development for 15 years. That is how long I worked with people deemed incorrigible, delinquent, dependent, neglected, feeble-minded, and insane. I was curious, confounded, and captivated from the first day on the job. This professional work, predominantly through Toronto's social service, justice, and mental health networks, promised respite and re-creation for a subaltern-urban clientele in the glorified Ontario wilderness. I facilitated outdoor experiences founded upon teamwork, challenge, character, and community. Eventually I co-founded a charitable independent high school dedicated to students experiencing difficulties and their attainment of credits through alternative models. As principal, the task of dovetailing the organization's approaches with Ministry of Education Curriculum was surprisingly simple. This was not an effect of my skills. Rather, I came to sense it was because the idea of "the outdoors" and the pervasive currents of Ontario culture have a common history that is deeply entangled and entrenched. So much so that we don't see it, it is hidden right in front of us, like the provincial air we breathe.

The more I made promises to students that "getting out of the city" would foster growth and well-being the more I became curious of the historical underwriting of my pedagogical sales pitch. I increasingly troubled the cultural given that the outdoors was a panacea, and that "the urban" was somehow a pejorative phenomenon for particular people. This dissertation is not about outdoor education, although in some ways it has surprisingly become one, informing my curiosities in exciting and unexpected ways. Most notably through J.J. Kelso's role in encouraging rural experiences for neglected and dependent children through his Provincial adaptation of the American and British forms of Children's Aid, Fresh Air Fund, and Poor

Children's Vacations; the hope was that these kids would love the countryside so much that they would not want to return to the city. These projects still exist in their exact and similar forms, although today Ontario does not imagine the management of children through farm and domestic labour scenarios. Our contemporary ideas of childhood are fed from different interpretations of historical formulas. I am interested in the discourses that remain despite and because of these shifts in force relations. For those, like me, who contend that the outdoor educator is largely ahistorical and lacking a stable subjectivity, Kelso is a good place to start an academic adventure, for it seems we too have a hidden history. In many ways he is to the Ontario outdoor educator what Egerton Ryerson is to the "traditional" classroom teacher.

In the spirit of adventure, I stumbled upon Kelso's peculiar scrapbooks by chance whilst seeking something else, namely the punishment records of the Victorian Industrial School for Boys at Mimico¹ and the inmate descriptions of the boys at the Penetanguishene Reformatory.² I was looking for documents which might offer a closer sense of who these children were who were committed, interned, and "routed" across Ontario in the late nineteenth century. I was curious about "incorrigibility," "delinquency," "neglect," and "dependency." I was curious about what these ideas looked like when branded upon a young person, and the fluidity of interpretation in particular places. Admittedly, my historical *sense* was seduced and titillated by the aged forms filled with inky hand-written notes that bled over the lines, the descriptions of infractions – stealing berries, talking in line, masturbation – and their consequent punishments: whippings and "walks." I was taken with the young ages of some of the lads, the descriptions of the adventures that sealed their individual fates, whether they smoked at the age of eight, if their

¹ "Victoria Industrial School register of offences and punishments" (1894-1902), Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 8-51.

² "Ontario Reformatory for Boys Inmates' Histories" (1897-1902), AO, RG 8-52.

parents where alive or dead, Presbyterian or “colored,” and the unbelievably long sentences for seemingly benign charges in a contemporary context. These archives offered compelling reading yet lacked the density and breadth to support the project I held in my imagination. They lived more in the margins and footnotes of the story I hoped to tell, although their space-time experiences are very much alive in this project.³ Most vitally, these documents introduced me to the seductive disposition of the archive and the possibility of a richer intimacy with the past than secondary literature or a purely extractive, documentary approach. In my excitement, I knew I was afflicted with a strain of what Jacques Derrida calls “archive fever.”

Seduction and intimacy may not immediately register as experiential effects of the Archives of Ontario, annexed amidst the aesthetic of York University’s chronic-construction and cacophonous concrete campus, yet I gleaned that this was an effect of what Ann Stoler refers to as the “feel of documents,”⁴ what I was experiencing as the texture of text, what Kathleen Stewart discusses in the life of things that have been used in the past – the uncanny power that time invests in an artifact⁵ - and the storied, strangely hopeful expectations of nostalgia, the death and loss that anxiously keeps the archive alive. This allure of the archives is tricky. It is a curious passion brewing with intellectual and dramatic anticipation. We want so badly for them to tell us stories, to reveal and surprise, not so much to tell the truth or what *really* happened. To conjure Benjamin and Ranke: “To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize ‘it the way

³ For instance, I found Victoria Industrial School letterhead with a logo which said “Play the Game” embedded in an icon below a beaming sun. “Industrial Schools Association of Toronto Fonds” (1884-1939; 1947), AO, F 808-4.

⁴ Stoler: “This book is about the force of writing and the feel of documents, about lettered governance and written traces colonial lives. It is about commitments to paper, and the political and personal work that such inscriptions perform. Not least, it is about colonial archives as sites of the expectant and conjured – about dreams of comforting futures and foreboding future failures.” *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 1.

⁵ *A Space on the Side of the Road: Cultural Poetics in An Other America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1996).

it really was.”⁶ We want some type of story that will steep us in the past, one where our narrative expectations are both confirmed and surprised, where death is not really death, where the passage of time means that people aren’t really real. They are real characters. And in this way archives succeed. Thinking with Northrop Frye they are the marrow of our cultural tales, trusted archetypes, *religio*, they generate “national” myth-symbol complexes, and confirm “myths of concern and freedom.”⁷ Archives guide the stories that are told and projected into the future – our collective and aggregate memories imprinted on the produce of an exploited wilderness, carefully organized, filed, housed, and protected: an *arche* of our cultural covenant. They confirm what we know and feel, and stir up epistemic anxieties of what we culturally embody, but may know or feel differently.

When, through the logic and power of chance, I found four microfilms entitled “Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues,” threaded them into the irresistible computer interface, and began to view them, I was affected by these same feelings – an *artifactual* pull – a desire to get closer. All I could imagine was this man, Kelso, alone, carefully inspecting and sifting through reams of cropped clippings, with pen in hand, collecting, noting, and collaging, lonely and compelled, feverish. I was struck by the density of this collection spanning from 1893 to 1940 over nineteen volumes, the hand-cut and pasted articles and circulars in the thousands, the hand-written notations of a seemingly single person. The hobby-like unofficialness, pen-marked edits over the extant text, margined reflections, and excessive and obsessive single-mindedness presented a particular, peculiar, and eerie abundance that I suspected was more than enough to warrant specific attention. This embodied collection, only entered into the Archives of Ontario in

⁶ Walter Benjamin and Leopold von Ranke quoted in Michael Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), 39.

⁷ Northrop Frye, *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (Harcourt Brace & World, 1963), 33.

1985, seemed desperate to speak and tell about its present and future, our past and present. It was as if it knew it might be neglected, to never get its story told.

As much as the archive lives to direct our cultural stories and craft the contours of our imagination it is also a physical technology of rule. Its documents are culled and ordered to direct our material day-to-day lives, how we are to live in our particular time and place. Archival documents have real effects upon the institutions which govern our bodies, the architectures that house us, direct us, and shepherd us from A to B. The archive's storehouse of storied secrets endows law, policy, and practice. The tales that Kelso included affected real bodies in the space-time of the scrapbooks that I examine. This unique collection of artifacts dedicated to educating public sentiment about new laws and ideas of childhood evokes a textual reality that oscillates between "the storied" and "the real" in the same moment. The archive is at once art and fact: artifactual. Through Kelso's epistolary we sense abstract law seeking action to make it real.

As someone who worked for years at the behest of institutional systems funding experiential designs to discipline, govern, and "save" young people, the scrapbooks held the promise that this is where I might dig up heuristic stories to help interrogate the historical legacy and guiding norms that informed my language and practice over a century later. I have come to appreciate that the scrapbooks represent an archived ark in the story of Ontario child management. Even larger, they authorize tales and totems that privilege our notions of "Ontario Childhood" – for certainly there must be such a "thing." One cipher of this construction is Kelso, a young, ambitious Irish Protestant immigrant with a riches-to-rags story, burdened and motivated by senses of loss, longing, and responsibility that we still bring to childhood, over a century later. Says Kelso: "It was not without many regrets and misgivings that I relinquished the hope of becoming a great journalist, but 'there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew

them how we will,” and so I sorrowed, suffered, and sacrificed for others, because that was the burden that was laid upon me.”⁸

I simply could not ignore the complexity of Kelso’s collection and the likes of Little Johnny Conn, whose fabulous deviant descriptions are akin to the stories of many kids I have worked with over the years. I couldn’t resist introducing this work with his tales. The scrapbooks fired the pistons of my professional implication, infatuation with the incongruous and dramatic, intellectual curiosity, and historical sensibility. I hope my presentation and interpretation of Kelso’s archival fiction inspires the same appreciation for you and evokes hidden histories that are curiously redolent of your everyday and professional experiences.

A postscript to the reader: in many discussions and conference presentations based upon the scrapbooks, I was often asked “what about Aboriginal children?” Simply put, they do not exist in the fifteen months under discussion (nor up to 1902 where my original examination ended). I am strictly concerned with the history that emerges from the material in the scrapbooks and therefore the reader should know that there are no discussions of residential schooling or the internment of Indigenous peoples. The child-saving movement under the Gibson Act was a project of citizenship, obedience, and as Kelso firmly states “the true training and teaching of all children...the first step towards laying the foundations of a permanent and perfect social fabric.” Programs of “Indian Education” were separate from this particular discourse; they imagined an *other* type of child through the training of a different subjectivity. This glaring exclusion of Kelso’s textual reality is powerfully telling and holds great promise for another examination.

⁸ *Early History of the Humane and Children’s Aid Movement in Ontario, 1886-1893* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1911), foreward.

Introduction: Writing With Scissors & Arranging Skin

A-Year-in-the-Life

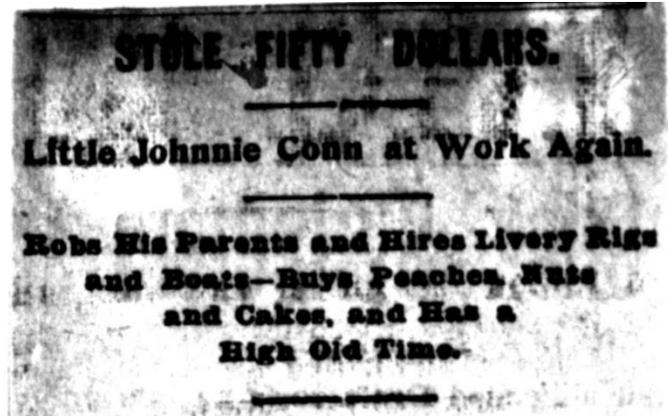
Little Johnny Conn is a local rascal. He first appears in the scrapbooks on the bottom of page 161, Volume 10 in an undated five-line article, from which paper we don't know. We can take a stab at the date against the large *Lakefield News* article reprinted from *The Mail* explaining the curfew bell which is pasted above, dated *May 4, 1894*:

—Little Johnny Conn, the 9-year-old boy who has been committed to the reformatory, is being held in the jail here. An effort will be made to have him sent to an industrial school.

Johnny is at it again eleven pages later in a police blotter from an unspecified location, sandwiched between bruises, booze, and long-handled shovels. John Joseph (J.J.) Kelso's note on the article pasted above from the *Brantford Courier* dates it around *June 1, 1894*. The isolating function of the parentheses suggests that Kelso seems to take a particular interest in Johnny's fate:

The Police Court.
Mrs. Elizabeth Yates, who keeps a market stall, appeared in the police court Saturday with a badly bruised face, caused by contact with her husband's fist, she said. Henry Yates, the defendant, was bound over to keep the peace.
John Conn, a youthful incorrigible, was sent for an indefinite term to the reformatory. Johnny is only 9 years old but is beyond parental control.
Harriet Williams bobbed up serenely for the 25th time since 1885 and as there was no guarantee that she would not duplicate the record if leniency were shown, she was sent to the Mercer for one year. Harriet was drunk.
The long-handled-shovel assault case of Mrs. Mary Nash against Prof. Thomas Passmore was withdrawn by the former.
Mrs. Hugh McCurdy accused her husband of non-support and Hugh was remanded for a week. A batch of drunks were dealt with according to their deserts.

By page 196, somewhere around the dog days of summer 1894, Johnny's food-theft adventures earn his own headline atop a lengthy, detailed article in an unspecified newspaper:



Despite his diminutive age and stature, he is reported as a seasoned criminal who “will probably be a United States Senator in time.” We learn that he lives with both of his parents and we are provided with some clues as to the location of his transgressions – streets and generic place names – yet to the curious reader this could be any number of towns in Ontario.

Johnny has made it to Volume 11. On *Oct 1894*, page 32, we learn that Johnny has run away from his home at 419 Horton Street – before dinner – and are cued to the *London Advertiser* as the publication which reports his misdeeds, and who pleads at the end of the article: “Johnny, come home.”



*London
adv
Oct 94.*

London Adv. Nov 8, Volume 11, page 61: pasted among articles from Stratford and Chatham detailing Kelso's "missionary tour" to incite their local Children's Aid Societies, Johnny appears once again, this time providing an alias:

*Granton
Nov 8.*

—Little Johnny Conn, of 419 Horton street, has loomed up in another place. About a week ago he was located down in Thamesville and was sent home. "Home, Sweet Home," apparently has no attractions for Johnny, and he accordingly struck out again. He was in Granton the other day, but latest information says that a small youth, claiming to be the genuine Johnny, has arrived in St. Marys. The boy's parents are puzzled what to do with him.

On the next page, he is reported as located, returned home, and ostensibly corporeally punished. His adventures are over:

—Little Johnnie Conn is home. The authorities at St. Marys "got onto" Johnnie and sent him home for his health last evening. They sent him in charge of the G. T. R., and Relieving Constable Barnewall escorted him home on Horton street. Parties anxious to learn of his reception after his protracted tour around the country had better ask Johnnie why it is that he prefers to do his sitting down standing up just now.

*London Adv.
Nov 10.*

On page 69, beneath articles that continue to describe Kelso's mission in southwest Ontario, which laud him as "the prime move(r) in the Children's Aid Society," encouraging local officers with the names of Secretary Best, Mrs. Savage, and Mrs. Pickles, the details of Johnny's flight and capture are embedded from a neighbouring newspaper:

Johnny Conn Found.

Thamesville Herald: Last Wednesday a boy giving the name of Johnny Smith was left off the C. P. R. here and was taken in charge by Chief Radcliffe. He appeared to be about 9 years of age, but if judged by the readiness and ease with which he could tell different stories as to his name and place of residence, the years of his journeying in this wicked world would be placed at three score and ten. Through a notice in the London papers it was found that his name was Johnny Conn, and that his parents resided at 419 Horton street, London, and accordingly he was taken home.

By page 164, Volume 11, *May 1895*, a year after his first introduction, Johnny re-appears with an equine and an accomplice, affecting anxiety one last time:

—It was little Johnny Conn and a companion named Wilson who took Mrs. Barnes' horse and rig from the market on Saturday. They went for a ride and caused the owner of the horse a great deal of anxiety.

Little Johnny is perhaps the most enduring young character in the early scrapbooks. He evokes the motivated yet uneven cultural interpretation in the intensive enfranchisement and fabrication of Ontario childhood beginning in the summer of 1893. His deviant quests could be lifted from a picaresque novel.⁹ He is roguish, cunning, and witty, and indeed at times it seems that he is a literary invention, “made up by writing.”¹⁰ There are motifs and literary series of drink, food, mistaken identities, “evil worlds,” adventure, animals, abettors, tense relationships, trains, getaways, violence, the authorities. His surname could not be more perfect. He becomes a “real”

⁹ “The *picaro* is orphaned and illegitimate. A creature of the city, the center of the new patrimonial bureaucracy, he seeks legitimacy through the codes in which the new authority is hypostatized: the rhetoric of the new State. His conscience is being cleared by this exercise in which he imitates the modes furnished by that rhetoric; he belongs, he is like that hypostatized (to attribute a real identity to: a concept) figure. He is made up by its writing.” Roberto Gonzalez Echevarria, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

boy through emergent ethnographic detail motivated by adult fantasy and anxiety. The year-in-the-life tales of his petty transgressions become object lessons and dramatic evidence in the grander story of the early child-saving movement. There are consequences for his actions yet they never seem to take hold – he eludes threats and the architectures of reformation. Johnny is described as clever, compelling, and his acts are told with a mix of admiration and satire. He is presented as “a doubled figure of victim and hero/outlaw.”¹¹ There is a kindness, and a slight hesitation to seriously clamp down on Johnny.

What Little Johnny Conn most likely did not know is that his local acts were no longer simply the business and gossip of his hapless adult victims, his neighbours, local police, newspaper, teacher, reverend, and family. They were now fodder for the Provincial agora, an intertextual space-time where his “everyday” entered into a code-juggernaut and was transformed into “life” through the will of literate pastoral competence and forms of imagining. His quotidian acts became affective and behavioural data re-interpreted in regime and *religio*,¹² plotted on a new grid of intelligibility concerning Ontario childhood beginning in 1893. All of the people and institutions in Johnny’s local world would soon confront and learn the new nuances of citizenship of a larger, yet concurrently closer state. Once upon a space-time there was more eavesdropping on Little Johnny’s little world. Someone was feverishly listening, collecting, cutting, and pasting – writing with scissors and arranging skin in the fabrication of imaginative and heuristic dioramas in a project to craft common sense.¹³

¹¹ Stewart, 108.

¹² “...*religio*, the building together of the community in common acts and assumptions.” Northrop Frye, quoted in A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 3-4.

¹³ I borrow the term “writing with scissors” from Ellen Gruber Garvey. See: *Writing With Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Now! New! Normal!

This dissertation is about the education of public sentiment in a moment of Ontario history. I discuss the forming, re-forming, and crystallization of a collection of powerful statements and ideas through a diversity of symbols and practices which influenced and compelled an ontological and sensorial shift in how a population thought, saw, felt, and acted – and how this population was acted upon. This study examines the grammar of a novel intelligibility, an organization of feeling, and the management of hearts in the crafting of common sensibility.¹⁴

In May 1893, the Act for the Prevention Cruelty to, and Better Protection of Children (The Gibson Act)¹⁵ was passed in Ontario. The policy document legislated a revised and heightened perception of childhood, namely that children had rights which parents could not alienate. This “event” more tightly codified the slippery ambiguities of “neglect” and “dependency,” and patently stated that parenthood was conditional upon conduct, that children were provincial property, a natural resource. It was the job of John Joseph (J.J.) Kelso as the Province’s first Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children to educate the population with the comprehensive details of this Act. In the period under discussion, his premier exoteric task was to enthuse the proliferation of the Children’s Aid Society (CAS) across regions of Ontario. Kelso had established this organization in Toronto in 1891 as an outgrowth of his 1887 Toronto Humane Society. Kelso traversed the Province by rail and by word to teach what it *now* meant to be a responsible parent and citizen and the rules of matriculation into same. In scrapbooks he eagerly documented and made impressions of this intertextual movement of child-saving and child-rescue, arranging and pasting thousands of sheared artifacts from June 1893

¹⁴ I borrow here from Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 40 & 67.

¹⁵ Colloquially it is also called “The Children’s Act” and “The Children’s Charter.” For the sake of consistency and brevity I will refer to it as “The Gibson Act” from herein.

until his death in 1935, replete with his own hand-written notations and reflections.¹⁶ I focus upon the first fifteen months of the scrapbooks, predominantly Volume 10, comprising approximately 214 pages presenting no fewer than 530 artifacts. My examination begins at the announcement of Kelso's appointment at the end of June 1893¹⁷ and concludes on the eve of the first Ontario Child-Saving Conference in October 1894 which he incited and facilitated.

I observe how Kelso collages a year-in-the-life of a movement – the movement of language through the Province and through forms and bodies. Inspired by a reading “along the grain”¹⁸ of the collection, I read Kelso's scrapbook as evoking the object of childhood as a specific yet polysemantic site of governance. I encounter this object in a way that subjects became a substitute, synecdochial means for the state to instill authority and obedience for all, big and small. The abstracted “child” is carefully fabricated through language, iconography, and literary motifs that circumscribe colonial boundaries of social station, race, and gender.¹⁹ This discourse is reified through a rubric of interventions, forms, tools, and architectures that reflect the various children of Kelso's “childhood.” These bodies emerge through *spectacles* as visible liberalized arks populated with the hopes and fears, anxieties and promises for the future of a

¹⁶ The scrapbooks continue after his death (September 30, 1935) until 1940.

¹⁷ Officially his job began July 1, 1893.

¹⁸ I am borrowing this methodological term from Ann Stoler. To be discussed in detail below.

¹⁹ The lexical distinction between “invention” or “construction” and “fabrication” is slight yet of literary import. I employ this word in an ethnographic response to my encounters with Kelso's collection. Similar to “invention” and “construction” fabrication suggests a making, building, and fashioning of parts into a whole visible formation. Yet “fabrication” has a distinct etymological pedigree, which includes “fabulation,” “fable,” “fabric,” “textile,” “fabulous,” “fame.” They are all of the same family whose roots include “narrative and tale,” “materially fitting things together,” and “to speak.” But the ideas of “fable” and “textile” buried in “fabrication” also carry a reference to art and fiction. Fabrication blends art and fact. It is an alchemy of the storied and the real – in the same moment – in the creation of a visible whole that is spoken about. Kelso's “child” is a fabrication forged from various interpretations and stories, culled from “fact” yet presented through familiar literary devices, sublimation, motifs, and archetypes to create a condition in which it can be spoken of. Little Johnny Conn the picaro, London Ontario's Huckleberry Finn, is a fable, a chimera, an object lesson whose little life becomes data artfully interpreted to become “life” when isolated and made visible within a unified and concerned government program of public education pursuant to the *raison d'etre* of state.

Province, a Nation, an Empire, and Christian Civilization. Kelso's scrapbooks tell this story in a form reminiscent of an epistolary novel.

Dying to Promise a Future

I explore the work of language through forms and technologies of governance in the imagining of subjectivities, evoking a moment in time through the archival choices of a single person charged with the mission of affecting and effecting sentiments of a population.²⁰ Although Jones and Rutman declare that “undisputedly, Kelso was the chief architect and builder of Ontario's child welfare system,”²¹ he is not a Great Man of Canadian History. In current historiography his name appears only sporadically, often in a long list of marginal social reformers. Indeed it seems that he was more celebrated in the United States than in Ontario where a twentieth century scientific social service ethic deemed him a sentimental and romantic relic. I do not intend to dust-off an unearthed idol or to argue for his baptism into the Pantheon of Nation Builders. Rather I aim to explore and evoke the storied contours of his curious scrapbooks, which in their specific confinement have remained unexamined. This is a dense collection of unofficial, quasi-official, and official documents that Kelso arranged to tell a story, *his* story of the enfranchisement of childhood in Ontario.

The scrapbook, like my reading of it, is not an objective evaluation or assessment of content, nor is it a moral judgement of what was right or wrong about Kelso's intervention and method. My reading is about the *feel* of documents, the texture of text, the dialogics of words and

²⁰ I am thinking here with Juan Carlos Gonzalez Espitia “An archival approach like the one I am proposing in the end extols documents that have been chosen subjectively. Compliance is in the eye of the beholder.” *On the Dark Side of the Archive: Nation and Literature in Spanish America at the Turn of the Century* (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 2010), 20.

²¹ Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), viii.

bodies, intertextual relation and management, the momentum of utterance, and the ambiguity of statements. It is also about Kelso's hand-written marginalia, his organization and repetition, the engagement with his own work, and his role as a leading protagonist – in short, the behaviour of a new and motivated discourse as domiciled in the forced sequestering of a late-Victorian collection which I read as a do-it-yourself, imaginative technology of rule. Consequently there is an intense interiority and subjectivity in this archive. Kelso has done the material work for us, telling an intentionally thoughtful tale that only lived in his mind, heart, and eventually, in the archives. Archives, like Noah's Ark, purposefully confine the past, but are dying to promise a future,²² to invoke Spencer: "...the feelings of the dead control the actions of the living."²³ I aim at conjuring the dioramas that are imagined in Kelso's collection through a consideration of the many panes of glass that are laminated in mediating our gaze – the refractions of the historical, cultural, political, and subjective.

Ordering

Section I drafts contexts that dialogically emerged through encounters with the scrapbooks in helping to consider my leading questions "What is Kelso serving?" and "What is serving Kelso?" I begin in Chapter 1 with theoretical and methodological considerations in mapping intelligibilities of "life" in the collection. I invoke Foucault's effective historical sense through his methodological approaches of "eventalization," "genealogy," and "archeology" in examining

²²"As much as and more than a thing of the past, before such a thing, the archive should call into question the coming of the future...the question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. It is not the question of a concept dealing with the past that might *already* be at our disposal or not at our disposal, *an archivable concept of the archive*. It is a question of the future, the question of future itself, the question of a response, of a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know it in times to come." Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 33-4 & 36.

²³ As quoted in Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 15.

the enunciative possibilities of the archive, and discuss his concept of governmentality within his phenomenon of “population” and the bio-power which fuels it. I am interested in Ann Stoler’s archival method which encounters the archive-as-process, which is attentive to its storied contours as a means to analyze colonial epistemological anxieties. Through her concept of “emotional economy” – the concerns of affect within statecraft – I observe the breakdown of the binaries of public/private and reason/passion. Ironically, these are the same illusory yet powerfully productive ontological contrasts that we observe in Kelso’s collection. Stoler is echoed in Tony Ballantyne’s intertextual approach to the archive, and Antoinette Burton’s troubling of “nation” and the history writing which makes it. I discuss Mikhail Bakhtin, Northrop Frye, and Roberto Gonzalez Echevarria in interlacing myth, the novel, and body-culture into the narratives of law and governance. I explore the synchronicity of artistic-literary and hegemonic discourse in animating the subject at the behest of law. This leads to a discussion of the critical concept of Archive through Echevarria and Derrida to imagine the scrapbooks as an “archival fiction,” and to consider the deeper subjective and psychical impressions of Kelso’s creation.

The second contextual chapter begins with a historical survey of child-management in Ontario from 1848 to *fin de siècle* and maps institutional trends, forms, phenomena, and personalities in the development of the child-saving movement. I continue by reviewing child-saving literature, Kelso’s contribution to this body of work, and how the current work describes his historical role and legacy. I examine Nancy Christie’s “theory of a colonial past” which encourages a widening of the interpretive field to consider imperial, transatlantic, and tripartite forces which influenced cultural and intellectual currents in Ontario’s state formation and worldview.

The final contextual chapter, “An Ontario Archive” examines pervasive currents in the Provincial culture. Inspired by Christie, and supported by William Westfall, Michael Gauvreau, Brian McKillop, and Marguerite Van Die, I discuss Ontario as a “Christian Colony” guided by the evangelical creed of a Protestant alliance in transition from a pre- to post-millennial worldview. This leads to Raymond Williams’ interpretation of the literary idea of “the pastoral” and its “structures of feeling,” which in the vastness of Ontario’s New World were materially possible. Foucault’s “pastoral,” which he describes as a modern form of governance, is discussed in the context of the Children’s Aid Society, a secular-sacred project based upon personal contact and investigation, conduct, and obedience. I invoke Ian McKay’s call encouraging a re-knowing of Canadian History, and situate child-saving within the mid-life of a liberal order of rule in Ontario. I also discuss the scholarly responses to McKay, which substitute his Gramscian frame with Foucauldian governmentality. I discuss the history of Ontario’s archive and archival practice, and the defining role of localities in the development of the imagination of the Province’s history. I place the scrapbooks in the current of the historical, museological, and anthropological practices of Kelso’s day which motivated the fabrication of the imaginative dioramas conjured through his collection.

Section II is dedicated to my encounters with Volume 10 of Kelso’s scrapbooks, from June 1893 to October 1894. Chapter 4, “With Curious Confidence” maps the initial stimulation and incitement from Kelso’s June appointment until January (scrapbook pages 5 to 102). The artifacts evoke Kelso’s participation as a leading writer in the first flood of text dedicated to the public explication of the Gibson Act, and how various publications echo his sentiments and laud his appointment. I observe the emergence of a new intertextual dialogue wherein Kelso is firmly implicated in its direction, management, and explanation of the transnational *reason* which

underwrites Ontario's new project. The inclusion of his mass production circular with a staged photograph of a "street Arab" drafts the tenets and image of child-saving and introduces his imaginative and operative worlds of woe and happiness. I observe how the tone of the scrapbook changes from nominal to efforts at materiality through four educative stories. These newspaper stories present the young male thief, the cunning woman, the vulnerable sexuality of girls, and the parent who surrenders their child to the care of the state. I examine the ordering of Kelso's teaching points, notably how child-saving is closely allied with the prison through the Prisoner's Aid Association, the findings of the 1891 Royal Commission on Prisons and Reformatories, and also through the unexpected discussion of the whip. This chapter is about a new and motivated discourse circulating through Toronto, Hamilton, and a few other localities, seeking flesh to help make its organizing principles real.

Chapter 5, "Moods: Past Perfect – Present Tense – Future Uncertain" covers a short portion of the scrapbook from mid-January to mid-February, pages 103 to 120. I am mindful of the pulse of the contiguous artifacts as they move exclusively out of Toronto and Hamilton to towns in the southwest, notably Brantford and St. Thomas. Articles begin to emerge that report upon local council meetings and gatherings to establish Children's Aid Society chapters. Through these artifacts, I observe how the developing child-saving language "behaves." Most interesting is how older formations are called upon to promote and motivate the new movement into the future. The whip again appears as an immediately-emergent form. Kelso pens a mighty syndicated article wherein he steps forward to "plea for the neglected children of the people," shifting the onus of responsibility between parents and "the community" which is described as under threat by a "stream of evil." As the language moves to more localities and into new spaces, I also observe the fluctuations of confidence, unevenness, and limits in its interpretation. There

are only two folk stories in these pages amid repetitious descriptions of meetings and homiletic editorials, making for a monotonous, at times frustrating encounter. In the absence of everyday stories I observe how the language continues to look for dramatic evidence in the teaching of public sentiment.

Chapter 6, “Animating Woe Within Reason,” is the first of four chapters examining winter through fall 1894 (scrapbook pages 121 to 214). Kelso’s doubly-motivated role as both curator and protagonist deepens as the language takes greater hold in the everyday and more intensively approaches particular bodies. The archival repetition of late winter is ameliorated as the law is animated with more portrayals of delineated folk as we witness the Province “grow” through the proliferation of the curfew bell, Children’s Aid chapters, and articles describing local transgressions. The courtroom emerges as a dramatic site in an emotional economy whereby males and females are treated differently in the orderings of child-saving with language-play obscuring understandings through the prism of gender. There is a widening of the interpretive field as the “territorial competence” that Kelso has stimulated begins to ferment. More localities participate in the discussion of child-saving as do artists and caricaturists whose iconography serves to engage the visual sense, reifying language differently. In contrast to the earlier months, Kelso is not as pervasive a character and author. With more participants, he seems more focussed upon managing the incoming artifacts and telling a unified narrative through his inclusions and their arrangements. In this chapter I explore how contrast works in generating more crystallized images in Kelso diorama of woe.

In Chapter 7, “Carnal Knowledge & Its Death,” I explore how the scrapbook begins to tell a more “novelistic” tale through a Bakhtinian lens to evoke how epistemology becomes a dominant discipline. Through three types of cases we observe how “sex” is sublimated through

the experiences of children. The descriptions of females work to educate the reader about the rules of “life” through stories of improper mothering, the precarious legal status of British Home Girls, and the degraded sex that populates baby farms. I examine how adult males are judged according to principles of “property” and retain “innocence” through a lack of description in courtroom and police reports. Through the descriptions of Home Girls I observe how their labour, isolation, and sex support acculturation through relations of subservience. The articles dedicated to the police raid of the Lace baby farm reveal the trade in unlicensed and anonymous birthing practices in Toronto. Through this case I examine how a coordinated network of knowledges and systems co-concerned with the “end of life” are unified and narrated through the ethnographic sensibilities of journalism. Kelso is surprisingly absent from the baby farming issue, yet becomes intimately involved three years, and three scrapbook volumes later, giving a brief glance into the eventual voice of the subaltern. These narratives reveal a plotting of degraded sex, the different ways that law approaches the body, and the epistemological and ethnographic boundaries that govern carnal knowledge, and its end.

Chapter 8, “For Whom the Bell Tolls” is dedicated to the curfew bell which accounts for the greatest aggregate of artifacts between February and October 1894. I discuss Kelso’s largely absent role in the curfew bell conversation and describe how this optional clause of the Gibson Act compels the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and municipalities to interpret childhood in the absence of direct central intervention. The ringing of the bell enlarges the map of Ontario, introducing new towns and villages into child-saving, revealing more parochial interpretation, reflection, and micro-local personality. It is a unique thread in the scrapbook that governs the anxiously porous border between woe and happiness. I observe how the Gibson Act is not simply about the degraded child, but also reaches out to govern the lambs in the “common

folds.” The peal of the bell excites anxieties regarding the role of the father and mother in the governance of the home, and elevates the persistent themes of the non-human phenomena of “street” and “night”: the greatest perceived threats to “common” children, for whom it seems the bell tolls for. I examine how the liberal order principle of diffusion works to transfer responsibility of child management to localities while the state provides legislation, education of sentiment, and when needed, textual intervention.

Kelso re-emerges as a motivated character when idealized children are described. This is the focus of Chapter 9, “Damsels Not in Distress.” These kindly children of the Bands of Mercy and similar organizations that Kelso enfolds in his mission reveal an adoring cultural gaze on particular children, who delightfully colour his world of happiness. I observe how this racialized and classed taxonomy of child is distanced from the contagious world of delinquency, slums, and courtrooms, and how their contrast deepens the depravity of that “other” reality. These children are also delineated as object lessons, yet as totems of grace, refinement, and mercy. They are pasted side-by-side with the insane and depraved, yet remain “safe” in an idealized liberal community that generates a “way of life” and works to maintain the cultural continuance and “superiority” of the networks of benevolent society. I explore how idealized children personify the perfect Ontario liberal education of head, heart, and hand, and how this pedagogy is informed by the popular forms of songs, parables, and animals which travel transnational networks as sublimated and age-appropriate enunciations of law, science, and anthropology. In St. Thomas I observe Kelso shedding the trappings of a state agent and posturing himself as an attentive and creative teacher amongst loyal groups of children who are enshrined as the promise of Ontario child-saving. On a biographical note, I speculate that these children represent the bright promise

of Kelso's early childhood, which was destroyed by fire in Dundalk Ireland before he was ten years of age.

The Thrifty "K"

Kelso is the narrator and curator of this childhood which is simultaneously refracted through historical, cultural, religious, social, political, and subjective panes. The scrapbooks would not have the gravitas, personality, and uncanny pull without the imprint of his hand. Most exoterically it is his pen, his secondary markings, his subjective "overlay," which creates a kind-of mystic palimpsest – a substrate that has been re-visited and re-used, the original use fading into the pulp. In the on-going, dense, repetitive text, it is his *notations* and marks – "X's", vertical strikes //, {parentheses}, and underlining – that direct attention and cue us to his ever-presence, even when he is not in the published articles he includes. When an artifact lacks date and place, he often fills it in, keeping us on space-time track. In working to decipher some of his faded penmanship, the reader can feel like an archaeologist, zooming in tight to closely compare other examples of how he crafted his "S" or "J" to make sense of his marginalia. His most minor penned edits, adding an (*r*) to complete a misspelled word, or correcting a misprinted name in a long list of Children's Aid meeting attendees, suggest a detailed, focussed ethic. His oft-penned "JJK," or thriftier "K" monikers appear throughout, often solving little mysteries about whom indeed wrote an anonymous article, or in case we are unsure if another hand took to commenting. Readers may come to crave what our narrator and hero **JJK** has to say, and with each turn of the page, hope that he is compelled to comment, or underline his name, or inform us about where a particular clergyman, long lost in the annals of history, ended up thirty years hence. Kelso swirls us about in the past, present, and future. And when he is absent, I felt myself getting impatient, a little lost, and eventually curious as to the reasons for his own exclusion. Yet, his absence is

generative, for it is in the gap between what is written down and silence where historical interpretation may thrive.

Kelso's idiosyncratic veneer and his dialogue with the extant text give the collection its peculiar intimacy and allure. It is as if Kelso is speaking directly to the reader, asking us to listen to him instead of simply reading the original text. It is as if he fears being forgotten in time, and the scrapbooks are his touchstone, the material evidence of his own legacy that his creative, at times Epicurean process is making.²⁴ The reader becomes the witness of this strange archive of page clippings and margin notes, this prosthesis of repression, anxiety, hope, and desire. As I observe Kelso as *both* participant-observer *and* administrator-activist I observe the work of a writer, intertextual manager, and state agent motivated by a light refracted through multiple panes through which his dioramas emerge, fabricated by scissors and the arrangement of skin: his *textual taxidermy*.

Through this ambitious effort to help those children Kelso calls "strangers to affection"²⁵ is evoked "the pure self-identity in otherness"²⁶ and his vicarious experiences of woe and happiness. Thus I cannot stop asking the question: what is Kelso serving? And, insofar as Kelso is inciting an event at the behest of colonial legislation and administering its novelistic heteroglot, I can't stop asking: what is serving Kelso? In exploring these two questions I appreciate the tensions and simultaneity of their centripetal and centrifugal invitation.

²⁴ I am thinking here with Coates and White: "There is much in Poggio that reminds one of Hellenistic Epicureanism. Antiquarianism itself is an Epicurean attitude insofar as it finds its particular satisfaction in the contemplation of an object's resistance to the process of dissolution. In Poggio antiquarianism was an expression of an essential egoism, which is always both a love of life and a melancholy recognition that nothing lies beyond the concrete, individual manifestations of that life." *The Emergence of Liberal Humanism: An Intellectual History of Western Europe* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), 14.

²⁵ *Ontario Sessional Papers 1897*, no. 16, 64.

²⁶ Benjamin as quoted in Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London: Routledge, 1993), 36.

SECTION I: Contexts: What is Kelso Serving? What is Serving Kelso?

Chapter 1: Mapping Intelligibilities of “Life” – Theory and Method

Through repeated encounters with Kelso’s collection, I have mapped an emergent narrative from a discourse of governance and subjectivity in a specific historical moment. Both Foucault and Stoler have been my broad banisters from the beginning, leaning on the concepts of bio-power, incitement to discourse, and emotional economy as theoretical guides. I have looked to Stoler’s archival approach and Foucault’s effective historical sensibility as methodological orientations. These conceptual chaperons have encouraged a dialogue with the scrapbooks alongside a purely extractive archival attitude, what Dominick LaCapra would distinguish between “documentary” and “worklike” styles.¹ It has led me on an adventure that has obligated an exploration of the pervasiveness of motif and myth and how a novelistic sensibility influences how we imagine the “real” in time. Concurrently I examine the critical theory of Archive, its non-material, mythic role of foundation and origin, secrecy, power, and law. Both the novel and the archive, like the state, hoard knowledge.² Lastly, as discussed in Chapter 3, I have necessarily enfolded currents of Ontario culture which include an imperial, transatlantic, and tripartite perspective, an

¹ “I want to begin to address these questions by distinguishing between documentary and “worklike” aspects of the text. The documentary situates the text in terms of factual or literal dimensions involving reference to empirical reality and conveying information about it. The “worklike” supplements empirical reality by adding to and subtracting from it. It thereby involves dimensions of the text not reducible to the documentary, prominently including the roles of commitment, interpretation, and imagination. The worklike is critical and transformative, for it deconstructs and reconstructs the given, in a sense repeating it but also bringing into the world something that did not exist before in that significant variation, alteration, or transformation. With deceptive simplicity, one might say that while the documentary marks a difference, the worklike makes a difference – one that engages the reader in recreative dialogue with the text and the problems it raises” LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Context, Language* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 29.

² “Like the Archive, the novel hoards knowledge. Like the Archive’s, that knowledge is of the origin, meaning that it is about the link of its own writing with the power that makes it possible, hence with the possibility of knowledge. In the beginning that power was the law, but later, other origins replaced it, through preserving the seal of that initial pact between power and writing. The modern novel retains these origins and the structure that made them possible” Echevarria, 32.

appreciation of the maturation of a liberal order of governance, the specificity of Christianity in Ontario's worldview, and a discussion of how Ontario has archived itself. It is this constellation of theoretical, methodological, historical, and cultural considerations which have led to a reading of the scrapbooks to imagine how particular bodies were to be governed in Ontario between 1893 and 1894, and how an Act animated action, and acted upon it through a project of sentimental education.

Historical Effects, Sense, Events & the Said

I analyze a Foucauldian "incitement to discourse" and the "event" of child-saving in Ontario – when children were "put on the agenda for the future,"³ named as a *thing*. As Kelso aptly stated to the editor of the *Globe* on September 15, 1893, "the enfranchisement of childhood."⁴ The procedure of analysis that Foucault calls "eventalization" works as a "...breach of self-evidence. It means making visible a *singularity* at places where there is a temptation to invoke a historical constant."⁵ He is concerned with interrogating the obviousness and necessity with which "knowledges, acquiescences and practices rest" through an examination of the "polymorphism of the elements" which are brought into relation and the multiple processes which constitute an event, what he calls a "polyhedron of intelligibility."⁶ Materially speaking, child-saving in Ontario simply did not "happen" as a matter of necessary course, pivoting singularly on the Gibson Act. I encounter the scrapbooks as an object that permits an examination of "how it came

³ I am borrowing from Foucault's discussion on the discourse of sexuality from *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Part 1* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1990), 6.

⁴ "In drawing up the children's law of Ontario....the Hon. Mr. Gibson was largely guided by English precedent, and other countries have also availed themselves of the generous provisions of the British bill for the enfranchisement of childhood." *Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues*. Record Series RG 29-75. Archives of Ontario, vol. 10, 30.

⁵ Foucault, "Questions of Method," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Burchell, Gordon and Miller, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 76, italics original.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

to be” that children were deemed neglected, dependent, and incorrigible, and the historical forces that made it self-evident that children should no longer be institutionalized but cared for by good Christian families. Following Foucault I read the Gibson Act as an event whose processes can be analyzed through rediscovering “the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary.”⁷ In part, this approach informed my choice to undertake an analysis that includes a comprehensive contextual framing for a momentary “snapshot” of the scrapbooks.

Foucault permits a historical analysis of the subject, language, and institutional practice through his concepts of governmentality, power/knowledge, bio-power, and will to knowledge/*savoir*. I engage these concepts below, and through discussions of the Children’s Aid Society and baby farms. His thought inspires an archaeological⁸ approach of sifting through artifacts to consider both obvious and hidden contiguities, erudite and subjugated knowledge (the high and the low teased out and classified by “taste”⁹). He encourages a genealogical method – an analysis of the historical *a priori* through an effective historical *sense* – a mapping of systems of statements which he calls *archive*. Foucault’s *archive* is the first law of what can be said (and not be said) in a particular space-time:

The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events. But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity, nor do they disappear at the mercy of chance external accidents; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with specific regularities; that which determines that they do not withdraw at the same pace in time, but shine, as it

⁷ Foucault, “Questions of Method,” 76

⁸ Says Foucault: “This term does not imply the search for a beginning; it does not relate analysis to geological excavation. It designates the general theme of a description that questions the already-said at the level of existence: of the enunciative function that operates within it, of the discursive formation, and the general archive system to which it belongs. Archaeology describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive.” *The Archaeology of Knowledge & the Discourse on Language* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1972), 131.

⁹ LaCapra discusses this in the context of intellectual history in *Rethinking Intellectual History*.

were, like stars, some that seem close to us shining brightly from afar off, while others that are in fact close to use are already growing pale. The archive is not that which, despite its immediate memories, its status as an escapee; it is that which, at the very root of the statement-event, and in that which embodies it, defines at the outset the *system of its enunciability*.¹⁰

As a network of statements, Kelso's scrapbooks can be mined for their enunciative possibilities whose genealogies can be mapped, not to a transcendental origin that Foucault resists, but rather across diverse and divergent effects and relations of space-times. It is messy and partial and is reminiscent of Clifford Geertz's assertion that "cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete,"¹¹ and James Clifford's description of the "partiality of cultural and historical truths."¹²

In the context of examining a "snapshot" of the scrapbooks, Foucault's genealogical approach supports Geertz's "thick description" (borrowed from Gilbert Ryle). This ethnographic method urges an interpretive study of the flow of social discourse through the microscopic attention to extroverted expressions and the conceptual structures that inform the actions of subjects.¹³ Akin to "eventalization" this interpreting "consists in trying to rescuing the 'said' of such discourse from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms."¹⁴ Like Foucault, Geertz is not interested in answering "our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said."¹⁵ This approach, weaving genealogical and ethnographic sensibilities, pays attention to words: how and where they are said and who is

¹⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 129, italics original.

¹¹ *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1973), 21. This line of thought is echoed by Christopher Herbert: "But the whole course of analytic literary studies over the past fifty years or so, from Epsom and New Criticism to deconstruction, teaches one to anticipate that significant literary expression is bound to be an affair of paradoxes, dense textures of implication, logical disjunctions and circularities, ambiguities and illegibilities which only the most intensive interpretive labor can suffice to master even partially..." 26.

¹² "Introduction: Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 6

¹³ Geertz, 27.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

saying them. This attitude permits my exploration of how the simultaneity and dialogue of poetics and politics inform “what is said” in the scrapbooks.

Ascribing and Governmentality

I am curious about the processes whereby emotions and behaviours are “named” as dispositions and transformed into social categories (e.g. dependency and neglect) for epistemological understanding and emotional management. More specifically, the “attribution of sentiments [which] mapped what was ‘out of character’ and ‘out of place’” on the grids of intelligibility.¹⁶ This is redolent of Stoler’s working definition of “ontology” which she understands “as that which is about the ascribed being or essence of things, the categories of things that are thought to exist or can exist in any specific domain, and the specific attributes assigned to them.”¹⁷ She also borrows from Ian Hacking who writes of ontologies that “refer ‘to what comes into existence with the historical dynamics of naming.’”¹⁸ It is here that Foucault and Stoler assist in analyzing the intimate fusion of language to disposition in considering the movements between reason and emotion, certainty and uncertainty. I am curious about the potential and “behaviour” of language in the midst of fear and anxiety on the verge of inconclusiveness and uncertainty, yet with a rational articulation made confident by law. Law shrouded in secrecy and power. Foucault’s concepts of power/knowledge and bio-power assist in examining the emotional factors at work through his conception of language that is not representational but rather emergent through a constitutive of relations, both human and non-human. This warrants an investigation into the force relations of reason and passion, public and private, within the Foucauldian phenomenon of

¹⁶ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 1995), 98.

¹⁷ *Along the Archival Grain*, 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

“population” and Donzelot’s concomitant concept of “the social.”¹⁹ Both of these concepts are highly relevant to Ontario during this era of growth and state-building, and the re-formation of family as an instrument of governance in the liberal world. Cynthia Comacchio describes this era as one of an ongoing crisis of the family as described by “middle-class Euro-Canadian commentators.”²⁰ Most interestingly Comacchio describes the opportunities that this understanding of crisis provided for certain social groups who were empowered to define “the Canadian family,” identify those who deviated from this ideal, and determine the methods to assist them in “coming up to expectations.”²¹ Kelso’s scrapbooks wonderfully chronicle this dialectic of familial crisis and class opportunity – woe and happiness – in the narrative of national destiny.

Foucault’s “governmentality” emerges through his discussion of population wherein he maps the genealogy of a Stoic revival in the sixteenth century and the problem of personal conduct: “There is the problem too of the government of souls and lives, the entire theme of Catholic and Protestant pastoral doctrine. There is the government of children and the great problematic of pedagogy which emerges and develops during the sixteenth century.”²² Foucault describes the development of an “art of government” based not on the sovereignty of the prince, but rather upon the state and reason of state²³ which articulates downward through individualized forms of self-governance and behaviour to familial government (*oikos, economy*). This occurs in contiguity with the values of the state, and upwards through the expectation that the person who desires to participate in its governance must first learn to govern his own economy. This art of

¹⁹ See Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

²⁰ *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850 to 1940* (University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Foucault “Governmentality” in Burchell et al, 87.

²³ Foucault “Governmentality,” 89

government, Foucault says, is the “introduction of economy into political practice.”²⁴ Vital to this is the semantic transformation of the word “economy” in the eighteenth century from a form of government to a “level of reality, a field of intervention”²⁵ whereby government becomes the “right disposition of things.” Foucault describes how “the things with which in this sense government is to be concerned of are in fact men, but men in their relations, their links, their imbrication with those other things which are wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility, etc.”²⁶ With the influence of Foucault, I am arguing that Kelso’s project is invested in fabricating children into “things”; textual things born of politics and poetics, anxiety and fantasy. The management and administration of these things in the population becomes characteristic of government in the rational forms of institution building, statistics, projects, tactics, etc., “in the pursuit of perfection and intensification of the processes which it directs.”²⁷ This reality is not founded on or directed to transcendental or moral ideals but to its own existence within the solipsistic enclosure of its *raison d’etre*.²⁸ As mercantilism and the object of the sovereign faded in the eighteenth century, the art of government took greater hold “through which the science of government, the recentering of the theme of economy on a different place form that of the family, and the problem of population are all interconnected.”²⁹ The family, shifting from a model of government to its fundamental instrument, remained privileged as the site of valuable bio information about population – birth, death, health, habits, sex – and the object of campaigns and projects aimed at both observing and directing the interests and aspirations of individuals.³⁰

²⁴ Ibid., 91 & 92.

²⁵ Ibid., 93.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 95.

²⁸ Ibid., 97.

²⁹ Ibid., 99.

³⁰ Foucault “Governmentality,”

Foucault lists the archaic model of Christian pastoral as a key element to the governmentalization of the modern state. In Chapter 3 I discuss this in the context of the Ontario child-saving movement. To consider Ontario in the mid to late 1800s is to place the Province in this genealogy, with the transition from a mercantile to a capitalist industrial and agrarian economy, the emergence of population, and the scientization of the state.³¹ Specifically I am interested in the instrumentality of the family in governance through a pastoral formation, which was indeed the very objective of the child-saving campaign and what Foucault would superimpose with the advent of “modernity.”

Emotion Along the Grain

Thinking with Albert O. Hirschman³² and William Reddy,³³ I am curious how reason and passion are not diametrically opposed, rather that reason is “emotional flexibility” and the proper distribution of emotion within a capitalist economy. Reason is the ability to perform “correct” dispositions in public spaces. Stoler invokes Reddy’s superimposition of the “age of reason” with the “age of sentiment” towards Alasdair MacIntyre’s history of moral theory which claims: “Virtues are dispositions not only to act in particular ways, but also to feel in particular ways. To act virtuously is not to act against inclination; it is to act from inclination formed by the cultivation of the virtues. Moral education is an ‘*education sentimentale*.’”³⁴ This is Kelso’s mission, as clearly stated in the announcement of his appointment.³⁵ In this current, “reason”

³¹ For examples see *The Ontario Sessional Papers*.

³² See *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments of Capitalism Before its Triumph* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

³³ See *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotion* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³⁴ As quoted in Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 72.

³⁵ “He will have charge of the work of developing a sentiment throughout the province in favor of the better treatment of neglected and dependent children...” **June 30**, *Scrapbooks* vol. 10, 10.

becomes much more dimensional and complex. As I observe in the scrapbook, reason is described as qualitatively performative and mimetic, dramatic and artificial, an urge to morality, and an act of domination. As Stoler will advocate, reason is not necessarily “cold,” it is very much interested in “feeling.”

Hirschman and Reddy describe how reason and passion were pulled apart and assigned to the respective spheres of “the public” and “the private” and weighted with greater import and anxiety as “visibility” increased. This finding offers dynamic insight into the Ontario context during the late 1800s, which experienced increased migration to urban centers and increased state and commercial involvement in rural areas. The concepts of public and private pulse at the heart of this story, most obviously as material spaces of state and family, the paternal and the maternal,³⁶ but more interestingly and ironically as we consider the political will to remove children from largely “private” childhood institutions (i.e. reformatories, industrial schools, orphanages) to the more public “community” through threat, neighborly surveillance, and foster scenarios. Through discussions of de-institutionalization, the whip, the curfew bell, and Home Children I observe the breakdown of the strict binaries of private/public, family/state, country/city, and nation/empire. I aim to evoke how difference and contrast generate literary chimeras which work towards an imaginary wholeness, which is often lodged between the gaps.

³⁶ Comacchio describes the idea of “separate spheres” which emerged in the early nineteenth century as a result of a “cult of domesticity”: “Separate spheres ideology used the biological differences between women and men to explain other emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and moral differences...this was a value system carefully constructed to reflect the aspirations of an emerging middle class, to reinforce and stabilize its own identity as distinct from the ‘decadent’ upper classes, and also from the ‘great unwashed’ below...Through sermons, public addresses, the press, novels, and prescriptive literature, and through the platforms of such organizations as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, these ideas were widely circulated. The result was a ‘cult of domesticity’ that tried to confine women to the private sphere, and their social and familial roles made synonymous; they were to be dutiful daughters, wives, and mothers.” 20. I examine this through the curfew bell in Chapter 8 and Bands of Mercy in Chapter 9.

Clifford's assertion that "ethnography is actively situated *between* powerful systems of meaning"³⁷ assists in the examination of everyday phenomena that dissolve binary ascriptions.

Through the Gibson Act, the social phenomenon of child-saving was invested in cutting off the criminal class and reducing spending on child institutions through the mechanism of the Children's Aid Society, teaching kindness, and strengthening the home as a disciplinary site. The movement imagined a more-forensic child who would be compelled to navigate the vicissitudes of the "everyday" as a means towards proper education and citizenship. "The child," and its racialized, classed, and gendered iterations, was now deemed a member of "the population" and public property, a raw natural resource of epistemological understanding in the building of a nation-state. Accordingly they were ushered into concerns with the preservation of "life" as subjects of a Foucauldian bio-power, where "life's" negative – death – signaled the end of knowledge. The sentiment of de-institutionalization was both literal and figurative as confinement was now imagined as a harbinger of death whereby interned children, like dead children, represented the end of a will to knowledge and degenerative affective data. This death and loss triggered anxiety and at the same time threatened future fantasies. Most notably through the Lace baby farming case in fall 1894 I observe how the end of knowledge incites an epistemological quest for new knowledges to fill the lacuna wrought by young death. I examine how this particularized resource was delineated and imagined, and the ways in which its habits and desires were assessed, appropriated, imagined, portrayed, and governed. Stoler inspires an investigation of the will toward the accumulation, acquisition and hoarding of affective knowledge – "that which moves people to feel and act" – within imperial projects of sentimental

³⁷ "Partial Truths," 2, *Italics original*.

education.³⁸ As I discuss with John Mackenzie in Chapter 3, Kelso's scrapbooks are an emblem of the anthropologic acquisitorial pathology of his day, and are alive in this imperial context.

Stoler encourages an ethnography of archival sources, paying special attention to the emotional economy and the "framing of feeling" in the scrapbooks to observe how children and families deemed "out of place" were portrayed and ordered according to interpretations of affective knowledge. Stoler defines the emotional economy of empire as "how colonial states intervened in shaping which feelings mattered, who had a right to them, and how they were politically framed."³⁹ Stoler's work inspires an engagement with archival materials "along the grain,"⁴⁰ as an ethnographic process and not simply an extractive one – treating archival documents as subjects and not merely as objects. She describes how the focus of her *Along the Archival Grain* is:

...on archiving-as-process rather than archives-as-things. Most importantly, it looks to archives as condensed sites of epistemological and political anxiety rather than as skewed and biased sources...Colonial archives were both transparencies on which power relations were inscribed and intricate technologies of rule in themselves.⁴¹

Stoler permits an examination of the scrapbook's form and texture, points of rupture and recuperation, its repetition, and the everyday to illuminate its storied edges. In Stoler's archive, as in Kelso's collection, affect and emotion are not tertiary concerns in governance, but are

³⁸ Says Stoler: "The quest for affective knowledge... was the coveted pursuit of state intelligence yet beyond its grasp." *Along the Archival Grain*, 18.

³⁹ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 68. "Archival documents participate in this emotional economy in some obvious ways: in the measured tone of official texts; in the biting critique reserved for marginalia; in footnotes to official reports where moral assessments of cultural practice were often relegated and local knowledge was stored." Ibid., 41.

⁴⁰ "Here the ethno-graphic is about the graphic, detailed production of social kinds, the archival power that allowed its political deployment, and the grafting of affective states to those inventions...Reading along the archival grain draws our sensibilities to the archive's granular rather than seamless texture, to the rough surface that mottles its hue and shapes its form. Working along the grain is not to follow a frictionless course but to enter a field of force and will to power, to attend to both the sound and sense therein and their rival and reciprocal energies. It calls on us to understand how unintelligibilities are sustained and why empires remain so uneasily invested in them" Ibid., 53.

⁴¹ Ibid., 20.

rather a leading concern and a driving, organizing force.⁴² Through this orientation towards how people are moved to feel and act we begin to see the breakdown of binaries and appreciate the discursive and storytelling values in the banalities of the everyday, which in Kelso's collection are domiciled predominantly in the ink of daily newspaper articles. Says Stoler: an ethnographic sensibility concerned with governance is attuned to the microphysics of daily lives "for discrepant tone, tacit knowledge, stray emotions, extravagant details, 'minor' events [to] trace dense transfer points of power."⁴³ Stoler's ethnographic method encourages an examination of the circulation of language, the distribution of sentiment, and Kelso's reasoning within the "thought style" of the age.⁴⁴ I examine these attitudes through circulars, articles, and moralizing stories of the everyday in exploring my two leading questions made up of the same words in different order: What is Kelso serving? What is serving Kelso?

Stoler's method, attentive to the "pulse of the archive," is concerned with the "colonial order of things" through archival productions. She is curious about:

...what insights into the social imaginaries of colonial rule might be gained from attending not only to colonialism's archival content, but to the principles and practices of governance lodged in particular archival forms. By 'archival form' [Stoler] allude[s] to several things: prose style, repetitive refrain, the arts of persuasion, affective strains that shape 'rational' response, categories of confidentiality and classification, and not least, genres of documentation.⁴⁵

Stoler adduces a comparative reflection between history and postcolonial studies to consider how circuits of knowledge production circulated unevenly in the imperial world and how this informed what was classified or not, what was remembered and forgotten, and what was

⁴² "Statecraft was not opposed to the affective, but about its mastery." Ibid., 71, Italics original. See also Stoler, "Tense and Tender ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History*, 88, no. 3 (2001a), 829-865.

⁴³ Stoler, "Matters of Intimacy as Matters of State: A Response," *The Journal of American History*, 88 no. 3 (2001b), 7.

⁴⁴ Fleck As quoted in Herbert, 1991, 27

⁴⁵ Stoler "Matters of Intimacy," 20.

reinvented, how, where, why, and by whom.⁴⁶ She inspires reflection upon the discourses of race and sexuality within the “mobile discourse of empire”⁴⁷ and how this informed projects in the education of desire with regards to class, family, and children to consider how governance in Ontario was redolent of thought and practice of previous and simultaneous colonial projects in Africa, The Dutch East-Indies, and South Asia. Stoler motivates us to ask: what connects Kelso to the nursemaid in Java and the “scribal elites” of the “information-order” in colonial India?⁴⁸ The “what connects” can be approached both literally and imaginatively. What were the material systems that permitted the movement of cultural traffic (e.g. marine, rail, and press technologies), and how were people connected by mind and body through description, subjectification, and disposition?

Troubling “Nation”

Akin to Stoler, yet oriented to South Asia, Tony Ballantyne is concerned with revising the approach to colonial archives: “It is increasingly difficult to view the archive as a store of transparent sources from which histories that recover a total image of South Asia might be assembled; rather the archive has been reimagined as a site saturated with power, a dense but uneven body of knowledge scarred by the cultural struggles and violence of the colonial past.”⁴⁹ Ballantyne, borrowing from Peter Hulme focusses upon the idea of “nation” amid the “porousness” of boundaries within the constant and dense traffic that linked metropole and colony, yet more interestingly perhaps, in the “mostly unacknowledged ties between disparate

⁴⁶ Stoler “Matters of Intimacy,” 6.

⁴⁷ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 32.

⁴⁸ “Rereading the archive and opening up the nation-state: Colonial knowledge in South Asia (and Beyond),” in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, ed. A. Burnett, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 105. Ballantyne is in conversation with C.A. Bayly’s *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University press, 1996)

⁴⁹ Ballantyne, 102.

colonies as well.”⁵⁰ Consequently Ballantyne imagines the imperial past not as hub with spokes and a wheel, but rather as a “complex web consisting of ‘horizontal filaments’ that run among colonies in addition to ‘vertical’ connections between the metropole and individual colonies.”⁵¹

Ballantyne places the archive in this conceptualization:

Archives of various types – the libraries of learned societies, the records produced by missionary organizations and reform movements, private libraries assembled by colonial intellectuals, and the official archives of colonial government – can be understood as crucial nodes in these webs. Identifying archives as nodes within a larger system of imperial knowledge production recognizes the double function of the archive. At one level, archives are the product of centripetal processes, as various webs of correspondence, institutional changes, and publication networks draw material together into the archival space where it is collected, organized, and stored. But archives have a centrifugal function: they are centers from which knowledge was distributed, whether through the act of reading, correspondence, the intertextual nature of print culture, or the exchange of manuscript or printed material.⁵²

Ballantyne continues, echoing both Stoler and LaCapra by highlighting the need to reimagine the archive:

Even those historians sensitive to the occlusions of the imperial archive typically view archives as enclosed, static, and discreet, rather than the product of the constant circulation of information and the heavy intertextuality of many forms of knowledge. By emphasizing the mobility of colonial knowledge and the interweaving of the archives of empire, we can place greater emphasis on the transnational cultural and intellectual traffic that was the very lifeblood of empire.⁵³

This intertextual orientation is evocative of both Foucault and Bakhtin: a “bundle of relationships” constituted by utterance; networks of people writing what others are talking about and the circulation of knowledge and dialogic construction of texts engendered with power through a web of relations. Ballantyne most interestingly invokes Eugene Irschick’s *Dialogue and History* which stresses the hybrid nature of colonial knowledge, and argues that social meaning was composed through “a negotiated, heteroglot construction shaped by both weak and

⁵⁰ Ballantyne, 104.

⁵¹ Ibid., 112. Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton extend his metaphor of the web in *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 3: “Empires, like webs, were fragile and prone to crises where important threads were broken or structural nodes destroyed, yet also dynamic, being constantly remade and reconfigured through concerted thought and effort.”

⁵² Ballantyne, 113

⁵³ Ibid.

strong, the colonized and colonizer, from the present to the past.”⁵⁴ Irschick’s short citation eloquently aids in contextualizing my encounter with the scrapbooks.

Similarly, Antoinette Burton quoting Stoler, discusses the “precarious vulnerability” of imperial systems⁵⁵ and the idea of the “nation” within empire, asking: “how do we resist the seduction of national narratives and make sense of the violences they enact under the guise of patriotism, imperial and otherwise?”⁵⁶ Burton is concerned with modern history writing which “has historically been a ‘narrative contract’ with the territorially bounded nation-state. Prying the nation from that contract is nothing less than a struggle to reorganize and reconstitute the spatial bases of power.”⁵⁷ Posing Kobena Mercer’s question “Why the need for nation?” Burton responds: “Those who need it tend to require that their historical subjects be national at heart – not only fixed by borders, but equally unfragmented and coherent.”⁵⁸ Burton comments “how difficult it is to escape the grasp of national investigative frameworks even when one attempts a highly self-conscious, and hopefully, principled critique of the allure of nationness for Western historians – especially since the nation itself has historically served as ‘the ideological alibi of the territorial state.’”⁵⁹ Thus Burton is focussed upon recasting the nation as an imperialized space, troubling the homogeneity in the stories of “nation” which “has historically served as the sovereign ontological subject” and has cast the specific and binary Victorian spheres of “home” and “empire” which is valid both for England and her British colonies.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Ballantyne, 106.

⁵⁵ “Introduction: On the Inadequacy and the Indispensability of the Nation” in *After the Imperial Turn*, 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁰ Burton, 4 & 5.

Ballantyne's focus upon imperial and trans-colonial cultural traffic and Burton's questions of nation are crucial in a Canadian context. It leads us to Nancy Christie's call to "theorize a colonial past"⁶¹ regarding Canadian historiography, and similarly Ian McKay who in 2000 heralded an appeal to imagine Canada's past through the lens of an imported liberal order framework. Both historiographical petitions are discussed in Chapter 3. These ideas challenge us to think and write differently about "Canada," not as a nation but as a territorial boundary *in* the webs of empire, and not simply as a maturing independent phenomenon on its edge. Accordingly we are compelled to interrogate our myth-symbol complexes, our notions of patriotism, nationalism, "community," and citizenship. We need, too, to ask where mythic ideas come from, how they emerge, what they serve, and who is speaking about them. In the context of Kelso's scrapbooks, we observe an "information-order"⁶² and a hyper-intertextual intensity towards building the future of Canada through "proper" citizenship. Borrowing from A.G. Hopkins, we can say that "this national framework...derives its inspiration from nineteenth-century state-building and state-reforming movements in Europe because preoccupation with the national epic has also endorsed a degree of insularity that has tended to marginalize international influences."⁶³

"Canada for Canadians" Rev. Starr proclaims in November 1895.⁶⁴ This declaration is made in response to the importation of British Home Children, the curious bodies who are tagged

⁶¹ See Nancy Christie, "Theorizing a Colonial Past" in *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions, and Social Experience in Post-Revolutionary British North America*, ed. Nancy Christie (McGill Queen's Press-MQUP. 2008a), 3-41.

⁶² Bayly as quoted in Ballantyne, *Rereading the Archive*, 105.

⁶³ As quoted in Hsu-Ming Teo "The Romance of White Nations: Imperialism, Popular Culture, and National Histories," in *After the Imperial Turn*, 279.

⁶⁴ *The Daily British Whig* November 5, 1895. *Scrapbooks* vol. 12, 53. He continues "Of course we welcome little ones who cross the herring pond, God bless them, but first of all let our duty towards our own children not be neglected...if the people of this city want to find a channel through which they can advance humanity and help their fellow man, they will find that channel in the children's aid society."

to carry the trunks of sentiment along imperial webs of cultural traffic. Kelso's scrapbooks reveal a strong sense of nationalism, for Britain is not much included in the intertextual dialogue. Yet this is because Britain in an Ontario context goes without saying.⁶⁵ The Gibson Act largely mimics English Law and domesticates British child immigration practices. It is through the bodies of Home Children, the flood of text dedicated to the fierce debate born of their importation, the entire scrapbook that Kelso devotes to them by 1895, where I observe the presence and persistence of the relations of empire, which strangely inspire "nationhood." In this relational web, Ballantyne and Burton, akin to Stoler, foreground the nation as a means to dramatize the conditions under which children become historically visible. When the Home Children become visible is when "nation" is discussed. I am curious how bodies have "been a subject of concern, scrutiny, anxiety, and surveillance in a variety of times and places across the world,"⁶⁶ and how the dramatic subject of the body within and along the interwoven webs of imperial reason and emotion is imagined and described.

Reading Fabulously

A genealogical method along the grain not only guides us to think about the present with regards to "history," it also urges us to think historically with regards to writing and storytelling. In reading stories, we are also reading back through antecedents of myth and folk matrices ("the fabulous"). These are forms and archetypes that have been embedded in cultural consciousness over time through stories and most recently the development of the novel. The webs of empire did not only provide for the transmission of ideas in legal, anthropological, and scientific

⁶⁵ I am thinking here with Nancy Christie: "Hall and Wilson have urged historians to take a more culturalist approach to the study of empire whereby Britain and her colonies are viewed as one coherent field of analysis, in which the experience of the metropolis and periphery is treated as "mutually constitutive." "Theorizing a Colonial Past," 7.

⁶⁶ *Bodies in Contact*, 4

documents, but also in the analogous imaginative forms of cultural myths, novels, and popular literature. Thus we must think not only of the enunciative possibilities of law and governance but also those of “fable,” poetics, and literature – of storytelling. This approach is in the vein of Hebert’s ethnographic method that “treats all texts as if they were poems.”⁶⁷ Frye describes how there is a pane of historical time and simultaneously another of artistic literary time – “the total body of verbal creation”⁶⁸ – that urges reflection upon how structures of power in the form of the archive are at the same time temporal formulations of myth. Frye reminds us that “myth enables our intelligibility of a story,”⁶⁹ and Roland Barthes that “*myth is a type of speech*...everything can be a myth provided it is conveyed by a discourse.”⁷⁰ The most obvious evidence of this is the role of the Christian God in the scrapbooks, the Bible as the first great work of Western literature – Frye’s “Great Code”⁷¹ – and the guiding light of historical sensibility in Ontario to the late 1800s (discussed in the Chapter 3). The fallen women of the Mercer and the inmates of the Central Prison – the “whores” and “criminals” – are not only unworthy illiberal citizens, they are literary sin personified, in need of redemption and education. They are deemed as impediments to building the Kingdom of God on earth.

Significant to my study, the countryside is a descendant of Eden, and the city is Sodom and Gomorrah. This is an educational project about the economic principles of literary sin and redemption as much as it is about good citizenship. Kelso’s epistolary scrapbooks evoke “...the

⁶⁷ Herbert, 25.

⁶⁸“Literature is a reconstructed mythology, with its structural principles derived from those of myth. Then we can see that literature is in a complex setting what a mythology is in a simpler one: a total body of verbal creation. In literature, whatever has a shape has a mythical shape, and leads us toward the center of the order of words.” Northrop Frye, *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (Harcourt Brace & World, 1963), 38.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 35

⁷⁰ *Mythologies* (St Albans, UK: Granada, 1976), 109, italics original.

⁷¹ See *The Great Code: The Bible & Literature* (Harcourt, 2002).

relationship between novelistic discourse and non-literary forms of hegemonic discourse.”⁷² The polysemantic term “child-saving” opens up at the same moment a role for the liberal humanitarian as it does the devout Christian who desires to walk in the footsteps of a post-millennial human Jesus, merged into the secular-sacred vocation of applied or practical Christianity within the Social Gospel born of the Third Great Awakening. In this trajectory, we begin to observe how the very notion of “saving,” the role of the “savior” is not simply about children, or the Province, or the Nation, but about being a Romantic hero and saving the glorified, anxious, precarious, and threatened *homo europeaus* – the abstracted earthly manifestation of the Christian Civilization that is supposed to domicile within. “Child-saving” means saving the child, empowering the child to save, and saving money through their pastoral care. It can be an adjective, noun, and doubly-motivated verb. This grammar underwrites the economies which interlace throughout.

Thinking with Frye, the maintenance of a supreme occidental subject is the ultimate “concerned truth,” whereby the function of poetry and prose in the context of education is to “provide a *rhetorical analogue* to concerned truth.”⁷³ And in the tensions between concern and freedom the guiding question is: what must we do to be saved?⁷⁴ Frye again: “In every structured society, the ascendant class attempts to take over the myth of concern and make it, or an essential part of it, a rationalization of its ascendancy.”⁷⁵ In the scrapbooks I observe how concern is transmitted from Queen’s Park, circulated, and diffused translocally through newspapers, circulars, and meetings and transfigured through philanthropic societies, the curfew bell, the

⁷² Echevarria, 38.

⁷³ *The Critical Path: An Essay on the Social Context of Literary Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 66, italics original.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 52 & 55.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

whip, and kindly children's groups. These forms become ways of saving in Kelso's project of educating public sentiment.

Mikhail Bakhtin broadens and deepens my reading of the scrapbooks through a mythical and artistic literary refraction. In both *The Dialogic Imagination* and *Rabelais and His World*, Bakhtin discusses the development of the novel and its various chronotopes (space-time realities) through history, which begins with the interpretations of ancient pre-class folklore motif matrices. Specifically, he analyzes the function of the novel in its particular space-time, both the forms it generates and how it borrows and sublimates from the wholeness of the immanent time of ancient folklore. Bakhtin maps the literary-historic shift from the "communal" to the "individual," mindful of the detaching of life-sequences from "the whole" and the eventalization and development of the everyday, private, and prosaic that were unknown to life in the interpretations of the pre-class agricultural stage.⁷⁶ The novel employs a genealogical method of its own antecedent forms. It has literary-historic *sense*. The parsing out of individual life-sequences from the whole, which Bakhtin superimposes with the development of financial relations under feudalism and most acutely capitalism, "takes on its specific character and what is held in common becomes maximally abstract."⁷⁷ Here I am curious about the attendant development of the liberal order and its "individual" (discussed in the Chapter 3). The narrative consequences of this development towards "individual fates" resulted in a shift in the imaginative relationship of humans with nature, the pulling apart of the producer-consumer of common agricultural labor, and the deracinating of humans from a natural cyclical mode in an immanent unity where birth, death, drink, food, and holidays were undifferentiated:

⁷⁶ Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Austin Press, 1981), 215.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

All these phenomena are lumped together into a single event, each phenomenon signifying different sides of one and the same whole – the whole growth, of fertility, of life conceived under the sign of growth and fertility. We repeat: the life of nature and the life of a man are fused together in this complex: the sun is part of the earth, as a kind of consumer good, it is eaten and drunk. The events of human life are just as grand as the events of nature's life (the same words, the same tones are used for both, and in no sense metaphorically). In this context all members of the matrix (all elements of the complex) are equally valid. Food and drink are just as significant in this series as death, childbirth and the phases in the life of the sun. The single great event that is life (both human and nature) emerges in its multiple sides and aspects, and they are all equally indispensable and significant within it.⁷⁸

In the on-going, epochal interpretations of this folkloric complex, there was no concept of interiority or the binary of private/public, only communal. In the process of separating out individuals from the whole, the whole abstracts, phenomena are splintered and placed in vertical hierarchies and parceled into “high” or “low,” “coarse,” “crude,” or “tasteful” realities. These realities are subsumed by ideology and are either included or excluded from the symbol complex of official culture. “Ideological reflection (the word, the symbolization) acquires the force of magic. The isolated object becomes a substitute for the whole: this is the source substitutive function of the victim (fruit offered in sacrifice functions as a substitute for the entire harvest, an animal as a substitute for the entire herd or for the fruits of the harvest and so on.)”⁷⁹ With greater temporal distance from ancient motifs, symbolization, metaphor, and sublimation become increasingly sophisticated in conjuring, reinterpreting, and retaining some significance with the idealized wholeness of communal time.⁸⁰ We observe this in the scrapbooks through the governing phenomenon of “community.” As I discuss in Chapter 7, “Love” and “children” become the sublimated form of the sexual act (copulation), and “death” becomes an ultimate end and begins to bear a metaphorical or mystical-religious character.⁸¹ “Death and birth of new life are parceled out into different sealed-off individual life-sequences: death ends one life and birth

⁷⁸ Ibid., 211.

⁷⁹ Bakhtin, “Forms of Time,” 212.

⁸⁰ It is interesting to reflect on what this means: does a temporal lacuna engender a greater anxiety in the process of working to represent a more-distant “loss”?

⁸¹ Bakhtin, “Forms of Time,” 216.

begins a completely other life. Individualized deaths do not overlap with the birth of new lives, they are not swallowed up by triumphant growth, for these deaths have been taken out of that whole in which such growth occurs.”⁸²

What might seem like an esoteric departure from the task at hand is a working towards a way of reading Kelso’s scrapbook “fabulously” through an artistic literary refraction. Thus not strictly on the pane of “historical time,” but on the developmental pane of artistic literary space-time, Bakhtin’s chronotopic typography. As there are historical forms available to govern space in time, there is a storehouse of available literary motifs and myths to interpret and animate space-time,⁸³ to give it “life.” Bakhtin permits us to appreciate the novelistic quality of the scrapbook, especially in light of the history of the modern novel, which triumphed during the 1800s, coterminous with the establishment of the modern Western archive. These intersecting historical currents, similar in their urges to collect and hoard, are dynamic in this conversation. It affords acuity into the concept of time and how language “behaves” according to temporal proximity to interpretations in particular spaces. More specifically, Bakhtin notes the difference between epic time and novelistic time. Epic time existed before the written word and is “complete,” canonistic, finished-off, and distant:⁸⁴

It is a discourse handed down by tradition. By its very nature the epic world of the absolute past is inaccessible to personal experience and does not permit an individual, personal point of view or evaluation...One can only accept the epic world with reverence; it is impossible to really touch it, for it is beyond the realm of human activity, the realm in which everything humans touch is altered and re-thought...The epic world is constructed in the zone of an absolute distanced image.⁸⁵

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ This is reminiscent of Frye: "just as there is an order of nature behind the natural sciences, so literature is not a piled aggregate of 'works,' but an order of words" *Anatomy of criticism: Four essays*, ed. Robert D. Denham (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), 17.

⁸⁴ Bakhtin, “Epic and Novel” in *The Dialogic Imagination*, 4

⁸⁵ Ibid., 16 & 17.

There is no space for personal initiative and interpretation. We are compelled to consider this alongside the pre-millennial worldview that Protestant Ontario was emerging from, when an empirical, Baconian interpretation of the Bible was losing its theological power to guide and interpret culture and history. Here we appreciate Hannah Arendt's thoughts on "tradition" which she claims replaces the need to think, bridging the gap between past and future.⁸⁶ Phyllis Airhart discusses tradition in a Canadian Methodist context as the "changing sameness" of ongoing revivalism.⁸⁷

The novel however is an ever-developing genre with "an indeterminacy, a certain semantic openendedness; a living contact with unfinished, still-evolving contemporary reality (the openended present)."⁸⁸ The novel is the only genre that is younger than writing and the book, it has no traditional canon,⁸⁹ it can parody other genres, criticize itself, and "best of all reflects the tendencies of a new world still in the making; it is, after all, the only genre born of this new world and in total affinity with it."⁹⁰ It does not evaluate time based on memory but in a zone of maximal and direct contact, crude and otherwise, with the present⁹¹ based on "personal experience and investigation."⁹² We think here of the affective and power-relational bases of Stoler's emotional economy and Foucault's interpersonal pastoral. Bakhtin discusses how the novel developed out of:

... a rupture in the history of European civilization: its emergence from a socially isolated and culturally deaf semipatriarchal society, and its entrance into international and interlingual contacts and relationships. A multitude of different languages, cultures and times became available to Europe, and this became a

⁸⁶ "Preface: The Gap Between Past and Future," in *Between Past and Future* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 13.

⁸⁷ *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 7.

⁸⁸ Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel," 7.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 11 & 30.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 25.

decisive factor in its life and thought...In this active polyglot world, completely new relationships are established between language and its object (that is, the real world).⁹³

A polyglossia and “interillumination” of languages freed the subject from the closedness of epic distance⁹⁴ within the novel which is “determined by experience, knowledge and practice (the future)...When the novel becomes the dominant genre, epistemology becomes the dominant discipline”⁹⁵ I examine this idea in Chapter 8.

Reading fabulously evokes themes of historical time differently, makes the familiar, mundane, and prosaic intensely strange and domestically exotic⁹⁶ demanding a historical mapping – a genealogy – through isolation, metaphor, and symbol to where phenomena once imaginatively lived within an undifferentiated, communal, and literal wholeness. Redolent of Foucault and Geertz, this historical sensibility is not a search for transcendental origins, but a reflection upon a genealogy of interpretations – imagined interpretations – of immanent/idealized space-time. Most interestingly, these idealized and imaginative forms become projected as future ideals, albeit with hybrid and reformed symbols *said* differently. The present is a temporal pivot point in the historical, cultural, political, and poetic interpretations of space-time. These are many of the panes that mediate the interpretation of Kelso’s dioramas.⁹⁷

Bakhtin describes how children first entered the novel in the atmosphere of the idyllic model for reviving the ancient complex and folkloric time.⁹⁸ In the various types of Idyll (e.g.

⁹³ Ibid., 11&12.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁹⁵ Bakhtin, “Epic and Novel,”15.

⁹⁶ I am thinking here with Clifford: “Ethnography’s tradition...looks obliquely at all collective arrangements, distant or nearby. It makes the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian.” “Partial Truths,” 2.

⁹⁷ Arendt: “This small non-time-space in the very heart of time, unlike the world and the culture into which we are born, can only be indicated, but cannot be inherited and handed down from the past; each new generation, indeed every new human being as he inserts himself between and infinite past and an infinite future, must discover and ploddingly pave it anew.” *Between Past and Future*, 13.

⁹⁸ Bakhtin, “Forms of Time,” 224.

love, agricultural, craft-work) there are dominant themes which emerge with varying predominance – love, labor, or family – whereby life-events are grafted to a specific place as a means to define a “*unity of place...severely limited to only a few of life’s basic realities. Love, birth, death, marriage, labor, food and drink, stages of growth...*”:⁹⁹ governable “things” emergent from the relations of modern Man plotted in Foucault’s modern phenomenon of population. The Idyll is the chronotope of the provincial novel and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, forms which deal with love and agriculture and come closest to achieving a folkloric time.¹⁰⁰ Bakhtin describes how in the Idyll,

...agricultural labor transforms all the events of everyday life, stripping them of that private petty character obtaining when man is nothing but consumer; what happens rather is that they are turned into essential life *events*. Thus people consume the produce of their own labor; the produce is figurally linked with the productive process, in it – in this produce – the sun, the earth and the rain are actually present (not merely in some system of metaphorical links). Wine is likewise immersed in the process of its cultivation and production, and drinking it is inseparable from the holidays that are in turn linked to agricultural cycles. Food and drink in the idyll partake of a nature that is social, or more often, family; all *generations* and *age-groups* come together around the table. For the idyll, the association of *food* and *children* is characteristic...this matrix is shot through with the beginnings of growth and the renewing of life. In the idyll, children often function as a sublimation of the sexual act and of conception; they frequently figure in connection with growth, the renewal of life, death...Children first entered the novel from precisely this setting, still permeated with the atmosphere of the idyll.¹⁰¹

The space-time of the scrapbook overlaps this literary moment in a profound, almost uncanny way. The political enfranchisement of children in Ontario is superimposed upon their idyllic emergence in the novel at a moment when the Province is anxious about its agricultural future, its ability to feed an Empire.

The British Home Children, born “closer” to the history of the novel are the first to live out this idyllic form on Ontario soil beginning in 1868. It seems that as the colonial Province “matures into History” through its distance from interpretations of epic/biblical time, these

⁹⁹ Ibid., 225, italics original.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 226.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 227, italics original.

literary forms and matrices become more accessible, culturally and politically possible. This provides fertile soil for Ontario children to be delineated as sublimated forms of growth and future and eventually legitimized in law. As we will see, the scrapbook is very much alive in this idyllic current. As a project of “love” “family” and “labor” the child-saving movement tells a story of an idealized future of communal wholeness in the countryside, where generations who consume their own produce will flourish in the glorious rays of the sun-path of ancient folkloric time in the care of loving mother hearts. They will be absorbed by the perfection of “nature” and will no longer be a social burden in urban spaces.

Body Culture

The scrapbook manifestly and materially lives in a strong literary context. Ancient motifs are rich, epic time grounds anxious tradition, novelistic developments and chronotopes eagerly bubble throughout. Rogues and heroes populate the pages, the family is both in crisis and enshrined, love is sought, there are secrets, people die awful deaths, they steal, labor is scarce and vital, and the promise of communal agriculture governs a new campaign.¹⁰² This movement comes to take in the censorship of dime novels and theatre posters, concerns with clothing, food, tobacco, alcohol, sex, and animals, Kelso’s legislation to stop the de-horning of cattle, and his role in the establishment of dental programs and cooking classes for the poor. These examples can be mapped to ancient folkloric motifs and *series* in a body-culture, which Bakhtin evokes through his study of the French novelist Rabelais – “the philosopher of laughter” – who

¹⁰² Bakhtin: “There is a considerably more incisive reworking of idyllic time and idyllic matrices in Rousseau, and in subsequent texts influenced by him. This reworking proceeds in two directions: first, the basic elements of the ancient complex – nature, love, the family, child-bearing, death...Second, these elements provide material for constituting an isolated individual consciousness, and from the point of view of such a consciousness these elements act as forces that can heal, purify and reassure it, forces that solicit its surrender, its submission, requiring that it fuse with them.” “Forms of Time,” 230.

famously introduced the concept of the carnival – a re-creation of wholeness in the marketplace of the Renaissance in opposition the medieval world. This is an ideology wherein the human body is perceived solely under the sign of decay and strife, where in real-life practice there reigned a crude and dirty physical licentiousness, depravity:¹⁰³ “...carnivalization is the condition for the ultimate ‘structure of life’ that is formed by ‘behavior and cognition.’” Since the novel represents the very essence of this structured life, it includes the carnivalesque in its properly transformed shape: “...in carnival...the new mode of man’s relation to man is elaborated...these true human relations were not only a fruit of imagination or abstract thought, they were experienced. The utopian ideal and the realistic merged in this carnival experience, unique of its kind.”¹⁰⁴ In Rabelais, this relation is based on inclusive laughter, whereby “high” and “low,” official and unofficial rub shoulders, it is regenerative and destroys binary oppositions – it celebrates the exteriority of the undifferentiated, un-individualized body in all its grotesque wonder. Although Rabelais was relegated to the “low” genres in the following centuries where a vertical axis of “tastes” often deemed him unsavory and crude, he continued to have great influence on the development of the novel.

The carnival and a Rabelaisian *series* are both potently and ironically embedded in the scrapbook.¹⁰⁵ This is a specific collection containing descriptions of “the folk” in a particular space-time of culture where the carnival exists solely in the language and imagination of a capital economy. Language becomes a sublimated form of experience which ironically informs relations by regenerating through degenerating: othering. It is as if the scrapbook is a re-creation,

¹⁰³ Ibid., 171.

¹⁰⁴ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), x & 10

¹⁰⁵ “The construction of series is a specific characteristic of Rabelais’ artistic method. All these widely varied series can be reproduced to the following basic groups: 1) series of the human body, in its anatomical and physiological aspects; 2) human clothing series; 3) food series; 4) drink and drunkenness series; 5) sexual series (copulation); 6) death series; 7) defecation series.” Bakhtin, “Forms of Time,” 170.

or a working towards a re-creation of a particular carnivalesque, presenting a two-world condition – the high and low, Kelso’s worlds of woe and happiness. Yet there seems to be a nucleus and wholeness that unites these worlds in a fusion of liberal and Christian abstraction – “the community” – versus the material marketplace where physical bodies experientially mingle and participate. The marketplace in this intertextual space-time is an exclusive and guarded storehouse of symbols and images whereby the “official” invests power in order to name, delineate, and appropriate the “unofficial,” and through language and image represents it towards a program of rule. Bodies are told how and where they will participate and mingle. Within an abstracted, imaginary wholeness, the laughter of the intertextual carnival becomes programmic and exclusive, violent, ironic, tricky, and sarcastic, and a particularized grotesque realism further degrades and debases its objects while maintaining an elevated status of the official culture.¹⁰⁶ “The essential principle of grotesque realism is the degradation, that is, the lowering, of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of the earth and body in their indissoluble unity.”¹⁰⁷ In a Rabelaisian context this is applied to all folk, official and unofficial, as a means to unify, yet in the space-time of the scrapbook it is individualized whereby it is specific to a class of folk isolated and “lowered.” This is a class who seem undisciplined or awkward in interpreting their freedoms and thus threaten myths of concern and *religio*. As we see in descriptions in the scrapbooks, there is an intense preoccupation with body-culture: drunkenness, sex, food, birth, clothing, filth, anatomy, and a particular “coarseness” of the objectified class which is included as a means to subjugate towards otherness. This plays out in the descriptions of the public spaces of “the street,” the slum, and the courtroom. In a double

¹⁰⁶ “Hence the Archive is not a Bakhtinian carnival, but if it is, it takes place within the confines of Foucault’s prison.” Echevarria, 186.

¹⁰⁷ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 19.

irony, there is a striving for an abstract unity. As I explore, in the minds of their makers, these delineated, degraded, depraved, and lowered objects may indeed function in the creation of modern “life.”

Archival Fiction

Frye, Barthes, and Bakhtin cue us to read and interpret through a slight twist of the kaleidoscope which leads towards the critical theory of “Archive.” I encounter the scrapbooks not only as documents of statecraft and arts of governance, but to extend Stoler’s method, also as subjects of fables, proverb, and narrative: true fiction and dramatic evidence.¹⁰⁸ The perspectives of emotional economy and bio-politics deepen when we put them in conversation with a Derridean Freudian impression. The shepherd-flock relationship, the pulsing contours of reason, the conduct of conduct, and the themes of life and death in the context of a body politic have a long mythological and literary history that was not lost to the consciousness of the late Victorian era, its science, history, and anthropology. Roberto González Echevarria explores this in *Myth and Archive* in the context of the Latin American novel, most specifically the Picaresque novel:

The Archive is a modern myth based on an old form, a form of the beginning. The modern myth unveils the relationship between knowledge and power as contained in all previous fictions about Latin America, the ideological construct that props up the legitimacy of power from the chronicles to the current novels. The Archive keeps, culls, retains, accumulates, and classifies, like its institutional counterpart. It mounts up, amounts to the law, the law of fiction.¹⁰⁹

Similar to Ballantyne, Echevarria brings together Foucault and Bakhtin, governmentality and unity, in the “archival fiction” which he urges is a counterpoint of prison and carnival. Through his “hermeneutical model” we begin to distinguish between Kelso’s objective, material archive, and his subjective, non-material Archive. Or more specifically perhaps that his collection can be

¹⁰⁸ Derrida, 106 & 107.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 18.

read as an archival fiction – a narrated narrative – within the institution of the archives. Akin to the novel the Archive does not canonize, because the first law of the Archive is a denial, a cut that organizes and disperses.¹¹⁰ Here we uncannily imagine Kelso writing with scissors.

Echevarria’s Latin American colonial context maps archival fictions in the search for culture and identity, which he allies with anthropological discourse: “Archival fictions have not given up on the promise of anthropology, but they probe into anthropology itself, becoming a kind of ethnography of anthropology...At the same time that they undermine the bases of anthropology, archival fictions privilege the language of literature into which both the novel and anthropology take refuge.”¹¹¹ Further, he reminds us that “Ethnography is always literature. The authoritative voice of method is as literary, as fantastic, as the stories that it uncovers.”¹¹² This is an emergent theme in Chapter 7. By placing Echevarria, Stoler, Ballantyne and Burton, Taussig and Benjamin (and soon Derrida) into conversation, we can begin to think about the interplay of colonial anxieties and secrets alongside those of Kelso in the process of representing the other and the other within.¹¹³ “A mode of representing that which escapes and by doing so bring it back into line.”¹¹⁴ We may also consider the emotional factors in statecraft, specifically through the emotionality of one person’s narrative which lies between ruin and relic.¹¹⁵

Jacques Derrida’s *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* provides both unique and important access to Kelso’s collection and its emotional qualities. It permits us to consider

¹¹⁰ Derrida, 37.

¹¹¹ Echevarria, 173-4.

¹¹² Ibid., 163.

¹¹³ Ibid., 173. In this line of thought Echevarria quotes Foucault from *Archaeology of Knowledge*: “On the other hand it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak, since it is that which gives to what we can say – and to itself, the object of our discourse – its modes of appearance, its forms of existence and coexistence, its system of accumulation, historicity, and disappearance.” 172.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹¹⁵ Derrida, 108.

Kelso's archival drive and compulsion through a Freudian pane and to engage differently with the *impressions* Kelso makes. Derrida extends three meanings of archival impression: "The first impression is *scriptural* or *typographic*: that of inscription which leaves a mark at the surface or in the thickness of the substrate"¹¹⁶ It is here we can discuss Kelso's sheared articles as "circumcision"¹¹⁷ and his handwritten notes as hypomnema,¹¹⁸ the violence of the archive and its consequent culling, its memory and notation upon a Derridean subjectile. The second meaning of impression "takes on the figures of 'repression' and 'suppression' ...and inscribes an impression in language and discourse...it inflects desire or fever, their opening on the future, their dependency with respect to what will come, in short, all that ties knowledge and memory to the promise."¹¹⁹ This is the impression linked with the death drive and the future, without which there would be no desire or possibility for the archive. The third is the "Freudian Impression" left by Sigmund Freud upon our cultural understandings of memory and archive: "the history of texts and discourses, the history of religion and religion itself, the history of institutions and of sciences, in particular the history of this institutional and scientific project called psychoanalysis. Not to mention the history of history, the history of historiography."¹²⁰ Derrida urges that no one can speak of these things without conjuring Freud's impression upon them.

¹¹⁶ Derrida, 126, italics original.

¹¹⁷ This is not a provocative allusion. Says Derrida: "From a more structural point of view, circumcision is the symbolic substitute of the castration of the son by the primitive father." 42. We must remember Kelso's personal history: A fire wiped out the family's wealth in Ireland. When his father brought the family to Toronto to re-establish, he became an alcoholic and never regained the wealth or status. Jones and Rutman describe how Kelso always struggled to regain this while trying to support his family. In a Derridean reading, this "riches to rags" story is an allegory of ontological circumcision and castration.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 8.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 29-30.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 30.

Derrida compels us to think about Rooke and Schnell's bold assessment of "Kelso's low self-image,"¹²¹ his lack of respect from colleagues, accusations of his incompetence, and his low "value," against the self-obsessed and self-absorbed pulse of the scrapbook wherein Kelso foregrounds himself as the subjectile, the subject-object reflected in the archive. Derrida's psychoanalytic frame deepens Echevarria's model in working with the Archival to think through the "lasting traces of memory" that are captured and reproduced on Kelso's "Magic Notepad": "a receptive surface that is always ready, and lasting traces of the notes recorded."¹²² We can thus imagine how we are reading the materialized part of his memory as an archival narrative. Not merely Kelso's "sentiments," but more fundamentally the ersatz of the sensory organs of his mental apparatus which are informing his articulation of the archontic principles of "gathering together" signs and notating (hypomnema) into a single domiciled corpus.¹²³ Again, Derrida and Echevarria allow us to think about Kelso's collection as an archival fiction – "a re-writing of the papers of the archive"¹²⁴ – as a prosthetic of his repressions, suppressions, anxieties, wishes, and desires. In this reading we conjure the scrapbooks as a type of personal, transcendental, and political fantasy produced from the tensions between the reality principle, the pleasure principle, and the death drive which threatens to destroy the desire to archive. It is here where we encounter Derrida's definition of "archive fever": a compulsion for repetition to fend off an a priori and inevitable destruction and death.¹²⁵ By controlling and domiciling his personal archive we can imagine that Kelso's meticulous collection worked to secure a sense of self-mastery,

¹²¹ *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada; 1850-1950* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), 300. In coming to this assessment, Rooke and Schnell do not reference the scrapbooks.

¹²² Sigmund Freud, *The Penguin Freud Reader* (Penguin UK, 2006), 101 & 102.

¹²³ "...the meaning of "archive," its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, *the archons*, those who commanded." Derrida, 2.

¹²⁴ Echevarria, 180.

¹²⁵ Derrida, 12.

which Rooke and Schnell suggest was forever vulnerable and threatened due to resistance against his “mixture of sentiment, traditionalism, and in some opinions, even obstructionism.”¹²⁶

With this “Archival turn” we insert another pane with which to view the drama of the dioramas. It is here that Kelso’s “hand,” as an articulation of his sense organs, makes the substitutive imprints that give this collection its pulse and desire, and where, as an archival fiction we sense the tensions between reality and fantasy, inclusion and exclusion, art and fact, where history is always “both-and.” We are given permission to think *both* of myth, metaphor, anxiety, repression, carnival, *and* its synergy with the arts of governance, discursive formation, political economy, and statecraft. In Kelso’s project it is through his own *oikos* (economy) that we witness this “ideal configuration”¹²⁷ of law, order, history, secrets, memory, and death. Thus I conjure emotional economy as *both* a mastery of statecraft through affective knowledge *and* the mediation by Kelso’s emotion and prosthetic psychic impressions on the pages. Bio-power and bio-politics are *both* about the primacy of life over death and the limits of knowledge in a population *and* the repetitive compulsion of Kelso’s sense organs to keep the archive alive amid threats of death, political failure, and personal loss. It matters, for instance, that when we meet him in his scrapbooks at the age of 29, he had already experienced the loss of his family’s status, and two sisters.

This Archival refraction of biographical history is fertile in the questions it yields, many of which are beyond the scope of my analysis. What is of great interest is how this perspective pulls Kelso into the making of the collection, ghost-like into the present, how his notations are a *coup d’ theatre*, a breaking down of the fourth wall, turning and speaking *in camera* to us in a

¹²⁶ Rooke and Schell, 300. Rooke and Schnell seem to be referring to the mid-to-later part of his career.

¹²⁷ Derrida, 3.

private moment of revelation. Again, as Spencer says: “how the feelings of the dead control the actions of the living.”¹²⁸ It leads to a consideration of how Kelso was not merely fabricating the object of “childhood” in the scrapbook but also narrating the life of a *fantastic* liberal Protestant statesman. This collection is also working to tell the story of a young man of 29 years ambitiously working towards the man *to be*, projecting himself along the paths of George Brown, J.M. Gibson, and Dr. Thomas Barnardo: a powerful newspaper man and politician, a military hero and successful industrialist, and a famous imperial evangelical philanthropist – men of respect, power, influence, renown, and Christian kindness. This is the man that Kelso longed to be, as Jones and Rutman reveal through the intimacy of his personal journal.¹²⁹ Thus if we consider Bakhtin’s synecdochial, sacrificial, substitutive role – the isolation of the part to stand in for the whole – along with Echevarria and Derrida, we can fathom the meta-idea that Kelso is crafting an archival fiction of his own past and future through the textual taxidermy of the idealized child against its “negative”; through descriptions of children he is narrating experiential and historical tensions between his worlds of woe and happiness. It is not all imaginative and vicarious for Kelso, he has experienced both. And he expresses this viscerally by making material decisions in identifying, cutting, arranging, and pasting to both chronicle and master the narrative. It is a thickly-articulated dramatic tale: idolizing the mother, damning the fallen father, and seeking the adoration of kindly and powerful male substitutes. Derrida urges a passage *through* the Foucauldian subjective and Bakhtinian body-culture to the psychical – Eros and Thanatos, desire and death – where the archive preserves life in pursuit of unity. These are fluctuating echoes of emotional economy and bio-power, and although this is not a

¹²⁸ Herbert, 15

¹²⁹ Jones and Rutman describe how Kelso’s desire to enter journalism was sealed at the age of 13 when he glimpsed Brown, editor of the *Globe*, at Union Station in Toronto. 9.

psychoanalytic project, we cannot, as Derrida urges, deny the vitality of this Freudian Impression. This idea that the Archive is a “distorted substitute...[where] a grain of truth breathes at the heart of the delusion, of the illusion, of the hallucination, of the hauntedness...when Freud distinguishes ‘historical’ truth from ‘material’ truth.”¹³⁰ In the encounter with the scrapbooks the reader imagines how there is a gradation of prosthetic idealized substitutes: the Gibson-enacted Child > Kelso > liberal order Protestant > *Homo Europeaus*. It is a series of ersatzmen whose bodies matriculate from the malleable to the adolescent, to the adult, to the abstract. This is a series from birth to death, hope to loss, “now” to nostalgia. And back again. As I contemplate Kelso’s dioramas, I maintain in my purview a collection of panes that mediate the subject-object, each pane with its own history, interpretation of reality, and concern. The desideratum of this chapter and the two following is to delineate and examine these panes which mediate an interpretive gaze that aids in considering what is serving Kelso and what he is serving.

¹³⁰ Derrida, 88.

Chapter 2: Child-Saving Written – Historiography

A Historiographical Survey

Overview

The story of child-saving in Ontario does not begin with children or schooling, it emerges most immediately through discussions in corrections and labor. During royal commissions on prisons (1848 & 1890) and labor (1889), the testimonies and topics focused upon children and their particular place in the social fabric. It was deemed that children needed to be separated and protected, and that experiences in childhood determined what type of adult citizen one-day would emerge.¹ This was a concern about the future. Legislation and movements began under the banners of individualized intervention, protection, and moral guidance and beneath the great belief that childhood was a “dependent” life-phase. Institutions were built, re-fashioned, and became outdated in the course of the work of a new class of moral reformer who embraced and enthused this new philosophy of childhood.² Most notable among the champions of child welfare in Ontario was Kelso, who in 1893 became the first Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent

¹ “These new perceptions of childhood were influenced by Lockean epistemology and the ideas of Friedrich Froebel who likened children to plants with potential to grow versus a ‘marble being’ to be ‘pounded into shape’. This new way of conceptualizing children recognized the importance of the ‘environment’ in their emotional, physical and moral ‘growth’ and among both penal and educational reformers created a sense of hope in influencing, reforming and redirecting the destinies of children from the working and lower classes which were collectively and ostensibly regarded as the criminal class.” Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

² Toronto’s emerging middle class became a dominant force in social reform as they both felt and witnessed the social disorder on the streets. Their lifestyles and Christian values of temperance, civility and industry became the measuring rod to define what was considered ‘normal’ and moral and thus also defined what was deemed as deviant. Xiaobei Chen, *Tending the gardens of citizenship: Child saving in Toronto, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Children of the province, serving as the “friend to the children” until 1934. The forces which resulted in Kelso’s appointment have a history which can be mapped back for centuries in the imperial and Western imagination, yet a more recent date can be set at 1849, fifteen years prior to his birth in northeastern Ireland.

The Brown Commission 1848

Criminology scholars have highlighted 1849 as an historical point when the particularization of children was recognized, through the findings of the Brown Commission on Prisons (Hogeveen, Bennett, Smandych) which recommended separate institutions for juvenile offenders as a means to isolate them from adult criminals. The establishment of the Penetanguishene Reformatory for Boys in 1859, as described by Hogeveen, “signaled an emergence of a new rationality, a new way of thinking about the legal governance of deviant children.”³ This paralleled a shift in governance whereby *informal* and *classical legal governance*, which until then presided over a largely rural population, was compelled to become more *modern* and *particularistic* to reflect an urban society of growing complexity which was increasingly concerned with criminality.⁴ In mid-nineteenth century Ontario, however, the state held to the belief that the issues of its citizens should be resolved within a more private sphere and thus was still somewhat reluctant to infringe upon individual liberties.⁵

Compulsory Schooling (1850-1871)

³ Bryan Hogeveen, “‘Winning Deviant Youth Over By Friendly Helpfulness’: Transformations in the Legal Governance of Deviant Children in Canada 1857-1908,” in *Youth Justice: History, Legislation and Reform*, ed. R. Smandych (Toronto: Harcourt, 2001), 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 45-46, italics original. See also: Susan Houston, “Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience.” *History of Education Quarterly* (1972).

⁵ Hogeveen, “‘Can’t You Be A Man?’ Rebuilding Wayward Masculinities and Regulating Juvenile Deviance in Ontario 1860-1930.” Doctoral Dissertation: University of Toronto, 2003, 77.

The appeal for schooling reform resulted in the School Act of 1850 which established free schooling through property taxation and increased centralized control over education which Robert Gidney and Douglas Lawr argue represented “one of the earliest ventures of the state into the daily lives of its citizens.”⁶ Similarly, Bruce Curtis describes the reforms of Egerton Ryerson and the establishment of a centralized system which promoted a humanistic pedagogy through discipline, authorized knowledge, and surveillance through the technologies of texts, the teacher, and the school house.⁷ Nancy Christie describes Ryerson’s approach of “male statesmanship” which envisioned the responsibility of the state to “usurp parental control, with the goal of ensuring that individuality would remain subordinate to the civil order,”⁸ through a machinery of civil government which forged character and morality.⁹

Despite economic fluxes which produced high levels of familial transience and irregular attendance, compulsory schooling and its attendant forms, observes Curtis, was largely naturalized by the 1870s.¹⁰ Accordingly, Comacchio describes how “childhood slowly became a time of schooling rather than work,”¹¹ with the role of children shifting from “producer” to “pupil.”¹² Notably, what emerged from compulsory schooling were new social categories which created the “good” and “bad” parent, and a class of truant child (mainly “lower class” urban) who was deemed incorrigible and beyond the reach of the school. These “street Arabs” and

⁶ As quoted in Lazerson, “Canadian Educational Historiography: Some Observations,” in *Egerton Ryerson and His Times*, ed. N. McDonald and A. Chaiton (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), 6.

⁷ *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: Falmer Press, 1988).

⁸ *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁰ For other examinations of the rise of schooling and the role of the state see: Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), and Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

¹¹ 15.

¹² Smandych.

“urchins” became powerful symbols who provided stark definitions of “neglect” and “vagrant.”¹³ As displays of “ignorance” by this class could now be more easily defined as delinquent they could be legislated against on moral grounds. These realities revealing the failures of compulsory education for particular children strengthened the argument for the establishment of industrial schools, a distinct institution which would posture itself between the public school and the reformatory.¹⁴

The Industrial School Movement (1874-1887)

Influenced by movements in Massachusetts and New York, early promoters of industrial schools did not foresee the schools replacing the family; rather they envisioned a day school with a “domestic mission” whose values would be brought home each night by the students as a means to positively influence their families toward future actions.¹⁵ A school board committee of trustees, however, believed that for the schools to be effective, children had to be removed entirely from their “objectionable” surroundings and thus did not support the day school approach. These differences of philosophy and opinion coupled with cost uncertainties, an economic downturn in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and Premier Oliver Mowat’s cautious social policy mandate and preference for charitable funding stalled the establishment of an industrial school for nearly a decade.¹⁶ In 1884 the Industrial Schools Act was amended to allow school boards to transfer responsibility to philanthropic societies for the establishment, control, and management of industrial schools.¹⁷ In 1886, the Victoria Industrial School (VIS) in Mimico

¹³ Houston, “Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency,” 256.

¹⁴ Richard Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario 1791-1893: A Study of Public Welfare Administration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965)

¹⁵ Splane, 80.

¹⁶ Hogeveen, “Can’t You be a Man”; Splane.

¹⁷ Paul Bennett, “Turning Bad Boys into Good Citizens: The Reforming Impulse of Toronto’s Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920s”. *Ontario History*, (September 1986), 209-232; Splane (1965).

was opened and welcomed its first boy on June 14, 1887,¹⁸ with the belief that it held the greatest promise for reforming and preventing juvenile delinquency.¹⁹

British Home Children (1868-1925)

Beginning in 1868, British child-savers – most famously Dr. Thomas Barnardo – began sending destitute children to Canada under indentures as agricultural labourers and domestic servants.²⁰ The movement was deemed a social safety-valve for Britain, and an evangelical promise to both the children and the new nation of Canada who required labour for its future growth and prosperity.²¹ As early as 1875 with the publication of the Doyle Report, there was concern that the children were not adequately cared for or supervised, and that they were merely cheap labour for Canadian farmers.²² Furthermore, many Canadians resented that their land was the dumping ground for the Mother Country's gutter children and feared that the children were a font of physical contagion and moral corruption.²³ Despite Doyle's report and the strong sentiments of many Canadians, the scheme grew and continued until 1924 (in total eighty thousand children were sent).²⁴ The Home Children became vital to the discussion on native-born child welfare; they were regularly discussed in reports on crime and labour, and became controversial symbols for how to craft domestic policies and common sense. As Sutherland notes, "Indeed, as Kelso himself acknowledged, Barnardo and other placement programs eventually served as one of the

¹⁸ Bennett, 215.

¹⁹ Hogeveen, "'The Evils with Which We are Called to Grapple': Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto's Working-Class Boy Problem, 1860-1930." *Labour/Le Travail*, no.55 (2005), 56

²⁰ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 11.

²¹ Parr, 27.

²² Parr; Sutherland.

²³ Sutherland, 30.

²⁴ Parr, 11. Other estimates are as high as 110,000.

models for Ontario's system of care of neglected and dependent children."²⁵ Splane observes more broadly that, "the placing of immigrant children on this scale must have helped materially in preparing the public in Ontario for the role it would be called upon to play after 1893 in meeting the need for good homes for local children who were growing up without proper parental care."²⁶

The Child-Saving Movement (Beginning in 1887)

A socially benevolent zeitgeist in Toronto beginning in 1886²⁷ allowed Kelso, a young newspaper reporter, to establish the Humane Society of Toronto in 1887, whose mandate was for the protection and proper treatment of animals. After Kelso was personally moved by the plight of two young street vagrants he decided to include children in the mandate of the Society,²⁸ which was reflective of earlier movements in the United States. Beverley Jones joined Kelso and other members of the Society in an effort to strengthen child welfare institutions and reform the court system. The result was the passing of the Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children in 1888, which permitted the courts to commit neglected children under fourteen years to any institution or charitable society and to try youthful offenders separate from adults. This act, according to Paul Bennett, "clearly affirmed the role of child welfare institutions, proposed a new system of trials for juvenile offenders, and established public responsibility for the maintenance and reformation of 'neglected children' in all types of children's institutions."²⁹

²⁵ Sutherland, 34.

²⁶ Splane, 260.

²⁷ See: Mariana Valverde with regards to the social purity movement. *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008) – discussed below.

²⁸ Bennett.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

The child-saving movement, led by Kelso, worked with the industrial schoolers between 1886 and 1891 to establish numerous programs and reforms including playgrounds, a school for truants, the licensing and lodging of newsboys, and the Fresh Air Fund.³⁰ Despite these collaborations the child-savers adopted a new and different philosophy regarding child welfare which promoted a child-centred approach endorsing the placement of neglected children in supportive and loving homes of volunteers instead of institutions such as industrial schools, which they viewed as a temporary intervention at best. Institutions were now viewed as producers of charitable automatons, failing to educate children in ways of self-sufficiency and individual responsibility: needs for the future. This movement was a reflection of a grander societal change during the late 1880s and 1890s which saw many middle-class English Canadians concerned over the rearing of children.³¹ The impact of these new ideals had a significant influence on education, health care, city planning, corrections, and immigration as Canadians worked to create a “new childhood for a new society.”³² This profound shift served to strengthen Kelso’s influence and those of the Humane Society.

The movements in Toronto for the more humane treatment of animals and children, along with the Prisoner’s Aid Association (PAA) gained the attention of the province which, in 1890, appointed J.W. Langmuir, a retired prison inspector, to head the Royal Commission on the Prison and Reformatory System of Ontario. Its purpose was to collect information regarding correctional problems but also encompassed those relating to the causes of crime and delinquency, the improvement of the industrial schools, and the rescue of destitute children from

³⁰ Sutherland; Bennett.

³¹ Jones and Rutman.

³² *Ibid.*, 27.

criminal careers.³³ According to Richard Splane, “The commission was perhaps the most important single event in advancing public knowledge and official action respecting child welfare.”³⁴

Both the industrial schoolers and the child-savers made pleas before the commission. The industrial school advocates urged that the VIS should be a model for such schools to be built across the province in establishing a new child welfare model. In an effort to ameliorate the plight of neglected children, Kelso proposed a new child welfare system based on voluntary associations whose mandate would be to protect children from cruel parents and thus prevent criminality and proposed the appointment of probation officers for youth offenders.³⁵ The commission’s report released in 1891 favored both the industrial schools and the child-saving movement by recommending “a province-wide network of compulsory industrial day schools and a new province-wide system of voluntary supporting child welfare associations.”³⁶ The commission also recommended that compulsory schooling be more heavily enforced.³⁷

Kelso capitalized on the momentum of the commission’s report to improve on and reinvent the goals of the Humane Society by establishing the Toronto Children’s Aid Society in 1891. Its objectives were “to care for and protect neglected children; to secure the enactment and enforcement of laws relating to neglected children or juvenile offenders; to provide free summer excursions and other means of recreation or pleasure for poor children; and, generally, to advocate the claims of neglected children upon the sympathy and support of the public.”³⁸

³³ Splane.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 268

³⁵ Jones and Rutman.

³⁶ Bennett, 223.

³⁷ Sutherland, 110.

³⁸ Jones and Rutman, 58.

Kelso's efforts were also a catalyst for the passing of the 1893 Act for Prevention of Cruelty to, and Better Protection of Children (The Gibson Act) which legislated for the placement of neglected and dependent children in voluntary foster scenarios in the care of "motherly and fatherly" people instead of institutions.³⁹ This Act granted powers to remove children from their parents, and under the "unflinching efforts" of Kelso, paved the way for the profound proliferation of Children's Aid Societies across the province which grew to 60 chapters by 1907.⁴⁰

Kelso & Child-Saving Literature

This brief history of the emergence of child-saving in Ontario sets the stage to speak in greater detail of child-saving literature and Kelso. He wrote the majority of its history until the early twentieth century (1903, 1907, 1908, 1911). As he notes, these publications were intended for the use of child-care workers and the preservation of the movement's history.⁴¹ His 1911, *Early History of the Humane and Children's Aid Movement in Ontario, 1886-1893*, is largely about himself, and his vocational shift from "Journalism to Philanthropy." It is a collage of newspaper articles, poems, correspondence, and anecdotal stories and iconography of pathos and rescue wherein he is firmly embedded as a protagonist and author (reflective of his scrapbooks). He concludes with his appointment as superintendent in 1893 and says to readers: "The subsequent history of this great philanthropic movement will be found in the eighteen Annual Reports issued by the Children's Branch of Public Service."⁴² Kelso penned all of these. Ian Bain takes up

³⁹ Bennett, 223.

⁴⁰ Comacchio, 55; Sutherland, 112.

⁴¹ Kelso, 1911.

⁴² Foreward

Kelso and child-saving in his 1955 social work master's thesis,⁴³ which Richard Splane relies upon in his 1965 examination of public administration. Splane's highly detailed empirical study which includes the development of children's welfare remains an important text in understanding the social changes in Ontario from 1791 to 1893. Splane describes Kelso as an ambitious, able leader who possessed the qualities to be the Province's first superintendent.

Anthony Platt's *The Child-Savers: The Invention of Delinquency* emerged amidst a corpus of work which critiqued the progressivist interpretations of a benevolent child welfare policy and asked questions about the emergence of institutions and the interests they served.⁴⁴ Platt defines child-saving as "a symbolic movement which seemed to be defending the sanctity of fundamental institutions – the nuclear family, the agricultural community, Protestant nativism, women's domesticity, parental discipline, and the assimilation of immigrants."⁴⁵ Platt's study focusses most specifically upon Illinois, although his themes of delinquency, penology, and maternal justice bear a striking resemblance to concerns in Ontario. Moreover, much of the language and ideas which circulated during this time was formed by the Conferences on Charities and Corrections of the United States, of which Kelso attended, presented at, became an assistant secretary of in 1897, and hosted in Toronto in 1898. Further, he established an Ontario Child-Saving Conference in 1894 and was the vice-president of the Canadian Conference on Charities beginning in 1898. He includes many artifacts from these events in Volume 1 of the scrapbooks.

⁴³ "The Role of J.J. Kelso in the Launching of the Child Welfare Movement in Ontario" (M.S.W. thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1955).

⁴⁴ Hogeveen, "The Evils with Which We are Called to Grapple": Élite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto's Working-Class Boy Problem, 1860-1930." *Labour/Le Travail* (2005), 40.

⁴⁵ Platt, 74.

Neil Sutherland's *Children in English Canadian-Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* is an exhaustive study which provides a broad and comprehensive perspective of the changing attitudes towards children beginning in 1870. He notes Kelso's place in the elevation of the family towards the creation of a "new society." He examines child-saving work in greater detail and credits Kelso as an "innovator,"⁴⁶ and "the key person in [its] early activity,"⁴⁷ discussing his skills of writing and speaking in arousing the emotions of an audience, and his persistent promotion of the wholesome family environment as panacea.⁴⁸ Following from this, Sutherland traces Kelso's shifting perceptions on childhood institutions, and henceforth his actions towards their decline in favour of a voluntary fostering system within good Christian homes. Sutherland also comments upon the life-long zeal of child advocates, like Kelso, who moved "back and forth easily from their own particular interest to the Social Gospel...and displayed the personal ambition that was one of the driving forces in the reform movement."⁴⁹

Child-saving is examined through juridical and criminological lenses in the work of Hogeveen, Smandych, and Chunn. Hogeveen discusses Kelso's focus upon a myriad of objects such as immoral parents, "the streets," and cigarettes, as a means to identify threats to middle-class norms, and in an effort to validate systems to remove children to institutions such as the VIS, "to control dangerous youth and, in the process, solidify privileged class position."⁵⁰ Through his Foucauldian analysis of governmentality and juvenile justice in Ontario, Hogeveen discusses Kelso's "discursive rhetoric...which influenced a transition in legal governance that turned the general responsible and rational individual...into a manufactured child deviant who,

⁴⁶ Sutherland, 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 112.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 238.

⁵⁰ Hogeveen, "The Evils With Which We are Called to Grapple," 48.

through a through administrative investigation of the child's life, could be cured of his or her maladaptation."⁵¹ Thus Hogeveen situates Kelso within the normalization project of childhood behaviour which he argues was shared in late-nineteenth century Ontario.⁵² Chunn discusses Kelso within the frame of the family court system and considers him a "transitional figure" who "exemplified the social reformer in Ontario prior to 1918."⁵³ His pressure for a voluntary social-work and juvenile-justice approach dwindled against a strengthening legal discourse, and a weakening ability to express dissent and agitate for reform as a government agent.⁵⁴

Joy Parr's *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924*, only mentions Kelso twice in her detailed study; however it remains a vital work on the perspectives and practices of the British evangelical child-savers who influenced Ontario's policies and views on native-born children. Parr's study is as much about Ontario as it is a description of Old World slums, as she describes the conception of the salvation of the New World's rural paradise, lending heuristic insight to the concept of "the country" so richly woven into Kelso's language and child-saving discourse. Through Parr, we more clearly understand Ontario's situation during the era, the young Province's needs and attitudes, and the place of poor children in the Imperial family and mid-to-late Victorian reform ideology. Moreover, we gain a deeper perspective on the fierce discussions that emerged through Home Children across the circles of labour, corrections, and child-saving which was regular fodder in newspaper articles that informed common sense attitudes towards children. Most specifically, Parr is essential in the examination of "the question" of the British Home children. Parr opens up the

⁵¹ "Winning Deviant Youth Over," 60.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 59.

⁵³ *From Punishment to Doing Good: Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

discussion to reflect upon the greater Imperial relations and cultural traffic at work in the Provincial movement and the role of the precarious waifs who functioned as other to the emergent late-Victorian Ontario child.

Charlotte Neff's work on nineteenth-century destitute children in Ontario provides a sharp perspective on the development of child welfare through description of the systems which managed needy children since 1799. Most interestingly, Neff notes how the passage of the 1893 Act and Kelso's appointment as superintendent did not necessarily alter how the Province managed neglected children, observing: "Many of the details of the system he designed were new to Ontario, but they fit well with what had gone before. The definition of a child in need of protection had been evolving in legislation for at least a quarter century, arguably since the 1799 Act [to provide for the Education and Support of Orphan Children]."⁵⁵ Neff does not credit Kelso as an innovator, and describes his growing critique of institutions, and his emergent fostering system as a refashioning of sentiments and apprentice legislations that had existed for a century.⁵⁶

Similarly, yet suggesting some innovation on the part of Kelso, John Bullen observes the emergence of "new" child-saving and describes both its positive and negative characteristics. He notes that most late-century child-savers, and many later historians emphasized the positive aspects of the changes which sought to protect neglected and dependent children, while, akin to Platt and Hogeveen, says that "other aspects of child welfare remained constant: the overwhelming dominance of middle-class reformers and... the desire to preserve the class structure of society and feed the demands of industrial capitalism by transforming dependent

⁵⁵ "Government Approaches to Child Neglect and Mistreatment in Nineteenth-century Ontario." *Histoire sociale/Social history*, 41, 81 (2008), 214.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

children into industrious and compliant workers.”⁵⁷ Bullen’s examination of the child-saving movement concludes by asserting that it was largely a cost-saving program in the amelioration of a social problem, and ostensibly a system instituting unpaid/underpaid servitude within in a “natural family” setting without the benefits of inheritance. It failed to provide the educational rights written into the legislation, and failed in preparing urban children for rural life. Bullen describes Kelso as an enthusiastic reformer whose rhetoric and visions promised salvation, yet played out very differently in practice.⁵⁸ This is reminiscent of Mariana Valverde’s assessment of Kelso’s “inimitable flair for visualizing easy solutions to large problems.”⁵⁹

Valverde’s discursive analysis of the “social purity movement” in Canada from 1885 to 1925, follows Foucault’s emphasis on the knowledge and identities which emerge from the discourse on sexuality,⁶⁰ asserting that “sexual morality was the main target of the social purity movement, but the purity campaign has to be understood in the context of a larger project to solve the problems of poverty, crime, and vice.”⁶¹ Valverde describes the shift whereby “charity” became pejorative and “philanthropy” took over in a socio-political milieu which saw private and professional initiatives take precedent over state-sponsored policies within liberal-democratic governance.⁶² Valverde discusses how the well-educated urban English Canadians who led these movements “were definitely learning from English, and increasingly, American sources,”⁶³ who enthused their ideas with the production of books, pamphlets, and lectures.⁶⁴ She

⁵⁷ “J.J. Kelso and the ‘New’ Child-savers: The Genesis of the Children’s Aid Movement in Ontario.” *Ontario History*, 82, 2 (1990), 109.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ 47.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶³ Valverde, 16.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

devotes very little attention to Kelso, yet mentions his use of the epistemological metaphor of “sunlight” in his rhetoric with regards to clearing the slums of vice.⁶⁵

Xiaobei Chen’s *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto, 1880s-1920s*, details the emergence of the child-saving movement through a Foucauldian analysis of governance, power, and systems of differentiation. Methodologically Chen examines Kelso’s journals of his own day-to-day child-saving activities in 1893-1894, his diaries, and manuscripts of his speeches in order to trace his thinking on child saving and juvenile delinquency, although Kelso is not the focus of this study and his role in historical events is not Chen’s concern.⁶⁶ Most interestingly, she weaves Kelso into the discourse and details his role in the technologies of record-keeping, architecture, rhetoric, and media towards the goal of a maternal-centered approach to child care.

Chen examines child-saving as an action of knowledge generation to shape parenting conduct, “so that parents in turn would guide and regulate their child’s conduct in proper ways”⁶⁷ towards internal regulation and proper citizenship. In this era of Donzelot’s “the social” Chen evokes Foucault’s notion of bio-power whereby individual conduct within the population becomes tied to national progress. In this productive discourse, “life” is protected and preserved towards future goals and prosperity. In her analysis of the class basis of child-saving, and the examination of the language of “cruelty” and “neglect,” Chen asserts: “the contradictions between the ideal form of parenting and economic realities became the defining characteristic of what the child savers referred to as child abuse and neglect.”⁶⁸ This differentiation was part of

⁶⁵ Ibid., 134 & 137.

⁶⁶ Chen, 5.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁸ Chen, 13.

the same process that saw the middle-class reformers imposing their values upon working-class communities, not to transform the latter into the former, but rather as a process to re-affirm the bourgeois identity (echoing Platt, Chunn, Hogeveen, Bullen, Jones & Rutman, and Christie – discussed below). Chen’s work is important in fostering a greater understanding of Kelso’s place in childhood governance and parental pedagogy as they related to the blurry poles of cruelty (i.e. the immoral use of force) and neglect (i.e. not enough discipline).

Rooke and Schnell’s *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada (1800-1950)* employs the conceptual framework of Philippe Aries’ *Centuries of Childhood*⁶⁹ to examine dependent child life in Canada. Accordingly they analyze the “concept of childhood into the criteria of dependence, separation, protection, and delayed responsibilities.”⁷⁰ Rooke and Schnell argue that the modern concept of childhood gained the power of an “ideology” which enabled it to be independent of political and economic systems. “The ideology of nineteenth century child savers, whose roots can be discerned in the humanist tradition and the emerging class consciousness of the post-reformation, was made possible by the two major shifts in western sensibility. The first is the shift that represents the discovery of childhood itself – the belief that “a redeemed childhood means a redeemed generation.”⁷¹ The second was “the belief in progress and in man’s improvability, if not perfectibility” emergent from Arminian theological beliefs which inspired evangelical reforms of rescue and prevention.⁷² This exhaustive study is valuable in its analyses of the roles of Protestant Orphan’s Homes, and thus women, British juvenile immigration, and the changes from institutional to foster care.

⁶⁹ Rooke and Schnell note the (often-cited) failure of Aries’ work in failing to “extend his argument of his time period into the century of popular schooling for working class children.” 16.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 14.

Rooke and Schnell are concerned with the sentiments and practices which segregated and protected children and youth from the “rigors of adult life,”⁷³ and similar to Neff, discuss the various ways in which children were placed, bound, and indentured with families long before the Gibson Act.

Rooke and Schnell emphatically pose the question: “KELSO – HELP OR HINDRANCE?” and in discussion note how Kelso was a constraint that cannot be overlooked.⁷⁴ “Kelso was a child saver more in the old mode of personalism, sentimentality, spontaneous charity and less in the emerging one of organization, method, and the application of scientific or professional principles.” They boldly declare:

There is no need to resort to sophisticated and convoluted psychological or personality theories to support claims regarding Kelso’s low self-image. The records he left behind testify to them. So much of the laudatory comment regarding his work, the introduction of child care innovations he claimed to have initiated, and the analyses of his historical significance were written by himself in a poignant attempt to win recognition for his work and respect from his colleagues and the public. The former cash boy for Timothy Eaton’s in 1876 was, in effect, out of his depth some four decades later. Moreover, Kelso was fully cognizant of the embarrassment he caused some of the social work professionalizers because of his mixture of sentiment, traditionalism, and in some opinions, even obstructionism.⁷⁵

Rooke and Schnell balance the examination of their leading question by noting the Province’s indifference for Kelso’s position and task. “Kelso’s salary, for example, remained so paltry as to once again reflect governmental parsimony and attitudes toward child care services.”⁷⁶ They continue: “Perhaps the choice of Kelso for the position was not an error of judgement at all but rather a cynical and astute political move to keep child welfare problems in the background so that it would not unduly call upon the provincial purse. Although many were arguing that children were ‘the nation’s greatest asset,’ in truth both public and government alike at no time

⁷³ 252.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 298.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 304.

have seen dependent children as anything but unprofitable and unproductive.”⁷⁷ Similar to Rooke and Schnell, Jones and Rutman discuss how “Kelso started duty as superintendent under strained circumstances” bereft of “an office, desk, chair, or stationary.” Furthermore “Kelso was not given secretarial or clerical assistance until two years after his appointment and during this time he conducted his correspondence by hand...During the first two years his superintendency was strictly a one-man show...The limited resources granted to Kelso contrasted with his extensive responsibilities.”⁷⁸

Jones and Rutman’s *In the Children’s Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* is the first (and only) study which examines Kelso’s personal life, ambitions, and failures alongside his work. They examine his personal fonds, letters, and journals to present “the man” through his work and suggest insights into his great ambition, frustrations, decisions, and shortcomings. They describe how Kelso was born into wealth in Dundalk Ireland, with each of the ten Kelso children having a servant girl to tend to their needs. The family was largely unaffected by the calamity of the Great Famine which struck Ireland between 1845 and 1849, yet after a fire destroyed his father’s starch mill, George Kelso came to Toronto in the hopes of re-establishing a middle-class life. Anna Kelso cared for the family in his four year absence. In late fall of 1874 she and the children joined George in Toronto where in the first year they were forced to sell many of their fine belongings to help afford their run-down rented home. Misery and difficulties deepened that first winter when 12-year old Elizabeth Kelso died after a short illness. George and Anna struggled to gain economic and social footing, yet the family never again achieved their comfortable middle-class status. In their self-reliant struggle to adjust to a lower standard of

⁷⁷ Rooke and Schnell, 305.

⁷⁸ Jones and Rutman, 66-7.

living they found themselves socially cut-off, lonely, and at times humiliated as Anna refused offers of charity, fearing the stigma of British Poor Law relief.⁷⁹ The study describes George's "reduced circumstances" and eventual struggle with alcohol which placed much of the family burden upon Anna who "became the driving force behind the family's efforts to make it in Toronto."⁸⁰ Jones and Rutman describe how at barely 11 years of age Kelso dedicated himself to easing his mother's burden by getting a job at a bookstore on King Street whose sign advertised for a 'Smart Boy.' He left school at 13 and found a job as an apprentice printer and worked in this trade for 7 years, qualifying as a journeyman printer in 1884. His growing interest in journalism was deepened by Kelso's spotting of Toronto *Globe* editor George Brown at Union Station one lunch hour.⁸¹ Jones and Rutman describe how Kelso eventually became the family's main supporter and suggest that the struggle to achieve the family's former standing largely motivated Kelso's profound ambition and forever pre-occupied and frustrated him. As superintendent he was never pleased with his position, his salary, or the amount of credit given to him.⁸² They describe Kelso's longings to be a writer and to be an important person worthy of praise.

Similarly to Splane and Sutherland, Jones & Rutman refer to Kelso as an innovator, effective at publicity and promotion, but do not credit him as being a novel statesman or an

⁷⁹ Jones and Rutman, 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸¹ Jones and Rutman, 9.

⁸² In the *Scrapbooks* vol. 12, 85, a February 1896 article includes an excerpt from Kelso's annual report: "It showed that while the Children's Protection Act had only cost \$6,000 during the past two years, about \$25,000 had been saved to the municipalities." Beneath Kelso writes (*I had to do all the work at a starvation salary and without adequate allowances for expenses. A great hardship and injustice. JJK*). In Volume 15 Kelso's salary becomes a topic of debate. From the *World*, March 12, 1900, page 50: "JJ Kelso's friends are trying to increase the value of his sinecure in Toronto." By October 1900, page 101, the *World* headlined "A Check on Kelso." Beneath he writes: *note – at that time the World had on its staff an ardent Roman Catholic who took every opportunity to minimize and ridicule my work. [Illegible] he was strongly opposed my getting an increase of salary, and his efforts were successful, sad to say. JJK. Whenever we met he was most friendly and assured me of his personal regard.*

independent thinker.⁸³ Differently than Rooke and Schnell however they state that “undisputedly, Kelso was the chief architect and builder of Ontario’s child welfare system.”⁸⁴ They discuss his skills in arousing an issue, and gathering support among the elite, government officials and the middle class, and using his eloquence and oratory skills to persuade consensus within a particular reform philosophy: “Energetic, respectable middle-class voluntary workers, assisted by trained professionals, backed by the wealth and prestige of the social and economic elite, and armed with statutory powers – these were the forces primarily relied on to reform Canadian society.”⁸⁵ Jones and Rutman quickly continue: “In his overall strategy there was, however, no place for the participation of the poor. Kelso viewed the poor in an essentially patronizing manner.”⁸⁶ This assertion echoes Nancy Christie who says of Kelso: “His chief aim was not to combat poverty; rather, he saw the normalizing of family life as an essentially Christian endeavour and thus saw the spiritual comforts of religion as more important than the material comforts of charitable giving.”⁸⁷

Christie’s *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* lends fresh and influential insight into the language of Kelso and situates him within the greater Protestant evangelical culture which unevenly reigned during this era. Differently than the child-saving historiography and the more biographical work of Jones and Rutman, Christie’s thoughts on Kelso evoke a missionary whose Protestant zeal paralleled that of the state, who promoted his movement through “the expanding authority of the mainline Protestant churches.”⁸⁸ Kelso championed the right to enter the private spaces of the home when parents had failed to fulfill

⁷⁶ Jones and Rutman, 179.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Christie, “Engendering the State,” 24.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

their duties to the state, which Kelso articulated as a “moral” failure.⁸⁹ Thus, believes Christie, he was a government agent and proselytizer in the same moment; the rearing of proper citizenship and evangelical conversion met the same ends. Christie argues that Kelso was more concerned with “saving” in the evangelical sense, rather than a physical “saving” from the working-class slums.⁹⁰ Christie notes the generational evangelical difference between Egerton Ryerson and Kelso through the latter’s leanings towards a late-nineteenth-century liberal humanitarian philosophy which did not envisage the state as an external patriarch to forge parental responsibility. Rather, according to Kelso, its role was to *reinforce* individual virtue through the promotion of maternal care and affection (akin to Chen’s thesis). Christie situates Kelso in the current of maternal feminism, a late-nineteenth-century shift which placed the mother as the head of the home, and hence responsible for moral/national well-being. This shift effected a need for greater incursions into the private sphere and new critiques of female morality.⁹¹ Accordingly Christie describes, “The discourse about the new reconstituted family, with a partially public mother and a partially domesticated father.”⁹² I explore this familial change through the discussion of the curfew bell in Chapter 8.

Theory of a Colonial Past

The current work provides a varied perspective on the emergence of child-saving and Kelso’s role in its promotion. There is much literature on child welfare in Ontario although work specific to analyses of child-saving discourse, and more so Kelso, is not vast. Moreover, the current literature does not examine its discourse through the context of educating public sentiment. As

⁸⁹ Ibid., 22.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 25.

⁹¹ For a further discussion see Valverde.

⁹² Christie, “Engendering the State,” 32.

mentioned above the scrapbooks have not been specifically examined nor given any import in the current literature. Indeed, as they are a collection of available documents, particular parts have been employed in the semblance of historical and critical perspectives. For instance newspaper articles and excerpts that appeared in official releases, annual reports, and Ontario Sessional Papers. As well Jones and Rutman reference the scrapbooks as sources. However as an archive and a distinct corpus of one person's work the potential internal power of the scrapbooks has not been explored. As the literature on Kelso suggests, ambition and promotional skills were his defining characteristics. I examine these public attributes through a collection of public artifacts assembled within the private form of a scrapbook. As scrapbooks are a form of telling stories and preserving memory for the future, I examine an aesthetic productivity when the fragmented material contents, collected from across Ontario, were "re-printed" and narrated within an intimate, personal space and how this process effected and affected public discourse and common sense thinking. Thus, I am interested in examining how the scrapbooks work towards a portrait – an archival fiction – of an Ontarian version of a "making and affirmation of a bourgeois self,"⁹³ through an analysis of the "ingredients" available to Kelso in his particular space-time. In other words, exploring the very simple questions: What is Kelso serving? and What is serving Kelso?

These questions become complex and difficult to pull-apart when considered through an imperial and tripartite lens. Stoler and Cooper remind us: "Whole bodies of administrative strategy, ethnographic classification, and scientific knowledge were shared and compared in a consolidating imperial world."⁹⁴ More specifically, Stoler observes, "Experiments in social

⁹³ Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*.

⁹⁴ Stoler and Frederick Cooper. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Stoler and Cooper (University of California Press, 1997), 28.

reform and child welfare were played out across a transnational and imperial field.”⁹⁵ That Britain and America were informative to Ontario’s state formation is well documented.

However, to quote Christie at length:

With a few important recent exceptions, Canadian social and cultural history has worked from the premise that Canadian society was a self-sufficient entity. Its foundational context was thus eviscerated, the analysis of the way in which English, Scottish, Irish, French, and American cultural mores and social folkways overlapped, recombined, and conflicted in the New World environment did not enter the mainstream of historical discussion and practice among Canadian historians.⁹⁶

Further, Christie asserts: “It is crucially important for historians to theorize a colonial past which avoids the distortions of the nationalist narrative.”⁹⁷ With Christie I am interested in a culturally-historical conversation. With Stoler, Geertz, and Clifford I approach this through an ethnographic encounter with the scrapbooks.

The current literature is valuable in mapping the institutional and governance shifts which moved children from institutions and into the community, and thus the shifts in the concepts of the public and private. Thinking genealogically, it seems that in this “progress” there was a looking back to older forms and laterally to off-shore and over-the-border forms. Moving forward required reaching back, to the side, and down for ideas and formations to compel the movement into the future. I imagine an interpretive dance versus a cadent, clean march. I discuss this aesthetic in Chapter 5. What is of interest is the examination of the emergence of new hybrid forms that were redolent of imperial projects and middle age customs which migrated to Ontario where they mixed through local attrition and accommodation with autochthonous forms of Protestant Evangelicalism and a liberal applied Christianity within the Social Gospel. These forms, practices, and projects were all mindful of affective and emotional factors in “moving and

⁹⁵ “Tense and Tender Ties,” 852.

⁹⁶ “Theorizing a Colonial past,” 15.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

shocking” people through conversion, compliance, and diffusion. Thus, I am interested in exploring Foucauldian “bio-power” as an emotional process through the animation of objects through the power of language to contact, gain corporeal understanding, and sensual relation: the power of novelistic portrayal and re-telling in the scrapbooks, where Echevarria would suggest that Foucault and Bakhtin rub shoulders – the zone of maximal contact in everyday relations. As Stoler observes, “...Foucault’s ‘biopolitics’ provides not an abstract model, but one analytic tool for asking grounded questions about whose bodies and selves were made vulnerable when, why, and how – and whose were not.”⁹⁸ Following Taussig, who invokes Walter Benjamin, I am interested in the question: “In the process of portraying an object, how does one become the object of study?”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Stoler, “Matters of Intimacy,” 894.

⁹⁹ Taussig, 8.

Chapter 3: An Ontario Archive – Culture

Christian Colony

Inspired by Nancy Christie, encounters with the scrapbooks have demanded that I evoke the refraction of the Protestant Culture in Ontario and include it as a pane in the dioramas.¹ It emerges in the language often as a specter and at other times with glorified force, as a reflection of the interplay of the secular and the sacred that was both immanent and changing in Ontario's worldview. In the current historiography, religion is often described as a vital part of the cultural reality of nineteenth-century Upper Canada and Ontario. When "culture" is considered as a method of explaining and making sense of place and time and a pattern of interpretation,² Protestantism is no longer merely "a part" of the greater culture, it is a foundation for how people perceived history and time – past, present, and future: "Protestantism not only shaped how people saw God, it also shaped the culture through which that society interpreted the world."³ And in this way, through necessity and accommodation, English Canada was unique in the imperial and transatlantic world.⁴ Ontario Protestantism took on a different flavour than that of Scotland, Britain, and America. It was forged from Awakening before Enlightenment,⁵ and was autochthonously bereft of binding war or inspired revolution. It was articulated through a

¹ Specifically her brief comments on Kelso in *Engendering the State*, and Christie and Gauvreau *A Full Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*.

² William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 13.

³ *Ibid*, 13.

⁴ "...But the events witnessed by upper Canadians during the early Victorian period drew local and external forces together in a way that did not happen elsewhere, and their conjunction brought the larger currents of international affairs into a specific and singular environment. The consequences were genuinely important and perhaps unique. The transformation of the old establishment created an essential component of the new Protestant alliance that gave this region a truly distinctive character." *Ibid*, 84.

⁵ See Michael Gauvreau *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression* - discussed below.

cautious reverent rationality based solely in scripture, and a mid-century Gothic architecture that set in stone the Romanticism of the Golden Age of Christianity of Medieval Times. This historical process reared the Romantic Protestant Hero, whose mission was not only personal salvation, yet also the saving of others through the articulation of a private and emotional conversion to God into the social world. The mission of this public penitent was to help in the building of the “progressive” Kingdom of God on earth, working towards the moment when sacred time would prevail over secular time. This eschatological shift in the dispensation of time was the new “post-millennial” interpretation which motivated and projected into the future. It worked to prevent and save English Canada from the burning passions of an incendiary individual emotionalism whose cataclysmic conversion moment was encouraged in the liminal lacuna between childhood and adulthood. An ontological space that would eventually be constructed at the dawn of the twentieth century as “adolescence.”

Michael Gauvreau’s *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression* describes the history and influence of the Methodist and Presbyterian perspectives in the grain of the English Canadian cultural milieu in the nineteenth-century. Gauvreau discusses how English Canada was different in its transatlantic relations, and how it differently perceived reason. It did not define or translate reason through the secular filters of the Enlightenment, its moral philosophy, or speculative inquiry; rather it was religion, more specifically an evangelical creed, which rejected the primacy of human reason and lauded the arbiter of faith, and maintained a mindful balance between intellect and piety: “Only the living reality of the Christian faith could guide the search for truth.”⁶ What is specific to English Canada is the supremacy of empirical theology in the cultural fabric; its power to

⁶ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 34.

interpret and guide history, philosophy, and science within a factual biblical frame. All forms of rational inquiry were “subordinate to the central doctrines of the bible”⁷ through the Baconian method of induction which protected against speculation, theories, hypotheses, and intellectual anarchy that was observed emerging from Germany and taking intellectual hold in the universities and salons of Europe and Northeast America. These institutions were not culturally established in Ontario’s more recent settler past. The empiricism of the method ensured a scientific emphasis on objective facts – scriptural, biblical facts – which, divinely revealed, “were superior to those of nature, philosophy, or science, which were discovered by human reason, not disclosed by God. The Bible and its doctrines were thus immune from alternation or criticism, and provided the immutable principles that validated all other forms of inquiry, and sustained progress and civilization.”⁸

The precepts of the English, Continental, and Scottish Enlightenments, then, were either kept at bay or refracted through an evangelical prism before or after landing in English Canada forming a reality “suspended between revival and Enlightenment.”⁹ The Bible, containing “the data of faith” was the sole guarantor of true reason, with faith and piety the guiding principles. This particular reason, in addition to becoming formed by the more intellectual Presbyterians, was emboldened with further character by the eclectic and experiential Methodists whose exclusive concern was with “Christian living and experience.” Methodism to the 1870s was less institutionalized and did not have the intellectual lineage of Presbyterianism, its notions of truth

⁷ Ibid., 37.

⁸ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 32. In addition, Herbert, quoting Abrams, says: “Like other writers on nineteenth-century English thought, Philip Abrams has emphasized the hegemony in this period of a Baconian insistence on ‘the direct observation of facts’ in social inquiry, an insistence that in the case of an organization like the Statistical Society of London led to rigorous and deliberate exclusion of theoretical speculation about social structure: ‘pure empiricism,’ meaning the fetishizing of ‘facts which can be stated numerically and arranged in tables,’ was the ideal aimed at in the 1830s and afterward.” 13.

⁹ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 138.

and reason was guided by intense “feeling.” “The Methodist clergy until the 1870s was an itinerant, travelling ministry that could cope with the primitive transportation and communication systems, and the shortage of clergymen that plagued religious life of early Canada. Methodism lacked the metropolitan university traditions that Presbyterians adapted to the Canadian setting. At that time all it required of its ministers was a basic level of literacy, supplemented by sound knowledge of the Bible and Wesley’s works; experience in preaching, and a conversion experience.”¹⁰ It was a visceral religion, both for its preachers and practitioners, with camp revivals often exploding into disorganized emotional conversion events, and meetings that might last over a period of weeks. The intensity of emotion and feeling in the conversion remained in the grain of Methodism despite being tempered after the 1870s through a more controlled and moderate management reified in the construction of churches. In part the purpose was to distance itself from intensive Millerian and “lawless” antinomian trends migrating from Upstate New York, the “burned over district,” named as such because there were no souls left to convert.¹¹

The Methodists, now with a learned home at Victoria College, with leaders such as Egerton Ryerson and later Nathanael Burwash, also employed the Baconian inductive method. “It was to supply, not an intellectual, systematic theology, but a rational basis for an experimental religion anchored in part on the data of feeling. This marked the intersection of the passion of the revival with a powerful early Victorian intellectual current – a religion that appealed to the data of reason and justified Christian feeling and Christian living.”¹² Despite their rivalry in the economy of souls, Presbyterianism and Methodism shared the evangelism which emerged from their use of induction in interpreting history, science, and philosophy. “In

¹⁰ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 47-8.

¹¹ See Airhart.

¹² Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 54.

the 1850s the evangelical creed was a principal contributor to the intellectual life of English Canada. By incorporating Baconianism into this creed, Presbyterians and Methodists could offer a cultural alternative to the Enlightenment – a society that was founded on Christian reason and recognized the supremacy of the Bible and theology.”¹³

The Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches moved closer together by mid-century, creating a strong, pervasive Protestant Alliance that accounted for ninety-eight per cent of the population by 1881.¹⁴ At the center of this culture was a personal and immediate encounter with the spirit of a powerful and living God.¹⁵ William Westfall describes the historical realities which brought the once rival denominations closer together. Focussing predominantly on the Methodists and the Anglicans, the largest denominations, he describes a greater consensus with regards to the ideation of “time” and “order,” the re-interpretation of the second coming, and the expression of emotion. The Anglican Church, which in the early century was poised to become the established church of the colony, had to provide a sense of order and control as it worked in concert with the state. However, transplanting this institution with an ideology of reason and order in a new soil without an extant established order and an uneven egalitarian structure proved futile.¹⁶ There were competing denominations whose forms better suited the realities of colonial life. And when a liberal order of governance migrated to Ontario after 1841, it promised a new order and stability through “economic development,” and made withdrawals from the clergy reserves for the building of railroads and municipal infrastructure.¹⁷ “To put the matter as succinctly as possible, the alliance of church and state broke down because the state decided it no

¹³ Ibid., 55-6.

¹⁴ Westfall, 11.

¹⁵ Westfall, 37.

¹⁶ See Christie, *Theorizing a Colonial Past*.

¹⁷ See Gustavus Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth*.

longer needed the church; the state rejected the old axiom that public religion was essential to public order because it had found a new formula for creating order and happiness.”¹⁸ The Anglican Church divided itself from secular time and its attendant gradual order, forging its own “sacred progressive” time and order, which dedicated itself to addressing the social and moral problems wrought from the secular, its “love of gain,” and materialism, although capitalism was never called into question. “The emotionalism of the sectarian tradition gave energy to the great Protestant crusade, and moral earnestness became one of the most distinguishing features of Ontario religious life.”¹⁹ Thus the Anglican Church borrowed the immediacy from the Methodists who were in the midst of moving towards a moderation of their highly emotional and de-institutionalized tradition. Says Westfall:

The new Methodism emphasized moderation, gradualism, and the central place of the institutions of a well-established church in the religious life of the individual. A religious experience was no longer seen primarily as a sudden conversion which was followed by life of separation from the world. Methodism became more standardized and lost the intense individual introspection of an earlier age... Instead of being an intense notion that brought a person directly in contact with God, experience was now a more temperate force that refreshed and sustained Christian life. The new Christian was not struck down, but raised up... Experience was now clothed in the rhetoric of inspiration and heroic individualism. The religion of experience had become a romantic evangelicalism.²⁰

Where Methodism once gained its success and ascendancy from its itinerancy and emotional practice that “were perfectly suited to the religious and psychological needs of a frontier community”²¹ it had adapted itself to the new realities of a progressive liberal culture devoted to economic expansion. Indeed many of its devout had become affluent through this expansion, and their church encouraged their lay participation.²² This transition required moderation and a separation from sectarian denominations that preached the end of times, the pre-millennial quasi-

¹⁸ Westfall, 107.

¹⁹ Ibid., 124.

²⁰ Ibid., 111.

²¹ Ibid., 46.

²² Marguerite Van Die discusses the close relationship between Nathanael Burwash and the Massey family in *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989).

Calvinist perspective where man had little influence through the doctrine of predestination. The revised evangelical perspective of post-millennialism no longer encouraged a passive retreat from the world, but now concerned itself with that very world where humans could play a role in reform and were responsible for the making of a future. It inspired social ambition within the liberal ethos of “improvement” which was necessary for the building of a regenerated society – God’s Kingdom on earth.²³

The child-saving movement makes a curious entrance into this history as a secular project with sacred scaffolding. By the 1890s there was concern that the evangelical creed was losing its relevance and cultural power amidst the creeping north of American culture, the increasing influence of high criticism and idealism in the Protestant colleges and thus a lessening of theology as a guide.²⁴ Indeed, the solipsism of theology was being questioned by many Protestant leaders who preached a practical and applied Christianity within the Social Gospel.²⁵ The unity of history and theology was pulling apart. This was evangelism in the current of the Third Great Awakening where salvation and a relationship with God was not merely personal and internal, but also practiced outwardly towards the amelioration of social issues and problems through an active and altruistic social service. Faith and salvation became social, relational, and intersubjective. Prison reform, temperance, labor regulation, public health, and programs for the care of the poor emerged as evangelical projects, with the middling class taking the lead on the ground. “An age of dogmatics and ecclesiastics seems to be giving place to an age of strenuous

²³ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 123.

²⁴ Gauvreau discusses “The Workman Affair” when Rev. Dr. George Coulson Workman, after studying in Germany returned to Canada and took the chair in Old Testament exegesis at Victoria College in 1890. “From the standpoint of the preacher, Workman’s separation of history and prophecy threatened to deprive the pulpit of a source of intellectual authority.” *Evangelical Century*, 178-179.

²⁵ “George M. Grant, John Watson, George Blewett, and S.D. Chown... These intellectual and institutional leaders of Canadian Methodism and Presbyterianism helped provide the intellectual foundations upon which the Social Gospel movement in Canada was constructed between 1890 and 1914.” A.B McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*, 217.

pragmatics.’ Every type of evil was now coming under attack, and under the influence of this pragmatic spirit, a deeper spiritual power had begun to touch the hearts of humanity.”²⁶ The post-millennial perspective coupled with an enduring Arminianism (a freedom from the fate of predestination) re-plotted Ontarians in space-time. “Life” and its preservation – a secular-sacred bio-power²⁷ – were emboldened in the project to prepare the world for the Advent they would never witness. Each individual sheep in the flock mattered in this collective, liberal, modern effort where immanence eclipsed transcendence through the “person of Christ.”²⁸ Practical Christianity provided opportunities for the devout to feel like participants, to feel like pastors, in the shaping of the future, and reformers were equated with prophets. A theology of emotional private piety was dying for a generation who was raised within its promise. There would no longer be the anticipation for and the experience of a highly emotional and immediate adolescent “conversion”: an experiential moment with the living God as a rite of passage. No longer would one experience God through conversion or immediate cataclysm in preparation for the witnessing of the apocalypse. Now the evangelical experience was invested in the participation of the building the Kingdom of God on earth. Despite these shifts in notions of God, theology, history, and time, Protestantism remained strong and confident. “Between 1890 and 1905 professors and preachers and the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were fired by the belief

²⁶ Van Die, 154. Similarly, Comacchio discusses the Social Gospel of the last quarter of the nineteenth century: “These were years of burgeoning public involvement in social and moral reform, much of it organized under the auspices of the Social Gospel. Espousing an activist Christianity, the Social Gospel was largely a middle-class, urban, Protestant movement that attended to the worst abuses of industrial capitalism in the interest of achieving a just and orderly ‘New Jerusalem.’” 49.

²⁷ From “Our Change of Emphasis” in the *Christian Guardian*, 5 June, 1912: “...where in the past the church had emphasized doctrine “today we emphasize life. The spirit of this age is intensely practical, and while it does not discredit dogma, it insists that applied ethics are of greater importance.”” As quoted in Van Die, 146.

²⁸ See Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 201-214.

that they had entered a new, creative period of Christian thought, an era analogous to the apostolic age or to the Reformation.”²⁹

Children occupied a particular and peculiar place in the evangelical culture up to 1893. Their recognition as “the rising generation” was acknowledged early in the 1800s, and their status was empowered by both transatlantic ideas and domestic realities which challenged the belief in innate child depravity:

During these decades [1820s, 1830s] the belief in the innate depravity of the child began to give way to a Romantic, sentimental understanding of childhood that depicted the infant as a “sweet angel,” an innocent creature, pure at birth, and thus considerably closer than adults to God. Directly related to this shift in theology was a new, more liberal understanding of the other essential doctrine of religious revivalism, the atonement... The reasons given for this declining interest in infant depravity and the new sentimentalization of childhood vary, but the causes cited most often are the growing influence of educators like Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, a decline in infant mortality, and the mother’s replacement of the father as the dominant parent in child rearing. Related to this last point is the suggestion that the theological shift represented an unconscious effort by ministers as well as women to justify their existence in a society that was increasingly coming to view them as marginal.³⁰

Nathanael Burwash, Methodism’s leading intellectual, defied the greater cultural images of a Rousseauian Romantic innocent sensibility regarding infants and children and maintained the doctrine of depravity which preserved the need for a conversion experience, the experimental foundation of evangelism. However, “Canada could not help but share the romantic insistence that children were the special objects of God’s favour and, of necessity, the true recipients of parental affection.”³¹ In this line of reasoning, childhood depravity and the home were linked. More specifically, the model of “mother as minister” was identified as the foundation of Christian nurture and piety, and granted greater weight than the Sunday School or the church:

The permanence and strength of religion in the world in the next generation depends more upon this than upon either the pulpit or the revival service.... Burwash’s account of his own childhood religious training is a reminder that revivalism could be as much an element of home life as of the more public services of the

²⁹ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 208.

³⁰ Van Die, 25-26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 26. “And so, totally in defiance of all Romantic sensibility concerning infancy, the Canadian Methodist child, at least officially, entered the twentieth century, unequivocally depraved, morally responsible, and in need of a new birth.” *Ibid.*, 34.

camp meeting, chapel, and church...By its very nature, therefore, evangelical revivalism became integrated into the very pattern of an individual's life.³²

The "mother heart" was responsible for protecting the young in their vulnerable state of depravity, imparting an awareness of sin, and to prepare them for their conversion. The architecture of the home was instrumental as a revival site. Thus children's moral nature, despite innocent language and iconography of the West in mid-to-late century, remained in need of salvation and regeneration, and the home, personified in the mother, was charged with the responsibility of nurturing the next generation, the "heirs of the Kingdom of God." In his 1881 essay "The Relation of Children to the Fall, the Atonement, and the Church," Burwash presages the secular enfranchisement of childhood a decade later: "The Church takes children in, not because they have salvation already, but because they *need it*, and have a *right to it* by God's covenant mercy under which they have been born."³³

By the 1890s the Social Gospel in Ontario had gained material strength. Said Salem Bland, a Methodist theologian and one of Canada's leading Social Gospel thinkers: "One hears sometimes...the phrase Applied Christianity. It is only as it is materialized that it reveals itself."³⁴ Bland preached that Christianity was "life itself," not merely a distinct realm or department, but sentiments suggesting active religious participation in the secular world. This was an ironic type of service whereby competition and greed was inverted into co-operation and fellowship towards a heavenly citizenship that must be fulfilled on earth.

The perfection of human life lies in being at one with God; but to that oneness with God men can come, not by departure from the world into eternal quietude, but only by flinging themselves into the labours and causes of the history in which God is realizing his eternal purpose...The man to whom the love of God is the central impulse of life must take his place in the world, must share in its labours and duties and

³² Ibid., 25 & 35. See also Airhart, 18.

³³ Van Die, 33.

³⁴ McKillop, 222.

affections and losses, must undergo the fate which it has for all its citizens. And that fate is seldom a light one.³⁵

Thus by 1893 *The Evangelical Churchman* could firmly state and promote that child-saving was “a new form of Christian Activity”³⁶ ostensibly different from the previous projects of child care. The “child” in Ontario was an ambivalent character who had acquired a romantic innocence and sentimentality from abroad, yet in the Provincial space-time entered history as a morally corrupt sinner “inclined only to evil,” in need of regeneration.³⁷ Children were postured as liminal beings, in need and depraved yet responsible, and particular children emerged through the romantic proto-scientific investigations of social problems – crime, sex, and labor – that a practical and applied Christianity would devote itself. As I examine in Chapters 4 through 9, there is a hierarchy of regeneration through interventions that moves from the degraded, to the “common,” to the idealized child where each has according meta-forms: the CAS, the whip, the curfew bell, and Bands of Mercy. Each class generates particular gendered anxieties and gazes according to principles and expectations of “life” and “property” of their social stations. Accordingly, each class and gender is described in language that moves from “being saved” to “behaving,” to “saving beings.” All classes and genders are subjects of the Social Gospel, however the boy in the Reformatory and the girl in the Bands of Mercy occupy different poles: he needs to be regenerated against the discourse of the irrational and the evil, and she is learning how to regenerate others as a white, rational, religious subject. The dark, cunning “street Arab,” the incorrigible little Johnny Conn, and the benevolent little Kathleen Snow are all children. They are not described as the same child.

³⁵ George Blewett as quoted in McKillop, 224-225.

³⁶ *Scrapbooks*, vol.10, 22.

³⁷ Van Die, 32. Here Burwash maintained the teachings of Wesley who declared in *Sermons* 2: “Every man born into the world now bears the image of the devil, in pride and self-will; the image of the beast, in sensual appetites and desires.” As quoted in Herbert, 1991, 31.

The scrapbooks live in the current of the Social Gospel, a moment in history when evangelism sought a revival through fresh social objects to remain relevant in a culture becoming more extroverted, seduced by the secular, now-cynical of a closed theology, and doubly anxious and confident in their role as post-millennial citizens. Childhood was a glorified object, embodying all that was held dear in the mid to late 1800s. Its liminality and ambivalence made it a “plastic period,”³⁸ ripe for intervention at the hands of ambitious evangelical social reformers emboldened by Darwinian-influenced “new social sciences and the search for predictable ‘laws’ of behaviour and development.”³⁹ It represented a homology of subjects in need of a revised conversion experience in preparation for a more secular adult life and established the object of “the mother” as the body of affection, in turn reinforcing the Christian home as the ideal and the most privileged instrument and partner of governance. As I discuss above this discourse was articulated through a hierarchy of child development towards adulthood according to race, class, and gender whereby some children were trained to “be governed,” others “to govern their own being,” and others to “govern beings.”

The CAS and Bands of Mercy occupy different ontological poles yet are both material meta-forms of the Social Gospel whereby the affectionate Christian “mother” is the organizing figure. The curfew bell and whip seem to govern the boundary between depraved and common

³⁸ From an editorial reporting on the October 18-19th, 1894 child-saving conference: “...and it is sad to think that very often the environment and examples set before him in that plastic period are more to blame for the shameful result than inherited or inherent wickedness.” *Scrapbooks*, vol. 11, 15.

³⁹ Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 134. Gauvreau discusses the “conversation” between the evangelical creed and Darwinism: “That so many shades of opinion within Canada's Presbyterian and Methodist churches found Darwinism a troubling but by no means devastating problem for their evangelical creed suggests that the relationship between the evangelical creed and intellectual life between 1860 and 1890 should be recast... Even before the rise of Darwin, the participation of Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians in transatlantic Protestantism differed from that of their counterparts in Britain and America. History, rather than natural science or philosophy, provided the matrix for theology. This earlier emphasis of the evangelical creed determined the grounds of encounter between evolution and theology, and dictated the strategy clergymen followed in their 30 year conversation with Darwinism.” 127. Airhart describes how the Methodists “had come to the realization that evolution was simply the way God worked in nature.” 55.

class ideals. As I discuss, these formations patterned themselves in a historical Christian formation in order to watch their vulnerable flocks, and postured themselves between the secular and sacred, preaching a discourse that satisfied the material, intellectual, and spiritual concerns of Ontario. Kelso's brand of sentimental education maintained the English Canadian "myth of concern," which Northrop Frye describes:

The function of the myth of concern is to establish within a society the commonality of purpose that along can give that society unity; as such, it is... a "closed myth," intolerant of dissent and anxious for continuity... The myth of concern exists to hold society together, so far as words can help to do this. For it, truth and reality are not directly connected with reasoning or evidence, but are socially established. What is true, for concern, is what society does and believes in response to authority, and a belief, so far as a belief is verbalized, is a statement of willingness to participate in a myth of concern. The typical language of concern therefore tends to become the language of belief. In origin a myth of concern is largely undifferentiated: it has its roots in religion, but religion has also at that stage the function of *religio*, the building together of the community in common acts and assumptions.⁴⁰

I read Kelso's secular programme as a revivalism of *religio*. It did not diverge from the Anglo-Canadian continuity of moral imperatives in education. It maintained the concern of a moral unity whereby "moral improvement... must go hand in hand with increasing literary and scientific knowledge,"⁴¹ it remained reverently reasoned, and like evangelical teachings, eschewed intellectualism, remained simple, respected tradition, and derived from religious inspiration and experience. As a project of evangelical revivalism, the scrapbooks present vivid and compelling personal experiences in the patterns of everyday life⁴² as mediated and described by the press. The eventalization and enfranchisement of childhood at the same moment heralded an awakening, a cultural revitalization, whereby one generation revives the next. The pane of evangelical culture, when superimposed upon the historical, literary, and Archival almost completes the sharp image of the object of childhood in Kelso's dioramas.

⁴⁰ As quoted in McKillop, 3-4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁴² Van Die, 35.

The Pastoral

The “pastoral” is a concept that pulses in the scrapbook both imaginatively and materially. Similar to Bakhtin, Raymond Williams discusses the pastoral images which govern the binary theme of the “country and the city.” This leitmotif is drenched in literary history, reaching back before Eden to the pre-class folkloric, empowering a discourse concerned with glorifying the innocence of rural life, where the social is subsumed by the natural, and where abundance and tranquility are a given within dramatic and romantic “structures of feeling.”⁴³ “Agriculture,” the human imprint of tilling and toil on the land, was a virtuous vocation, stealing back the biblical curse of labor after the fall.⁴⁴ The literary pastoral is natural order before social order, infused into localised and idealised dreams governed by independence, simplicity, prudence, and effort which are deemed as primary values.⁴⁵ The pastoral is always looking back to an ambiguously historical and non-identifiable essential Golden Age, the “happy past,”⁴⁶ which exists as “an innocent alternative to ambition, disturbance and war.”⁴⁷ Echoing Bakhtin, Williams says: “What needs to be emphasized is not only the emergence of the idealising tone, but also that it is not yet abstracted from the whole of a working country life. Yet at the same time the idyllic note is being sounded in another context: that of the future: of a restoration, a second coming, of the golden age; one that is even politically immanent.”⁴⁸ In the space-time of the scrapbooks, the countryside is celebrated and longed for as a “localized dream”;⁴⁹ it is the setting for the idealized God-appointed institution of the family and the destination of poor children’s vacations

⁴³ Williams, *The Country and The City* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1973), 20 & 79.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁹ Williams, 26.

which promised a new life to the poor and delicate children of the slums, the other to the contaminating evils of the city, and where the degraded classes would be absorbed. Williams discusses “the image that Milton more generously developed, drawing on the associated image of culture as natural growth, in his appeal for a national education: ‘communicating the natural heat of government and Culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie num and neglected.’”⁵⁰ The Golden Age – the pre-biblical, Edenic, the romantic of the Middle Ages, or the drama of the aristocracy, was conjured towards an idealised future that was believed to be materially possible. In the liberal order the countryside was at once both the site for salvation and economic stability and security. It was a bountiful, untouched natural order that could be converted into untold wealth through the toil of Man, and the liminal child. Tension and anxiety swelled in the wake of migrations from the country to the city. Farm-children began growing up and seeking work and glory in urban spaces instead of following in the dusty footsteps of their humble self-sufficient parents, and vast influxes of immigrants were attracted to the lighthouses of the industrialized city and new areas of development.⁵¹ The fiscal, political, and emotional economies were in nervous flux. Meanwhile, Ontario was emerging as the breadbasket of the Empire, with infinite lands to settle, and systems developed to build and support an industrialized agriculture economy. This liberal order reality was not *essentially* pastoral; it lacked an interpretation of innocence and praised individual ambition in its “ideology of improvement”⁵² which exploited the pastoral reaches in an abstract system. Yet it borrowed literary Golden Age

⁵⁰ Ibid., 27.

⁵¹ Comacchio describes how “Native-born Canadians and immigrants alike settled and resettled, in town and city, on northern and western frontiers. Much of this motion involved young people leaving the countryside in the older central Canadian and Maritime provinces, where good land was becoming scarce, for urban employment or the unsettled expanses of the West.” 26. She continues: As good land became increasingly scarce in the older settled provinces of central and Eastern Canada, the dream of land ownership eluded many families. Younger members of established farm families were often obliged to seek their fortunes elsewhere.” 39.

⁵² Ibid., 60.

metaphors and tropes of simplicity, goodness, and ease to balance against the values of an emergent agrarian capitalism and the hidden cruelty of its social order.

Simply put, the Province needed bodies in the country, as labour and future labour, and in the osmotic hope that cities, asylums, prisons, and hospitals would be de-populated of the criminal and degraded classes. These undesirable social classes, child-saving hoped, would become absorbed into the community and fulfill their roles as the “producers of wealth.”⁵³ Now de-institutionalized and compelled to rural areas they would no longer be seen “as they were” in the generations to come. The natural order of the countryside, its images and values, had the power to salvage, convert, and normalize the social order towards economic growth. As a futuristic project, children were identified as the subject-objects to lead this bucolic movement. Saving them ensured they could save the future. Britain was twenty years ahead, having promised salvation to their problematized children who had been populating Ontario’s countryside since 1868, as “social safety valves” for an anxious England with swollen poor law lists, and as rural labor to support Canada’s agricultural destiny. Kelso’s evangelical discourse was redolent of Britain’s premier child-saver Dr. Thomas Barnardo, evoking Golden Age pastoral literary metaphors towards solving the problem of city and country, and child.⁵⁴ In the scrapbook, the literary pastoral is weaved into the reified and operational formation of the pastorate. Canada could not only provide the perfect image for, but also the land for a “real”

⁵³ Says Williams, concluding with a passage by poet James Thompson: “...it is basically an eighteenth-century ‘discovery’ by the educated upper classes – that ‘the poor’ are not simply a charitable burden, a weight on the economy, but the actual producers of wealth: “Ye Masters, then Be Mindful of the rough laborious hand, That sinks you soft in elegance, and ease.” 70.

⁵⁴ Kelso employed “City and Country” as a subheading for discussion in his 1898-9 annual report saying: “In child-saving work there is a close and indissoluble union between the city and country, as a large number of the of the cases requiring consideration come originally from the country, while the children, in going from the city to foster homes, are placed almost entirely in the country districts.” *Ontario Sessional Papers, 1899-9*, no. 17, 17.

pastoral mode. An availability of land, at a premium in England due in part to “enclosures,”⁵⁵ permitted the creation of a new reality of an old Christian form of governance in an eager and vast colony. Rev. Samuel Dwight Chown, a Methodist clergyman-professor and an intellectual and cultural leader in English Canadian thought expressed this pastoral destiny: “Canada is God Almighty’s last opportunity upon this planet of planting a Christian nation on virgin soil. Let us lay every foundation in the cement of righteousness. Let every drop of our blood burst with patriotism and every energy of our being be consecrated to the christianizing of this glorious land.”⁵⁶

A Neo-Pastorate

The pastoral is a form of religious power that is concerned with salvation and the “conduct of souls” through law, truth, and salvation.⁵⁷ It is “a permanent intervention in everyday conduct in the management of lives, as well as goods, wealth, and things. It concerns not only the individual but [also] the community...It is...a form of power that really is a terrestrial power even though it is directed to the world beyond.”⁵⁸ It is a formation of governance which satisfied both the temporal and spatial desires of the sacred and the secular. In my discussion of economies, a pastoral formation was the main technology in monitoring and responding to the affective and emotional of localized regions, reified in the language and practice of the CAS. As Foucault states: “What the history of the pastorate involves, therefore, is the entire history of procedures of the human individualization in the West. Let’s say also that it involves the history of the subject...[and] is the prelude to what I have called governmentality as this is deployed from the

⁵⁵ See Williams, chapter 10, 96-107.

⁵⁶ As quoted in Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 196.

⁵⁷ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-1978* (New York, NY: Picador, 2007), 167.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

sixteenth century.”⁵⁹ And thus I am superimposing Ontario’s maturation into modernity with the will to empty institutions and place these children in a pastoral mode. In a liberal order, the pastoral emerges as a reflection of its most pervasive tenets. It is based upon individualized attention, concerned about every sheep in the flock, within a centralized, institutionalized framework linked and diffused trans-locally; in other words attention to subjectivity towards the progressive objective of obedience in quotidian experience. With order and stability more firmly habituated in the province of economic development, with the Protestant Alliance more dedicated to the role of humankind in shaping history through an applied Christianity, with the political economy promoting a more responsible, de-institutionalized, and self-governing subject/citizen, the pastoral was a historically effective model of governance to “serve the present age.”⁶⁰

The pastoral is a formation long in history passing through the voluntary and circumstantial forms of the Greeks and Hebrews to a compulsory and pervasive Christian form that was instituted after the Reformation to make relations of obedience and to create the obedient subject through individual relationships: “pastoral power is an individualizing power.”⁶¹ Obedience was the ultimate end and *raison d’etre*, functioning in what Foucault calls “an economy of merits and punishments.” As a technology of obedience, the Christian pastoral was a historically available form that would satisfy the goal of instilling authority, the potent anxiety pulsing at the heart of child-saving. In the space-time that it was required, it needed alteration. In late nineteenth-century Ontario, a particular pastorate would be needed that would speak to the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 184.

⁶⁰ Airhart.

⁶¹ Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 128.

religio of a Christian people in the midst of accommodating Man in History – human reason – their role in empire, and their national potential.

The Children’s Aid Society can be discussed as a neo-pastorate. A quasi-state, quasi-religious organization of power concerned specifically with individual, local “cases,” intervention in daily conduct, personal contact, and the governance and economy of souls. The participants, many clergy, accepted a responsibility to involve themselves in the salvation of others, to enter into relationships of submission of one person to another through warnings, threats, and potential loss of children. As Chen discusses, the stated goal of the CAS was the “improvement of home life,” yet the not so hidden truth was that it was a Lamarckian project of obedience for parents in the hopes it would diffuse down to children. The sowing and sprouting of the CAS across the Province under Kelso’s tending is perhaps the thickest plot throughout the early scrapbooks. It documents how the movement materialized in localities, became “personalized,” and engaged municipalities into action. I discuss this in Chapters 4 and 5. It reveals Kelso’s talents of moving his audiences to enthusiasm through his elocution and presentation, and suggests his keen understanding of how newspaper stories were an operative technology in affecting public sentiment.

It is through the CAS that we sense a renaissance of an older Christian pastoral form of governance, whereby Kelso functions first as a circuit-rider, then a pastor, then a bishop, albeit in different discursive clothing. This “new pastoral,” epitomized in the CAS beneath a liberal order of governance made the map bigger while simultaneously bringing the world closer through the broadening and empowering of words such as “friend,” “neighbour,” and “community.” The center was no longer so far away from the peripheries. It was abstractly re-created always-everywhere through the diffused bio-technology power nodes of “friends,” “visitors,” and

“neighbours” who were recruited as parochial deputies and encouraged to “tell” and “report.” Each locality interpreted childhood based on its own abstraction of “community,” which in Volume 10 is largely a trans-local consensual phenomenon. As discussed in Chapter 8 the curfew bell was the only slight anomaly. In this emotional economy, information was the most valuable currency in circulation, and the CAS requested it and sought it out as citizens were urged to see and tell through the prism of the new law. Kelso’s office at Queen’s Park was aptly referred to as a “bureau of information regarding foster homes and available children,”⁶² which established an administrative centralized “information order” to monitor the work delegated to good Christians. As I discuss, in this role Kelso did not posture himself as a state agent but rather as “the friend of the friendless,” “the children’s friend,” or “step father,” reminiscent of someone in a patriarchal pastoral vocation, versus an officious state appointment. The evocation of a pastoral mode suggests a form of governance which, although seemingly “modern,” is not necessarily “progressive.” In other words, in its desire to design and plan for the future, it does not march forward in ahistorical lock-step; rather it is more improvisational and interpretive, using what has worked in the past while remaining attentive to the *langue* of the present and future. As I explore in Chapter 5, the rhetoric may be teleological but its underwriting is not.

Governing the Everyday in Ontario

In addition to the pastoral and other literary motifs, the scrapbooks reveal numerous archaic and pre-modern formations and social institutions that are re-formed in the present project of state-mandated child-saving and diffused to localities: corporeal punishment, the curfew bell, agricultural colonies, the “countryside,” apprenticeships, the pillory and public forms of

⁶² “To Look After Children” headline, June 30th, 1893 (unidentified newspaper) in *Scrapbooks* vol. 10, 10.

shaming, the intense emotion of evangelism, the grotesque realism of the carnivalesque. While Ontario “comes into History,” the child-saving movement has much to draw on within the utterance-mechanisms of conferences, conventions, sermons, and meetings. The pulpit and the press invite extra-state “expert” knowledge in the formation of consensual language which refined the discourse into a common grammar. What remains staunchly germane is that the man chosen to educate public sentiment matriculated from a proof-reader, part-time typesetter, editor, court reporter, and then to a “reformer journalist” who had intimate and material experience of how letters, ordered in particular ways, could arouse a font of response from a particular, participatory class.

The CAS participants, Kelso, the clergy, members of the press, and the youthful Bands of Mercy emerge as bio-technologies of governance in a liberal order manifestly concerned with a reduced role of the state in peoples’ lives, while maintaining a persistent observable link in the relational networks connecting the centre, periphery, and trans-localities. In the “diffusion” principle of the liberal order, self-governance and responsibility do not preclude rule. Rather they are the *raison d’etre* and rationality of rule in the euphemistic and elusive formations of “citizenship” and “community.” The state still requires eyes and ears and child-saving is a keen example of how the rules and roles of citizenship – the mimeses of an upstanding subject – require and compel participation in the life of the most local environs: the municipality, the town, the church, the street, the home. To earn the status of “good citizen” means to have “good judgement,” to be able to see and report rightly. In order to perform this appropriately one must self-regulate their social conduct and action with emotional flexibility – a Foucauldian internalized, normalized, and reasoned discipline. In child-saving, if one is judged unable to regulate one’s self, the state appears more viscerally, the “friends” lose their neighbourly

demeanour, become agents and witnesses, and remove the children when kindly-written warnings are not heeded. Those who inversely graduate through the hierarchy of checks and brokers find themselves as parodied characters in the courtroom, which becomes the stage in the emotional economy; where the reasoned magistrate in the role of the penultimate arbiter before The Maker presides and decides based on a rightly or wrongly performed disposition at an acute and dramatic moment. This is the publicized site of the desperate woman/absent man, when a show of emotion, reified in tears and body-language, is judged alongside the authentic desires of remorse and penance; where the state in its wisdom and reason decides whether to de-naturalise the child to an artificial family-system, or stay the decision and proffer another chance to the “natural” parent. The stoic and the stubborn, those who exhibit emotional resolve, *a-pathos*, who are unaffected by this dramatic moment, incite greater anxiety and are often treated more decidedly, with less ambivalence and kindness, greater sarcasm, and tricky word-play. I explore this everyday governance in Chapter 6.

Entering Children in the Liberal Order

In 2000 Ian McKay⁶³ encouraged a re-knowing of Canadian history as an “ongoing project of liberal rule” towards the development of a liberal empire.⁶⁴ McKay’s proposed analytical framework was a call to reimagine an approach to Canadian historiography which has often been presented as a self-evident, obvious, teleological, evolutionary tale that saw a colony become a nation within a nationalist and socio-cultural historical narrative.⁶⁵ “This new model or

⁶³ See “The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History”

⁶⁴ Jean-Francoise Constant and Michel Ducharme “Introduction: A Project of Rule Called Canada – The Liberal Order Framework and Historical Practice,” in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. Constant & Ducharme (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 4.

⁶⁵ “It is to imagine a way of doing history that locates the ‘problem of Canada’ within the history of power relations: to map, across northern North America, both the grids of power (penitentiaries and criminal codes, schools and legislatures) through which a given hegemonic ‘social’ was constructed and centred, and the forces of resistance

paradigm...relies primarily on a study of the power relations that helped establish the liberal order in Canada between 1840 and 1940...built upon liberalism [defined] as ‘a totalizing philosophy’ founded on the principle of the primacy of the individual and the inviolability of certain individual rights.” Ducharme and Constant continue, “McKay is correct to present the liberal individual as an intellectual construction or an ‘abstract principle’ rather than a real person.”⁶⁶ McKay is concerned with reading Canada as a contradictory, complicated and yet coherent process of liberal rule “that encourages and seeks to extend across time and space a belief in the epistemological and ontological primacy of the category ‘individual.’”⁶⁷ He discusses the dominion-wide hegemony that the liberal order achieved by Confederation in 1867 and its “ability to bring a liberal discourse on property and conduct into direct contact with every subject.”⁶⁸ In the trinity of the liberal values of equality, liberty, and property, McKay crowns “property” as the leading concern in the British North American iteration, both material property and one’s ownership of oneself whereby private property and the propertied individual are imagined as the foundation of a sociopolitical order.⁶⁹

McKay’s call inspired a welter of response from Canadian scholars who heard it with a diversity of questions, clarifications, and adjustments. Most notably were Bruce Curtis, Michele Dagenais, Stephane Castonguay and Darin Kinsey, and Ruth Sandwell who substituted McKay’s Gramscian approach with Foucauldian governmentality as a means to best envision a liberal order of government in Canada. Children are not specifically discussed through this framework,

capable, at certain times, of effecting far-reaching changes of the project itself...a Canada non-identical, in crucial respects, with itself, and non-reducible to some natural or supernatural agency or essence (such as the St. Lawrence River, The Canadian Shield, or the workings of ‘inevitability,’ ‘Fate,’ and ‘Providence.’)” McKay, 623.

⁶⁶ Constant and Ducharme, 5 & 7.

⁶⁷ 623

⁶⁸ McKay, 634. McKay specifies “subject” and notes that “there were legally, revealingly, and crucially, as yet no Canadian ‘citizens.’”

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 638

yet McKay and the requisite responses inform my reading of the scrapbooks in a myriad of ways. The framework assists in examining how subjects were imagined, described, and governed through the prism of child-saving which was invested in cutting off the criminal class through the administration of “individual” child management by engaging municipalities in its promotion and realization. These discussions also inform an examination of gender in the context of bio-power, whereby women were governed by principles of “life,” and men “property” as described by Gibson and as embedded in judicial discourse. The inclusion of “land,” “nature,” and animals as non-human relations in the liberal order is an idea that deepens my discussions of “the countryside,” Home Children, and the Bands of Mercy. The liberal order framework permits an analysis of how children “came into History” as individuals in a population.

Curtis stimulates an examination of Kelso’s state role and the administrative function of his Queen’s Park office. Curtis is most concerned with a history of administration and its unexceptional everyday moments, saying: “In short, liberal state formation is also a history of administration...it also works with and shapes an object peculiarly its own: population...Liberal state formation is inextricably bound up with biopolitics, the determination and management of the elementary conditions of legitimate life and death.”⁷⁰ Foucault’s phenomenon of population, Curtis says, leads to a consideration of the developments in administration and government born from the new sciences of statistics and political economy whereby “individuals, events, and processes were torn from the particularities of their empirical existence and re-situated in new forms of abstraction.”⁷¹ It is in the ordering practices of administration and the “governmentalization” of the state – the conduct of conduct, the action on action – that Curtis

⁷⁰ Curtis “After ‘Canada’: Liberalisms, Social Theory, and Historical Analysis,” in *Liberalism and Hegemony*, 178.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

encourages the imagining of the liberal principle of the rational government of self and others in the context of child-saving.⁷² Although Kelso re-names himself as “friend of the children,” he is first and foremost an administrator collecting everyday data concerning the *raison d’etre* and governance of the state.

Michele Dagenais also follows a Foucauldian tack that informs my reading of the scrapbooks in examining the relations between center and periphery. Specifically how localities were more intensively charged with child management, and how the Gibson Act at once initiated a project of authority. She discusses the development of municipal territory at the behest of the liberal order, specifically the “devolution” of power which diffused power to local governments and institutions. She describes how Lord Sydenham believed that exclusive centrally-held power was a cause of tension and opposition which lead to the Rebellions of 1837, and that diffusion of power to local institutions would serve multiple ends. It would be a training ground for political life, for the exercise of self-government, conduct could be observed and conducted at a local level, discontent could be more closely managed so as to not simmer out-of-sight and be foisted upon the central government; municipal institutions would serve as the vital link to keep the central government informed. This was believed to “*diffuse* state power in a double sense. At one level, state power was to be devolved into all spheres of public life or, in other words, its presence and visibility increased.”⁷³ In this process, aspects of daily life are enfolded into governmentality through municipal institutions, and urban areas emerge as “laboratories of liberal governance” whereby new experiments were tried, and where new norms were conveyed to re/order municipal realities.⁷⁴ Municipalities became responsible for all acts of daily material

⁷² Ibid., 193.

⁷³ Dagenais, 208, Italics original.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 211.

life, from roads and bridges, police, security, fire, to caring for the needy, levying taxes, and acquiring property.⁷⁵ This shift necessitated a new form of local participation which entrusted the smooth-workings of daily life to local elites who would practise and mimic principles of liberal governance. Dagenais' response to McKay, as I will discuss, is vital as it empowers "the local" in the governance of people and things, and establishes an essential link and intertextual dialogue between local and central, trans-local, rural and urban that is rich in the story of child-saving in Ontario. It is here where clergy and newspaper editors wield the same power, where the church and the press partner in quasi-state sacred-secular pastoral roles. As well Dagenais cues observations of how child-saving is "picked up" by the neighbourly institutions of the Church, the elites, the "respectable" class, and idealized children: the historical cadre that maintained "corporate town identity" and civic ritual to bolster and maintain pride, loyalty, and authority at the small-town level.⁷⁶

Stephane Castonguay and Darin Kinsey's response to McKay enriches my discussions of "the countryside," agricultural destiny, Home Children, and Bands of Mercy. They implicate non-human actors in power relations of acculturation and advance surprising insight into Canada's myth-symbol complex which is rich with both animals and reference to land.⁷⁷ They discuss the "anthropocentric bias" of the liberal order framework in the context of the liberal subject's emergence during the Enlightenment which dissociated nature and culture and granted humans the freedom and power to subjugate natural forces.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Ibid., 212.

⁷⁶ William Thomas Matthews, "By and for the large propertied interests: the dynamics of local government in six Upper Canadian towns during the era of commercial capitalism, 1832-1860." *Open Dissertations and Theses* (1985), 114.

⁷⁷ Castonguay and Kinsey, "The Nature of the Liberal Order: State Formation, Conservation, and the Government of Non-Humans in Canada," in *Liberalism and Hegemony*, 222.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 223.

But this conquest was also intensely individualized, because the liberal subject had to struggle to resist his most basic instincts, which associated him with the animals from which he sought to distinguish himself. Those individuals incapable of controlling their natural impulses were debased for having transgressed the boundaries separating man and animal.⁷⁹

Castonguay and Kinsey heed McKay's call as a means to trace the parallel of the emergence of the liberal subject in Canada with the construction of Canadian nature within the same ideological order by extending a Foucauldian bio-power to non-humans in order to include them in the constitutive relations of liberal order state formation.⁸⁰ This includes the idea that land could be owned, developed, and exploited for material gain, transforming nature into property and permitting state appropriation and expropriation of natural resources. The government's use and articulation of scientific values empowered the state to manipulate land and enlist animals not only in economic but also moral roles. The movement for the prevention of cruelty towards animals (which Kelso established in 1887), drifted to Toronto from Britain and France and postured animals as "a tool to inculcate liberal behavior in the population and prevent degrading spectacles that could encourage similar reprehensible acts towards other humans."⁸¹ This sentiment functioned to humanize animals and make them vulnerable to manipulation, both physically and in language and image. The ability to treat animals with kindness, the mission of Bands of Mercy, worked to demarcate the liberal individual from the uncivilized savage and the criminal; the belief that criminals were cruel towards animals served as an etiology of their behaviours. Although Castonguay and Kinsey do not discuss the non-human relation of "the street," their thoughts inform the fears and anxieties borne from this abstract phenomenon that Kelso describes as a gathering place of evil and inhumanity.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 224.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 225.

⁸¹ Castonguay and Kinsey, 227.

Ruth Sandwell lends insight into the sentimentalized and sensational descriptions of “other” folk in the scrapbooks. She discusses those on the edges and outside of the liberal gaze and the practices and methods which either attempted to include, appropriate, convert, or exterminate them. Sandwell discusses the “awkward class” of folk as sentimentalized foils who were imagined only in the minds of interpreters who create “others” in the process of defining the idealized subject. Beneath a persistent sense of surveillance and observation people sought respite in the activities of the everyday. Yet evoking Stoler’s insistence on the leading concerns of the affective in governance, liberalism has a way of repressing the prosaic, resulting in a homogenization and blurring of the richness of everyday life, and a parsing out and marginalization difference and otherness.⁸² Borrowing from Tom McCallum, Sandwell states:

...that a defining characteristic of marginal people generally is their tendency to appear exclusively through someone else’s eyes, perhaps a bureaucrat or reformer, but *without* ‘histories of their own lives told in their own terms.’ Within this framework, marginalized people are ‘sensationalized, sentimentalized or trivialized’ and, as a result, obscured within the historical record.⁸³

McCallum perfectly describes what I am attempting to explore.⁸⁴

Sandwell describes othering as a governing function of the liberal gaze. The defining of “us” through what is “not us” or “no longer us” through behavioural analyses and particular characteristics which historically situates the problem with the people who did not mimic normalized/liberal virtues against the order that imagined and instituted them.⁸⁵ I describe these ontologies as Kelso’s worlds of woe and happiness. Sandwell concludes with her own call to pay greater historical attention to those who refused and ignored, or whom were oblivious or immune to the disciplinary project of liberalism, and consequently urges the search and analysis

⁸² Ibid., 255.

⁸³ Ibid., 256.

⁸⁴ McCallum’s thoughts are reminiscent of Comacchio as discussed earlier: “...certain social groups were qualified to define [the ideal family], to identify as ‘deviant’ the families that did not meet it...”⁴.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 256-7.

of a “something else,” those historical subjects who existed outside and alongside the reigning order, whom she calls “missing Canadians.”⁸⁶

McKay’s call and the requisite responses offer a rich space in which to discuss the scrapbook. The years 1893 and 1894 are described as the mid-life of the Canadian liberal revolution whereby its values had taken hold and were strongly and confidently embedded in the everyday life of Canadians, entrenched in central governance and matured in local/municipal realities. The liberal order framework broadly permits a way to ground Foucauldian bio-power and Stoler’s emotional economy in everyday material Ontario life, and specifically in the artifacts which detail the lives of “others” against liberal values and behaviours. The framework permits a mapping of how power was diffused from Kelso’s bureau to local CAS chapters and courtrooms, and further to neighbours and parents – the networks and relations of power whereby a particular subjectivity is constant throughout each node: the mimeses of particular desires which unevenly yet persistently articulated from a pen at Queen’s Park to the streets of Windsor and the dusty acreages of Grey-Bruce County. This trans-local liberal subjectivity emerges through central and local newspapers that share, embed, and mimic each other’s stories.

The framework permits another way to discuss the language and practices of child-saving, a discourse which hybridized and harmonized “old” and “new” in an emotional economy that was elastic and arbitrary. The framework assists in examining the ways in which a person’s body and actions were written about, contextualized, and situated in the decisions regarding their individual fates. Indeed, the political will towards de-institutionalized individual care towards diffusing/absorbing neglected and dependent children into the community of good Christians and

⁸⁶ Sandwell, 263-4.

motherly hearts can be discussed within and against this framework oriented towards governmentality. Children have historically existed “outside” of the dominant narrative alongside women, ethnic groups, Aboriginals, and other subalterns. However, reading the scrapbooks through the pane of the liberal order demands a re-situation of children in the writing of Canadian history. McKay urges that we “derive a sense of general patterns from particular discrete sightings”,⁸⁷ Kelso’s scrapbooks are just this – a discrete, particular sighting, a moment in time when the liberal order identified a class for subjectification and governance. The enfranchisement of a social group who had a right to rights. This process is what Curtis, conjuring Foucault, calls incitement, stimulation, discipline, and specification; the conduct of conducting the passions, pleasures, actions, and behaviours, and the political action upon the action of particular bodies for their education in liberal values either through compliance or compulsion. In this light it seems politically appropriate that the Gibson Act was enacted the same year as the Criminal Code of Canada.

Castonguay and Kinsey deepen the idea of land which emerges as a character in the scrapbooks, often as country in a contrast with city, and also as a mythical place that promises salvation and saving, where the humble people live, the quintessential “folk,” and where the future of the Province, Nation, Empire and Christian Civilization lives. The liberal imagination of Canada in the Empire is one of bountiful and inexhaustible land, a space for surplus capital and population. Thus we can speak about the Home Children as an embodiment and transplantation of a transatlantic liberal ethos, as unknowing liberal subjects lacking the associated subjectivity in their space-time, but not in Ontario’s. They were a-liberal/illiberal bodies from the old world’s urban spaces who served liberal ends when attached to the land in

⁸⁷ McKay, 637.

the new world – a curious conversion against a nervous and highly controversial colonial sentiment. I examine how Ontario’s problem children were imagined in liberal governance against “other” illiberal children from Britain.

Archiving Ontario

I include the following archival history tale to suggest that the documents which attest to Ontario’s past are imbued with a history of their own. This brief exegesis suggests that there is much lost and buried in the process of creating a past, there are palpable gaps. In the case of the materials germane to this project, almost a century went by before they were collected and organized beneath a stable conceptual program. And it was not until 1985 that the scrapbooks were the property of the Archives of Ontario after a transfer from the Community of Ministry of Community and Social Services.⁸⁸ This history speaks to the archive-as-subject and process⁸⁹ and how documents become inscribed with meaning over time through sets of external relations which determine their internal relations. Like words in a sentence they are ordered to tell a story. This ordering represents a dialogue between what is available, how it is organized, and how it is engaged.

We can only imagine how much was lost in the telling of Ontario’s story. It is my hope that by encountering these documents through an ethnographic approach I will contribute some thoughts on the ontology of Ontario’s Archive. What is also of interest in this history is the lack of interest and administrative ambition in the development of the Province’s archives. If we look

⁸⁸ Jones and Rutman suggest that 18 scrapbooks were part of the “Kelso Papers” that his son Martin donated to the Archives of Canada in 1974. “Notes on Sources,” 195-201. In correspondence with the Archives of Ontario they informed me that they received 19 scrapbooks from the Ministry of Community and Social Services in 1985.

⁸⁹ Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002), 87.

to other colonial scenarios, notably Dutch and Spanish,⁹⁰ we witness highly intensive imperial archival programs as “the supreme technology of the late nineteenth-century imperial state, a repository of codified beliefs that clustered (and bore witness to) connections between secrecy, the law, and power.”⁹¹ This may suggest that a vast collection of Ontario’s archival materials, and thus fragments of its past, is housed in Britain. This suggests another challenge to the “nation” frame of history writing.

Official archival collecting in Ontario dates back to 1872 through the work of the Public Archives of Canada, and a Provincial program began in 1903 through the “Bureau of Archives.”⁹² Interestingly the Archives of Ontario did not find a stable home until the 1970s.⁹³ For almost a century it was bantered back and forth as to which governing body should be responsible for the maintenance and classification of archival materials. This indecision was representative of the fact that there was little agreement whether archives were a governmental, academic, or cultural concern. Until the mid-1960s they were not deemed vital to government administration; rather it was thought that they merely served a small group of elite scholars (who ostensibly kept the archives alive). During this time, haphazardly stored and overflowing boxes were scattered amongst random storerooms across various ministries, institutions and agencies, church basements etc.; levels of care and systemization were *ad hoc* and inconsistent. A massive accumulation of documents in the post-World War 2 period reflective of profound governmental growth ushered in “Ontario’s ever increasing public records problem”⁹⁴ and necessitated action for retention and disposal procedures which would judge the enduring historical “value” of

⁹⁰ See: Echevarria, Espitia (2009), Gonzalez (1993), Juan-Navarro (2000). These works discuss the development of Spanish colonial archives, most notably as foundations for Spanish American literature and narrative.

⁹¹ Stoler, “Colonial Archives,” 87.

⁹² Donald McLeod, “Quaint Specimens of the Early Days”: Priorities in Collecting the Ontario Archival Record, 1872-1935,” *Archivaria* 22 (Summer 1986), 12.

⁹³ Barbara Craig, “Records Management and the Ontario Archives, 1950–1976,” *Archivaria* 8 (Summer 1979).

⁹⁴ Craig, 15.

records and documents. In 1965, the inquiry of the Moore Report firmly stated that records management “must be treated as an integral and essential part of efficient administration and not as an end in itself,”⁹⁵ and afterwards, greater attention was paid. By the winter of 1969-70 “Operation Clean-up” resulted in a massive re-organization and culling and in the process the province appreciated a savings of over two million dollars through the freeing-up of office space previously dedicated to housing documents.

By the mid-1970s the prevailing common sense thinking was that the purpose of the archives was not simply records management, but also served a vital cultural and academic value.⁹⁶ In 1972 the Department of Public Records and Archives was shifted again, this time to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities. It was renamed “The Archives of Ontario” and the Record Services Branch was divided off and placed in the Ministry of Government Services. During the same year the Archives moved to 72 Grenville St (a stone’s throw from Queen’s Park). They would move again, and again. First bureaucratically to the newly formed Ministry of Culture and Recreation in 1975, and physically to the York University Campus in 2009, which may suggest that the archives are now considered to have a chiefly academic purpose. Today they are governed within the Ministry of Government and Consumer Services and are formally titled “Information, Privacy, and Archives.”

This institutional history houses a fascinating “history of histories,” telling a story of how Ontario historically imagines itself. Donald Macleod discusses the collecting compulsions and habits of archivists and historians which predominantly focussed upon local histories with

⁹⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 31.

memorial and commemorative functions which served a patriotic purpose. Ontario's first archivist Alexander Fraser,⁹⁷

...emphasized the importance of the archives in "rescuing from oblivion the memory of pioneer settlers," preserving permanently "the data of towns, counties, organized communities in a common centre," and documenting the "early settlement of Ontario pioneer experience and mode of living...Fraser broke the province's history down into five periods, of which settlement was a main theme..."The prominent "events" of the United Canadas were "immigration, settlement, and migration...Fraser had "little to say" on the subject of the post-Confederation era.⁹⁸

Macleod discusses the effect of this localized and romantic historical perspective which was shared by the emergent local historical society movement after 1887 which "reflected obsessions with ancestor worship, or what Gerald Killan has termed 'concomitant considerations of social prestige,' and 'a bewildering complex of nationalist aspirations and pride, doubts and apprehensions.'"⁹⁹ Ontario's "ancestors" were figures from the War of 1812, and the Loyalists and pioneers who fertilized the soil with Imperial sweat and grit. These epic, romantic, and heroic tales served as nostalgic inspiration for late-century middle-class readers and practitioners, and excited patriotic and imperialist sentiments at the local level.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly "General history" was only of interest where it provided a backdrop for local history which predominated in the historical societies whose work was sought by Fraser, creating tension with the societies who desired to keep their work "at home" for the benefit of future generations. Fraser believed that local history was not "mere antiquarianism it was history of 'the *life* of the people'" – true social history.¹⁰¹ "The role of local historical societies was promoting 'love of the land'...And an address of the Ontario Historical Society directed to prominent members of Ontario society

⁹⁷ Macleod discusses Fraser's lack of experience or training for such a position; that he received this appointment as one of patronage: "Fraser's appointment in all likelihood owed much to Ontario Premier George Ross's pronounced admiration, a shared interest in Scottish culture, and an appreciation of the influence Fraser exercised as a leading figure within Scottish-Canadian social organizations." 22.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰¹ Macleod, 37, italics original.

declared in 1899 that local history played a special role in creating loyalty because in local communities one found the rich sources of distinctiveness that separated Canadians from peoples elsewhere.”¹⁰² This “blind parochialism or quaint romanticism,” Macleod says, had “valid justifications” as it sought to preserve the ancient past of Ontario, to keep it from becoming lost, and to make sense of its constitutional changes. As well, “urban phenomenon had not yet acquired the patina of age. Modern historical specializations such as labour history and women’s history did not yet exist, and related writing was non-existent.”¹⁰³ Moreover, in the early days Ontario Premier Mowat refused to authorize an inventory programme at the provincial level due to the time commitment and expense.¹⁰⁴

That “the natural love for local institutions”¹⁰⁵ bolstered the early formation of Ontario’s archive is of engrained importance to the story of the scrapbook. It suggests that in the era under consideration, Ontario’s history was “pastoral.” Not the history *of* a pastoral, but a history imagined *through* a pastoral worldview: a local, personal, and intimate awareness with regards to thinking and speaking about the past. Along with Foucault’s analysis of the pastoral, Stoler’s thoughts on colonial epistemology have great purchase here. Says McLeod: “By the 1880s Brymner [Canada’s first archivist] was aware that only a wide range of documentation would provide the foundation for ‘authentic history.’ State papers ‘form but a very small part of the real history of the country.’”¹⁰⁶ His successor Arthur Doughty continued Brymner’s close relationship with local historical societies, yet despite quadrupling the Dominion Archives by 1904 still had a collection full of “‘orphans,’ with little organic relationship to large

¹⁰² Ibid., 37.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 15.

¹⁰⁵ Correspondence of Douglas Brymner Canada’s first Archivist in 1885, as quoted in Macleod, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Macleod, 16.

collections.”¹⁰⁷ There is a sense of “protecting,” keeping close, a “heritage” while the state relies upon local historical societies to mine the materials to imagine the past. It is as if as Ontario is coming into History, reflecting upon itself, as it matures in a post-millennial worldview, out of an epic Bible time, into a novelistic time, it first takes a local view to make sense of itself in the enclosure of “nation.” It returns to its own epic time of Mackenzie, Brant, and Brock, to its Loyalists settlers and pioneers, its idyllic “first days” to tell its own stories of struggle and heroism.¹⁰⁸ “To those who argued that Canada was too young to have a history, local history provided a reply.”¹⁰⁹ This system, dependent upon “territorial competence,”¹¹⁰ did not however establish a reliable, effective, or generative programme of archival collecting. It remained narrow in its scope, ignorant of the social, political, economic developments of post-Confederation. Macleod discusses how they missed the existence of social tensions, of the advancements in science, technology, and industry. The affection for the rural and the family resulted in “the irrevocable loss of whatever historical writing might otherwise have been stimulated by broader archival resources.”¹¹¹

Ontario’s archival history lends insight into Kelso’s medium of scrapbooking, specifically its use, not for personal hobby purposes, but rather for collecting knowledge and “writing history” in a private technology of rule. In 1915 Doughty hired James Mitchell, editor of the *Goderich Star* as the Public Archives agent in Ontario. His qualifications were “vague” yet he was described as a “gentleman of literary turn” and of “suitable temperament and business

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹¹⁰ “Territorial competence” can be loosely defined as ‘having a specific geographical designation for acquisitions jurisdictions.’” Carbone and Gueze (1972), as quoted in Kathy Hall, “Archival Acquisitions: Legal Mandates and Methods,” *Archivaria*, no. 18 (Summer 1984), 58 (footnote).

¹¹¹ Macleod, 39.

habits.”¹¹² With little direction regarding an acquisition policy Mitchell quickly found himself in the position of previous Dominion and Provincial archivists, collecting “quaint specimens” he described as “so fragmentary and disconnected as to be very imperfect and almost useless for historical reference”¹¹³ To remedy this he embarked on a project in 1917 to create “correct history” through “compilations” – “artificial collections” that would “not consist of disconnected fragments. Instead, all those materials believed necessary for completeness were to be carefully assembled from disparate sources to make a virtual documentary ‘history.’ Nowhere else, Mitchell contended, would such complete bodies of information, their component materials chronologically arranged, be available.” His “correct history” of Ontario Hydro would “be made up,” he said, “of letters to the press, editorials, correspondence with many individuals and the municipalities, and pamphlets etc., with the final report, making a large collection of matter.” His plan was to “prepare the news items and reports from the newspapers in scrapbook form, adding the correspondence where it would fit in, [including] the reports, pamphlets, etc...[and] arranging all the material in such a chronological form or order as would make the history complete.”¹¹⁴ He was given the authority from Doughty to continue this project provided that he did not actually “write up the history.” Mitchell continued this practice of compilations to decide and preserve what would “become history” largely upon the amount of public discussion surrounding a topic. This solution to creating an imagined whole from orphaned artifacts – an archival fiction – seems redolent of Kelso’s method which pre-dated Mitchell’s by twenty-four years.

¹¹² Macleod, 18.

¹¹³ Mitchell July 1924, as quoted in McLeod, 20.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 20.

Arranging Skin

Akin to the pre-eminent American taxidermist Carl E. Akeley,¹¹⁵ I imagine Kelso working to arrange skin in fashioning artificial scenes to represent an “authentic” reality by reifying description into visual spectacle to more effectively educate public sentiment. Like Akeley, it is as if Kelso is a museum-worker, yet in private. As a means to open-up the possibilities and curiosities of his collection I also view them through the pane of “museology.” To quote John M. MacKenzie at length:

There is a sense in which the museum, as much as weaponry, the steam engine, the telegraph, and medical and pharmaceutical developments, represented a tool of empire. All of the conventional tools were inherently active in the collecting practices and intellectual relationships of the museum. If they entwined the means and motives of imperial rule, the museum offered a public justification for expansion and the accommodation of nature and peoples to its purposes. The museum itself was a machine for measuring the alleged achievements, of lack of them, of mankind. It was also a key ‘imperial archive’, both three-dimensional and conventional, through specimens, objects and records. As such, it provided a constant updating of the natural and anthropological markers of colonial rule. In all these ways, it was intended to be a prime contributor to knowledge. It was a central part of the process of ordering the world, familiarising and naturalising the unknown as the known, bringing the remote and unfamiliar into concordance with the zone of prior knowledge, both geographically and intellectually. These processes were often bound up with establishing and developing totalising precepts, supposedly reducing chaos to order, raw nature to developing systems. This at least was the ideal.¹¹⁶

It is here where I place Kelso in the role of curator and textual taxidermist of not a public, but a private museum. He is mimicking the very same pre-occupations yet with different objects in a different space. Kelso is working in a similar space-time to a European context where:

The acquisition of objects, and their presentation in radically different contexts from their original usage, was one of the results of European exploration and commercial expansion in the early modern period...Collecting and displaying were never neutral activities. Knowledge, its acquisition, presentation

¹¹⁵ I am thinking here with Donna Haraway and her descriptions of Carl Akeley’s dioramas in *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. Akeley was a taxidermist, and I find the etymology of “taxidermy” – the arrangement of skin – a compelling and fitting metaphor within a framework buttressed by bio-power and emotional economy. Interestingly Akeley travels to St. Thomas Ontario in September 1885 as an assistant of Dr. Henry A. Ward who was charged with the fate of the carcass of Jumbo the Elephant (see chapter 5 of this work).

¹¹⁶ *Museums and Empire: Natural history, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 7-8.

and dissemination – key impulses driving the establishment of museums – became intertwined with the promotion of commerce and, consequently, the development of empire.¹¹⁷

Ontario’s industrial and demographic expansion from mid-to-late century both inspired and necessitated an expansion of governance which witnessed the development of infrastructures of railways, telegraphs, telephones, the press, roads, shipping, surveying, and scientific technologies. These “forms of imagining” permitted a conquering of the land and its Indigenous inhabitants, uncovered hidden treasures, and supported a network of “anthropological commerce.”¹¹⁸ In a different articulation, yet in a similar way, I observe Kelso traveling across former wilderness and Indigenous territories domesticated by modern ingenuity, he speaks on the telephone across wires that now criss-cross the Province, he collects clippings that arrive by way of sophisticated press and rail networks. His objects may be mere thin pieces of newsprint sheared from their original form, yet the paper is a product of the liberalized wilderness, and the ink stains tell the everyday stories of a people with a colonial past under colonial rule. This “anthropological commerce” is ethnographic and imaginary, as Echevarria suggests, “an ethnography of anthropology.” (A rich foundation for the creation of archival fictions). These artifacts both exhibit and inhibit: through description they inhabit habits in the making of a particular discourse that is underwritten by transcolonial fantasies of race, gender, and rule. The artifacts in Kelso’s collection, although not from the quintessential colonial experience of India, are similarly objects by which colonial people are learned about, spoken about, and ruled. These subjects are historically “younger” and “closer,” and differently exotic. The scrapbooks are chronicling the domestic savage – the Ontario “poor white,” – the commoner, and their colonial master who has the power to archive. That the First Nations do not exist in Kelso’s curated

¹¹⁷ Sarah Longair and John McAleer, “Introduction – Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience,” in *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, ed. Longair and McAleer (New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), 1-2.

¹¹⁸ MacKenzie, 9.

reality reveals the cultural, racial, and class assumptions as to who is absent and present, who is worthy of freedom and rescue in the perpetual making of nation and empire.

Kelso's scrapbooks may merely exist as a man's simple timely hobby, yet it is also a habit of the age. Scrapbooking was a leisure activity made popular in part by Mark Twain, who made more money through his scrapbook patents than he ever did through his books. This was an activity synchronic with the "collecting passions, an almost manic search for the unattainable consummation – the 'complete set' concept, which infuses all collecting pathologies." MacKenzie describes this as "a psychological condition" alive and well in *fin de siècle* Toronto.¹¹⁹ Kelso was living and working in a space-time where there developed "a patriotic fear of being stunted by a form of archeological, ethnographic and scientific scramble, a competitive acquisitiveness that would leave its losers culturally and educationally bereft."¹²⁰ Museums were "beacons of civilization" for British and loyal settlers in the region, the urge to collect and exhibit were an imperial obligation.¹²¹ Akin to Burton and Christie's thoughts on "nation," this drive was personified by an elite group in Ontario whose compulsion to collect and curate was a Canadian patriotism within the greater concern of imperialism.¹²² "This group had wealth, power, and influence... They were all, regardless of origins, imperially minded and ambitious for Canada and its institutions, and they were all imbued with a sense of competitiveness in respect of American equivalents."¹²³ This eagerness to participate on the international stage, which saw the Ontario museum move from its educational origins at the Normal School to its own building in the Royal Ontario Museum (opened in 1914), collected artifacts from around the world; yet to

¹¹⁹ 22.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹²¹ Longair and MacAleer, 6 & 10.

¹²² MacKenzie, 48.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 49.

this day there is no museum dedicated to its indigenous or colonial past.¹²⁴ Thinking about this absence alongside a historiography of “nation,” the surprisingly late establishment of the Ontario Archives, and an anemic domestic literature, it is not surprising that Kelso’s scrapbooks as a corpus have not seen more day light. In both literature and material objects, the nation-empire nexus conceals as much as it reveals and makes vulnerable.

Of course, the scrapbooks are not a museum in the sense of a public building to display objects. Yet they are a micro-physical object empowered by and imprinted with the cultural compulsion for hoarding and domesticating, linked with education, and supported by forms of imagining which permitted the both movement of bodies and words, and forms of governance. Although Kelso serves this process in private, the culturally extant curatorial and archontic drive serves his public purpose. The scrapbooks are a museum in the etymological sense through its root of “muse”: to reflect, to be absorbed in thought, to ponder, dream, and wonder.

¹²⁴ MacKenzie, 56.

SECTION II: The Scrapbooks: From Act to Action Upon Animated Action

Preface to the Scrapbooks

On *June 30th* 1893, page 10, Volume 10, beneath the headline “To Look After Children” it is reported: “Mr. J.J. Kelso was yesterday appointed superintendent of neglected children of Ontario under the Gibson act...He will have the charge of the work of developing a sentiment throughout the province in favor of the better treatment of neglected and dependent children, and will establish a bureau of information regarding foster homes and available children.” Included on the same scrapbook page are articles from the Toronto *Globe, July ** and the *Empire, July 3rd*, reporting similarly. The announcement of the Gibson Act and Kelso’s subsequent appointment is not confined to Ontario. Volume 10’s first pasted text inclusion is an article from the *Chicago Humane Journal* in *July 1893*, lauding the appointment, beginning with: “We take pleasure in presenting to our readers this month an excellent picture of Mr. J.J. Kelso, whose name is well known in connection with the humane cause in Canada.” In an article from *Edinburgh Scotland*, beneath a preamble regarding the importance of educating Canadian children in botany as a means to patriotism,¹ is a passage announcing forthcoming legislation in Ontario wherein “every child born in the country has its own rights as a citizen which its parents cannot alienate.” As McKay clarifies, there was no such thing as a “Canadian Citizen” in 1893.² On the same page is a caricature of Kelso published in the *News, July 15*. His head is drawn as large as the rest of his body. He is wearing both his trademark specs and elegant mustache. Each

¹ The following poem transitions the article from a passage on “natural” pedagogy to governance: “What does he do who plants a tree? He plants, in sap and leaf and wood, In love of home and loyalty. A nation’s growth from sea to sea, Stirs in his heart who plants a tree”

² Ian McKay specifies “subject” and notes that “there were legally, revealingly, and crucially, as yet no Canadian ‘citizens.’” 634.

has a sense of appropriate balance. He looks just over our left shoulder. His hands touch two miniature people whose heads reach the height of Kelso's knees. His left hand holds the hand of a young woman and with his right hand he pats the head of a country-hatted boy. Beneath, it says "J.J. Kelso, Superintendent of Neglected Children for Ontario," and continues with a verse: "You'd hardly think, to glance at his Nice boyish-looking features, That this young man directs the fate Of many fellow-creatures. The poor, neglected little waifs, Whose parents scarcely knew them, May pick up heart and come to him – He'll be a father to them."

Within the first ten pages of the scrapbooks there is already a sense of the strong transatlantic and tripartite influence, the circulation from abroad and below which support and strengthen the domestic, "post-colonial" project introduced by scientific, literary, artistic, and satirical forms. By way of Scotland, the sentiments of Canadian nationalism are promoted, a peculiar nationalism that is not a revolutionary clarion call for "independence" but rather the means to strengthen the Empire through abject loyalty and supplication. The "idea of Canada," a territorial boundary within the British Empire, originates from across the Atlantic through a discourse which blends "nature," "childhood," and "education" – defining features in the making of Canadian patriotism and cultural formation, which underwrite the sentiment that Kelso is charged to arouse across Ontario, and by winter of 1898, west to Manitoba and British Columbia.³ As evidenced by the first inclusion in the scrapbooks, this story is not an exclusive internal imperial conversation. Ontario was the youngest sibling in an often ghostly tripartite relationship by way of binding revolution and providential geography. The United States plays a vital role in the development of Ontario child-saving. The inclusion of American content in the scrapbooks far exceeds that of English, Scottish, or transcolonial. Kelso includes reams of

³ Kelso documents this trip in volume 14 – see pages 1-32.

articles from his participation in conferences in New Orleans and Atlanta, and his travels to conferences in New York and Nashville inspired him to write reflective “little books.” Volume 1 of the scrapbooks is entirely dedicated to conference clippings. Kelso not only participates and becomes a secretary of the National Conferences of Charities and Corrections he also reproduces this organization in Ontario and incites domestic conferences. Thinking with Ann Stoler, these conferences, specifically the Ontario Child-Saving Conference in October 1894, function to bring together and condense the language and refine the discourse through the ethnographic authority of quasi-state and extra-state “experts.” This conference, the concluding event of my “snapshot,” becomes a rich condensation and “pivot” point where local narratives and practices are gathered, re/ordered, announced, and distributed. Conferences and commissions are technologies of governance which formalize and materialize language into discourse – ways of speaking “rightly.” Most specific my examination, syndication and mass circulars inciting intertextual conversations between publications work in the very same manner but for a broader and more diversified audience. These materials and practices transcend local reportage and communicate from a more abstract authority that does not only interpret reality, but also forms and teaches it. Kelso and Gibson “speak” in many different places where they are not physically present. Their interviews and circulars are re-presented in local papers as if “they were there,” and often, Kelso is. This ability for intertextuality to establish a field which allows Gibson and Kelso to occupy numerous areas of space at one time is akin to the magical quality of quantum physics.

I begin by discussing ways in which the artifacts narrate how literate people were initially educated to “speak rightly” about the object of childhood under the Gibson Act; how the language was generated, formed, shared, and disseminated. The mapping of the continuum

between official and unofficial – the professional and the prosaic – on the landscape of interlacing economies where Kelso loyally plies his trade. I map how the language spreads and becomes domiciled in the artifacts, which in turn informs the language. Both the mechanisms for dissemination and the different forms it sported; the ways in which it was discussed by politicians, wardens, reformers, and elites and how it migrated to the streets and peripheries and returned in the forms of local stories, object lessons, and dramatic evidence; and how Kelso included it in this collection. Interestingly in this process is the role of quasi-state technologies such as the press, pulpit, and the railways which permit and facilitate the circulation of language and the production of knowledge. Kelso not only writes, incites, and manipulates articles, he also travels with great alacrity and terrestrial breadth. Child-saving language travels by word and by rail. As time rolls on more bodies take up the work of moving this language into the networks of streets, council chambers, churches, and fields of the Province, and back again to the space-time wholeness of the scrapbooks. Kelso pastes the call and the echo. The echo is both included and interpreted for future calls. In this way, the scrapbooks are a compellingly broad dialogue. The collection of participating bodies becomes predictably complex with time. Some bodies come to seize their role, pick up the utterances, and mimic the language, while others are spoken “about.” All bodies have a particular function in giving form to statements as Eugene Irschick discusses in *Dialogue and History*.

Two Worlds

There develops a sense of two worlds – “us” and “them.” The reader is liminal, living vulnerably somewhere in between as a witness to the textual-spectacle, yet the reader’s very literacy implicates and includes them in “us”; although we also witness moments when the reader is “them.” Accordingly, it seems as if the language engenders and reflects these two phenomena,

the official and the unofficial which Kelso pastes side-by-side in this collection. Thinking with Echevarria, this imbrication and contiguity evokes Bakhtin's carnival within the Foucauldian confines of the scrapbook pages. There are artifacts which include the language in "serious" and abstract terms, quasi-treatises or monographs that are "statist," whereby the reader, after being sent to bed, is simply a child hiding on a flight of stairs listening in as the grown-ups speak. We are merely eavesdropping on officialdom, gleanng reasons of state through echoes. It is not our business yet concerns us. In other artifacts, the language gestures towards the reader, invites us in. These are the stories which emotionally ground the language in quotidian experience and daily life, the prosaics of child-saving, which tell the tales of the likes of Little Johnny Conn, who serve to confirm convictions and reveal law in action. It is a process by which the abstract is diffused into relational forms, the official communicating through the unofficial, tapping the rich veins of the folk. This employment of artistic literary devices and motifs work to make the abstract intelligible and materially visible, in the manner that a bed sheet makes a ghost appear, giving it form and making it "real." Senses are con/firmed, con/formed, assuaged, and guided by materiality – they are incredibly vulnerable, open, and uncertain, generating vertiginous anxiety that yearns to be eased through the certainty of substantial texture – that which provides a sense of balance and security through seeing and touching, and in the case of the whip and the curfew bell, hearing, and later in the story through baby farms, smelling. As I discuss in Chapter 7, newspapers chronicle the plotting of these everyday sensations through an ethnographic sensibility.

Thus in speaking about plotting on Foucault's "grid of intelligibility" I remain open to superimposing different meanings of "plot." The typographical sense: the relations between variables, the contiguous arrangement of *type*. The political sense: "scheming" or "making plans

form.” The literary sense: “the main events” or the “action.” In consideration of Foucault’s definition of politics as “action upon action,” the function of storytelling in modes of governance permits a better appreciation of an economy of vulnerability on Stoler’s emotional landscape and the ways in which ethereal, abstract objects are given form, made real, included, directed, and spoken about. Thinking with Echevarria, I observe how legislation and law incites stories by forming the boundaries of reality and enacting materiality by “pre-destinating” what *will be*.⁴ I map how storylines are enacted by law, and how discourse “casts” the characters in a space-time where the ordering practices of governance make more bodies visible.

The following is an examination of approximately fifteen months of the scrapbooks, predominantly Volume 10, June 1893 to October 1894. Despite the title of “Volume 10” it is the first chronological scrapbook in the series, which stimulates curiosity as to who ordered the ultimate collection. I undertake a chronological examination although I move back and forth depending on particular emergent themes. In other words I re-visit certain sections in separate conversations. I cite scrapbook pages numbers and publications in the main text in the hopes this will aid in navigation and orientation. Similarly this is how I also cite publications and dates. This is intended as a reminder of Kelso’s persistent presence. I have made an effort to find a balance between service to a theme and preserving the richness of the scrapbook, all the while trying to describe Kelso’s narration and notation in his role as a writer, protagonist, and curator. Throughout the evocation of the reams of artifacts, I appreciate that his eyes thoughtfully read every one. What follows is a trip across these artifacts and an effort in finding and telling stories through his decisions and impressions. Stories he may or may not have intended.

⁴ Echevarria describes how “America existed as a legal document before it was physically discovered...If America existed first as a legal document, the proliferation of laws and edicts that accompanied its conquest was stupendous, as if a paroxysmal dissemination of the printed word were needed to preserve its being” 46 & 50.

Part i: “To Look After the Little Ones”

Chapter 4: With Curious Confidence

In the Beginning was the Word

The early pages and months of Volume 10 could be described as patent and “documentary.” A twenty-nine year old Kelso works to establish himself with a sense of authority, as a state official and author alongside his presentation as “boyish-looking.” Pages 5 to 53, July to November 1893, present artifacts dedicated to explicating the “Child Problem” (as headlined in the *Canadian Baptist*), the details of the Act, defining “neglected” and “dependent,” and laying the groundwork for the proliferation of Children’s Aid through various articles. Kelso includes a lengthy circular letter that he writes to “friends of neglected children” entitled “Suggestions for the organization of a Children’s Aid Society including forms suitable for incorporation, recognition, constitution, by-laws etc.” Another circular letter from Kelso’s desk explaining the role and function of “Visiting Committees” is also included, yet is pasted out of order. Interestingly by the next year the visiting committees will be blasted by Gibson for not being effective, and Kelso will eventually admit that he never trusted their efficacy as local mechanisms to find and supervise foster scenarios, and by 1902 the Attorney-General will declare them as “A Poor System.”¹ In 1896 the Visiting Committees are ostensibly replaced by a new female travelling agent Mrs. John Harvie. Despite their inclusion in the Act, Kelso grants almost no attention to them after these artifacts.

¹ Headline from January 1902, vol.15, 215. In this article it also reports: “Mr. Kelso states the working of these committees was found to be impracticable in many cases.”

Between pages 5 and 53 are pasted 93 artifacts. Kelso is everywhere in these pages, yet does not appear “somewhere” until page 18, in a *News* article from *Aug 11* reporting that in October he “will” be in Chicago. He emerges in a somewhat parallel space-time when he “was” in Barrie on page 29. Not only is he mentioned and lauded in the many of them, he is writing some of the early articles and presumably all of the circulars. Of the 93 artifacts, eight are official documents such as circulars and letters² that would not mingle publically in the manner of newspaper or magazine articles, yet exist for specific social participants. Thus the bulk of the artifacts are newspaper clippings from various geographic locations and religious publications. The most numerous articles are from Toronto newspapers (*Globe, Star, News, World, Mail*).³ A series of articles document a succession of Kelso’s travels when he begins to emerge from an abstract, non-descript place. It appears that his first trip was to Barrie where he visits former Agricultural Minister Hon. Charles Drury, a “quintessential Ontario farmer” and ancestor of Old Country emigrants.⁴ A *September 14th, Barrie Examiner* article written by “*Truth*” lauds “Mr.

² The CAS and Visiting Committee circulars mentioned above. In addition is a letter from Kelso encouraging free dental care for poor children, which was one of his preoccupations. At the top he notes *arousing interest in dental work. K. 32.*

³ A note on newspapers: Prior to becoming superintendent, Kelso qualified as a journeyman printer with The *Mail* in 1884 (Jones and Rutman, 9). He became a young proof reader and typesetter and eventually a court reporter for the *World*, and moved to the *Globe* as a reporter and interim city editor. His various philanthropic duties contributed to the *Globe* passing him over for the job of full-time city editor in 1890 (59). Early in 1893 Kelso was elected president of the Press Gallery of the Ontario Legislature (61). With regards to the “status” of Toronto newspapers: “First in prestige, circulation, and influence was the *Globe*...[which] was closely connected with the Liberal Party...The Conservatives established the *Mail* in 1872...The pre-eminence of these ‘party’ papers was challenged in the 1880s by the *Evening Telegram*...and the *World* which first appeared in 1880. The *Telegram* and the *World* contrasted with the *Globe* and the *Mail* in style, content, and readership. The *Globe* and the *Mail* provided sober, albeit, partisan, news coverage, with a focus on political events...They were designed to appeal primarily to well-educated businessmen and professionals. The *Telegram* and the *World*, aiming to attract a broader readership including Toronto’s working men and clerks, provided a racier, more contentious, colourful, and satirical style of journalism with a focus on local events” (9-10).

⁴ “[Drury] never forgot the contributions that Old Country emigrants such as his grandfather and father had made to pioneer farming and how these settlers had fashioned an English kind of permanence and stability in the countryside of Ontario...Among the causes that Charles Drury avidly pushed to entrench community stability and good order was temperance, about which he felt so strongly that he broke with the Anglicanism of his family and embraced Methodism, a creed that emphasized social rejuvenation. In his values and interests, and in his heritage, education, and comparative affluence, he represented a class of progressive yeomen who were considered to be superior to the rank-and-file farmer, a view that suggests that the farming community was not nearly as monolithic as it is often

J.J. Kelso who long ago in Toronto earned the name of being the most effective friend of poor children the city had.” The article also embeds a passage from the *Montreal Star* which reports “Nothing will be further from Mr. Kelso’s object than to hand over these unfortunate little ones over to a system of domestic slavery; and yet that will be a peril threatening his plan.” Another article from the same day and same publication mentions Kelso “under the recently adopted Liquor Act (?) for the protection of children, is the State Guardian of the dependent children of the Province...[whose] most interesting work...that has long been needed in Ontario.” The article continues, exquisitely presenting the new movement:

In future all the little orphans will be wards of the state...It is intended to provide homeless children with homes in good Christian families instead of herding them in institutions, and any of our readers who have large enough hearts to co-operate in this movement should communicate with Mr. Kelso. Instead of writing to get boys from the emigration agencies, farmers should send word to the Dependent Children’s Office...where every assistance will be afforded them...In the meantime, it is important to note that Mr. Kelso solicits information from any part of the Province regarding available homes, and also as to children that are ill-taeated [*sic*], over-worked or brought up amid immoral surroundings. Parties knowing of cruelty should not hesitate to supply the facts, so that the necessary steps may be taken to insure protection and kind treatment.

Kelso’s travels continue to Ottawa September 27-28 (*Citizen, Evening Journal, Free Press*), and continues to Chicago, October 11-14 (*News, Tribune*),⁵ Peterborough, November 2 and 3 (*Examiner*), London, November 7 and 14 (*Free Press, Advertiser*), and Brantford (*Brant Review*).⁶ In addition to articles charting Kelso’s travels there are stand-alone articles from various places around the province. A Cornwall article announces the establishment of their curfew bell; *The Bracebridge Gazette* reports that “Mr. Mowat and his colleagues have done the wise and right thing in appointing Mr. Kelso to look after the rights of the down-trodden

made out to have been. Charles M. Johnston, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed March 24, 2014.
http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/drury_charles_alfred_13E.html.

⁵ “J.J. Kelso At Chicago. He will Orate to Humanitarians on His Favorite Topic. J.J. Kelso...has been invited to represent Ontario at the World’s Fair Congress of the American Humane Association. He will deliver an address on ‘The relation of the state to the neglected children.’” *News, Aug 11, 1893. Advocated Juvenile Court at these meetings Oct 1893. K.*

⁶ No date given but Kelso presumably visited Brantford in November as part of his trip to London.

children. No man has been more intelligently attentive than Mr. Kelso to what was to him a labor of love. Let him now go on with the good work in much more favorable circumstances. But let him do his spiriting gently. Many worthless fathers and mothers would only be too glad to get quit of the care and expense of bringing up a family.”

Hamilton is curiously present in these first pages. In an article dated “Aug. 19” from Hamilton, Fidele H. Holland⁷ writes to the editor of the Toronto *Globe*: “Sir, In a paragraph in a daily paper headed ‘Neglected Children,’ I noticed a plan, or proposition, to place such children in private homes, with adopted parents with a view to decreasing the immense number of children now relegated to public asylums and homes... These guardians would need to be people who would do the work for love of humanity, and a desire to do something for the least of God’s children.” Next to this is pasted an article from *Hamilton* dated *Sept. 5*, regarding “A Scheme for the Associated Charities to Take Up” which involved establishing a medical dispensary in Hamilton that might also serve as the headquarters of the associated charities, a shelter for men and women, and a children’s shelter as legislated by the Gibson Act, of which Judge Muir said “he could not understand all of the provisions of Mr. Gibson’s Act...” The inclusion of only two articles from Hamilton – one a letter to a Toronto editor, and the other not necessarily dedicated to child-saving – is reflective of Hamilton’s slow response to the Gibson Act. What is curious is that Hamilton is the Province’s second largest urban area and the home of Gibson. Kelso will soon remedy this lacklustre response through his journalistic acumen.

Religious publications also contribute to the intertextual conversation and are some of the first to respond. An organ of the Anglican Church, the *Canadian Churchman*: “We welcome the

⁷ Fidele H. Holland was an author from Hamilton and wrote such books as “Waddie, A Christmas Story” (1898), and “Sketches from Life, As Seen Through the Medium of a Flower Mission” (1888).

measure, not because it is wholly satisfactory, or carries out all the excellent suggestions of the Prison Reform Association, but because it is a great step in advance...”; *Pres(byterian) Review*: “It is believed that in the towns and villages of Ontario many persons will be found willing to extend mother-love to these little homeless ones, and there is probably no work that will appeal so strongly to the Christian heart and conscience.”; *Canadian Presbyterian*: “It is a good step forward, when the State officially recognizes its responsibility for the care and well-being of dependent and destitute children, and seeks to throw around them such safeguards as will fit them for useful citizenship. The children of to-day are the men and women of the future...”; *The Evangelical Churchman*: “A new field of Christian activity has been opened up by the “Children’s Charter” recently adopted by the Ontario Legislature...By this means the little ones become more naturally and rapidly assimilated with the general community, and they enjoy the privileges of the family home, which an institutions can never provide. In addition to its undoubted advantages to the child, the system is much more economical than the institution...”; *Canadian Baptist*: “During recent years great advances have been made in the methods adopted for the disposal of the neglected or dependent children who have to be cared for and educated at the expense of the community.” Kelso’s is the ghost-writer of *The Presbyterian Review* and the *Canadian Presbyterian* articles as suggested by his handwritten **K** in their margins.

The State Meant

As above, where his name is not mentioned as the author, Kelso handwrites either **JJK** or **K** suggesting his authorial specter. Within the first thirty pages, he writes ten newspaper articles and editorials in addition to the lengthy official circulars and letters: “Warning to Parents,” “Dependent Children,” “Children in the Police Court,” “Neglected Children,” “Dependent Children,” “Children of the State,” “The Children’s Charter,” “Prevention of Cruelty to Children

and Their Better Protection,” “Juvenile Criminals,” and “The Children’s Charter.” In these ten articles he develops the “talking points” of his curriculum and communicates his preoccupation with establishing juvenile courts and the separation of juvenile and adult offenders.⁸ It is in these early articles that I observe how the core of Kelso’s child-saving message moves across the economies of fiscal, political, and emotional:

The main feature...is the provision it makes for the rapid assimilation of homeless children into the general community. Workers among children have long felt that the “institution” was not the best place for the child...the tendency being to cut off children from the busy outside world, in which they must soon take an active and responsible part. When placed at an early age in judiciously selected private families, these little ones are more likely to win their way into the affection of their foster parents...The heavy expense of maintenance in an institution is also avoided, while the child is at the same time much better off. It is also satisfactory to note that the supervision of this work will be in the hands of Mr. J.J. Kelso, who has given ample evidence of his interest in this good work of rescuing little ones from a possible criminal career. (“Children of the State”, London Advertiser, July 22, 1893, p. 19)

The removal of children from communal institutions, the affectionate role of the private family, the savings of de-institutionalization, and the cutting off of the criminal class: these strategic points, refreshed and consolidated from the findings of the 1891 Royal Commission on Prisons and Reformatories buttress the movement. Depending on the author or publication certain points may be more highlighted than others, or infused with specific interests. In other words some articles might speak of these points under an evangelical, labor, agricultural, nationalist, or imperial banner. Despite the interest, the core message remains intact and consistent, and as in the citation above Kelso is embedded in the message and seems to maintain adept control of the language in this discursive package. He is writing foundational articles and I confidently speculate – based on his future actions and journalistic influence– that he is prodding journalists

⁸ Kelso’s notes: page 15: “*Separate children from adult offenders*”; page 18: “*Advocated Juvenile Court at these meetings*”; page 37: “*Advocated Children’s Courts. K*”; page 38: “*Note in above article reference to Juvenile Court. This was the beginning of movements that spread from Chicago all over the world. Gave information to leading social & civic leaders, later to Harry B. Hind who was appointed to ?? a Juv. Court. JJK.*” Kelso refers us to page 67 of the scrapbook for additional articles on his visit to Chicago.

and editors to include his message. Further, as I discuss, the printed words both “pre-destinate” his arrivals and travel with him on his trips to incite Children’s Aid chapters across the Province.

Being Around the World

In the Kelso-penned articles there is a focus upon the “global” “boarding-out or foster system in active operation in South Australia, Massachusetts, Michigan and several other states.” In “Dependent Children” he writes: “the consensus of opinion amongst those who are devoting attention to the neglected and dependent child problem the world over, as gathered from reports of the work in England, Australia, France, Germany, and the United States, is that foster homes should be provided for these State children rather than institutions...Failing relatives, the best place for the child is in a Christian family, where a kind, motherly heart will accord them the care and protection which their homeless condition calls for.” In July Miss Catharine H. Spence, an author, lecturer, and journalist appears from South Australia. She is on a leave of absence from the State Children’s Council and has been “requested to enquire into the methods of dealing with children wherever I travel.” Miss Spence tells her interviewer (who is presumably Kelso):⁹ “We have entirely abolished the old plan of collecting the children together in great barracks. Instead of it, the children are distributed amongst the ordinary homes of the people, chiefly boarding them out. This plan was suggested in Scotland 35 years ago, and had been in force in South Australia for the last 20 years...[It] has been followed successfully by Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand.” At the end of the article Miss Spence is

⁹ On page 17 Kelso refers to this article “...and the plan of operations as outlined in our interview with Miss Spence, published yesterday, will be largely the same here.” (“Neglected Children.” *JJK. Empire, July 21. 93.*)

asked: “And there is no doubt of the perfect success of the system?” In the final line of the article she responds: “None. There is not a dissentient voice in Australia.”¹⁰

The first five months are dedicated to introducing the Gibson Act, Kelso, the transnational landscape, and local characters such as Rev. J.E. Starr (special agent and constable of Toronto CAS), and J. Stuart Coleman (assistant to Starr). The enduring subplots of the British Home Children as “negative,” the curfew bell, the call to find homes in the country for poor children, drunken and dissolute parents are introduced in single articles. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) enters the story, and despite their critique of Kelso’s gender, will emerge in the coming pages as a strong ally of child-saving in an interesting storyline of Pyrrhic victory. Also introduced are the various institutions which will move into the altruistic crosshairs of child-saving: the Penetanguishene Reformatory for Boys, The Victoria Industrial School for Boys at Mimico, and The Protestant Orphans Home. All three articles celebrate and/or confirm the good work of these institutions as if they are not poised for poaching, as if they are large grazing game unaware of the keen hunter crouching at the tree line.

Presently Absent

Kelso does not emerge as “present” until page 35 at a meeting in Ottawa. Until this time he is either “will be,” “was,” or nowhere at all, only as an authorial presence. Accordingly the headlines to November are nominalist and thematic, at this point the object in question remains abstract without material form: “Neglected Children” (eleven headlines), “Protect the Children,”

¹⁰ Miss Spence emerges again in the *Home Guard London, May 14. 94*, page 165 beneath the headline “Homes for Orphans” which continues: “Our readers will be interested to know, writes the Union Signal [the WCTU publication] that two women, Miss Clark and Miss Spence, have secured in Australasia that ideal condition with regard to orphan children which the WCTU is striving.” The article concludes: “It is a hint of what mother love in the State will accomplish when it is given opportunity to exist its beneficent influence there.”

(seven) “Children’s Aid Society,” (five) “To Look After Little Helpless Ones,” (four) “The New Law” (three) “Cruelty to Children,” (two) “For Such is the Kingdom,” “A Warning to Parents,” “Friends of the Brutes,” “A Home in the Country,” “Save the Children,” and “Friendless Children.” There are no “stories” as yet, no folk tales to evoke or mobilize the language in the everyday, only the setting up of the field where the voices of Kelso, Gibson, journalists, editors, clergy, politicians, judges, local reformers, and child workers contribute to the intertextual conversation and confirm the initial boundaries of sentiment. I also observe how localities textually respond to the metropolitan announcement, how the message is diffused, and how municipalities decide to take this up or not. I conjure in my mind a map of the Province, with webs of train tracks, which although lead to Toronto, also interconnect municipalities interdependently. The webs that pre-*destinate* the path of the language. Concurrently, I also experience the flood of print – the incitement – the seizure of an idea with a commanding textual force whereby the “event” of legislation releases a rushing epistemological current that necessarily gathers tributaries. The artifacts come in all shapes and sizes, of varying styles and sizes of font, and are as unique as the places they are cut from. Each artifact has a particular character yet they all flow in the same direction. These first five months conclude with the sense that Kelso is firmly embedded in the language, due in large part to his own efforts to disseminate language both through his own authorship and travels. He provides space for editors to comment and circulate opinions,¹¹ and lays out his operational plan for the CAS and the visiting

¹¹ There are two articles, covering the same meeting, which present a critique during these first five months. In an article on *Aug. 24* reporting on a meeting of the “Lady Templars”: “Several hard hits were made at the Ontario Government and at Mr. John Dryden in particular, who was condemned as not being consistent, since, advocating as he did the theory that women should stay at home and mind the children, he had nevertheless appointed a man to look after the destitute children of the Province.” (22). The other article reporting on the meeting, entitled “The Women Have Their Day Of It” asks the question “should the superintendent of neglected children be a man or a woman?..[in the debate] it was decided that the Government should appoint both a man and a woman” (33). In the near future a prominent woman will emerge in the child-saving movement. John Dryden, mentioned in the first article, was an enthusiastic promoter of “Empire Ontario.” As the Minister of Agriculture beginning in 1890 he led

committees through official circular letters. I also observe his warm relationship with Chicago whose *Humane Journal* traces his history from 1886, introduces a photograph of Kelso¹² – the first collaged artifact of the scrapbook collection – and makes the first laudatory remarks recognizing his new position. The article describes him as “a young man of sterling integrity and indomitable energy – thoroughly committed to every good word and work.” He first “appears” in the scrapbook in Chicago. This is where he seems to see the future of child-saving, where the discussion of separate courts for children attracts his passion and will come to fruition by 1908 through the Juvenile Delinquents Act.

First Impressions of the Everyday

The decision to confine this early discussion to page 53 emerged from the content of the scrapbook. Simply put, to page 53, or November 18, 1893, folk do not yet “exist” in the collection. On page 54 the first appearance is Joseph Holloway beneath the headline “Homeless Boy and Child’s Bank.” He is “a boy without a home or friends [who] was taken into the house of John Timbers, Scarboro.” Only three days later Joseph stole 60 cents from a child’s bank and was arrested by Constable Burns and remanded by Magistrate Wingfield. Pasted beside the story of Joseph is an article entitled “Foiled Her Evil Design,” from the *Telegram Nov* * reporting a tale of a mysterious woman giving a false identity as the “wife of a well-to-do druggist of the City of the Straits” who was able to hoodwink both the managers of the Toronto Girls’ Home and Judge McDougall to remove a girl from the institution to Detroit. Kelso is reported as having

large farming initiatives which included opening up the northwest, improving dairy products, and strengthening the Ontario Agriculture College at Guelph. In May 1893 he invoked his Biblical interpretations in a speech wherein he referred to female suffragists as “the lowest type of true womanhood.” Ian M. Stewart, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed March 28, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dryden_john_13E.html.

¹² This photograph is on page 4. On page 5 there is a sketch of Gibson and a picture of a man who might be Rev. Starr.

prescient knowledge of the situation and with the sagacious and dedicated help of Inspector Archibald and Patrol Sergeant Vaughan, ultimately foils the woman's nefarious plans.¹³ Mrs. Turner turns out to be the aptly named Mrs. Bedson, the keeper of "one of the most notorious houses of ill fame in Detroit." This story is reported again in a shorter undated article on page 60. On *Dec 1 1893*, Rev. J. Starr accuses the Toronto Opera House of employing little girls in the stage production of "Black Crook," citing an infraction of the Gibson Act. Manager Morris defends himself, saying that he obtained a permit from Magistrate Denison who "had first satisfied himself that the children would be well looked after by their parents." Beneath the headline "Complied with the Law," it is reported that the issue is "a tempest in a teapot which simmered out." Magistrate Denison's license is re-printed in its entirety which assures and confirms that Annie Goldsmith is indeed the mother of Hilda, 11, Beatrice, 13, Mattie, 10, and Lilly, 9, and that she "has made proper provision to secure the health and kind treatment of the said children who are under contract to perform in the "Black Crook." It continues by stipulating the specific days and hours when the girls will be permitted to perform. It concludes by stating: "The statements made that Mr. Morris had consulted a solicitor and that Rev. Mr. Starr, the agent of the Children's Aid Society, had demanded that the performance cease are untrue." In mid-December 1893, the next child appears. At the extreme bottom left of the page in a five-line undated article entitled "The Gillett Child," it is reported that Rev. Starr has "secured possession of the crippled child of Robert Gillett, Morse street. He will apply for an order of the court to compel Gillett to pay something towards supporting the child."

¹³ Kelso was aware that the 13 year old's term at the home was expiring and wished to transfer her to wardship of the CAS. This is reminiscent of Chen's discussion in Chapter 4: "Reports, Visits, and Case Records: Process of Establishing Power/Knowledge. She says: "Through establishing the reporting mechanism, criteria for investigation and supervision, and categories of information in case records, these technologies brought together a state in which parental conduct and children's experience come to be understood and regulated according to the beliefs of the child savers." 78.

These four cases emerge amidst 47 artifacts which broaden and interpret the conversation. Kelso travels to Guelph¹⁴ and Ottawa¹⁵ to encourage the establishment of CAS chapters, and Judge Ardagh pens a letter to hasten a chapter in Barrie.¹⁶ On page 81, there is an article from the *Hamilton Herald, Dec 13*, entitled “Children’s Aid Society” which continues, “The Gibson Act Has Not Been Taken Advantage of In Hamilton Yet.” It reports that “it is a matter of surprise that Rev. Father Geoghegan or some other philanthropic citizen has not as yet taken advantage of this legislation.” Beneath the article Kelso reveals: *Inspired by K; written by D. Hastings*. Below his note *Juvenile Court Needed* is pasted Kelso’s article “Children in the Police Court,” and in a letter to the editor of the Mail urges “philanthropic workers and charitable associations” to press for legislative changes “in the interests of the community, as well as of the children.” On the next page, he marks up a *Toronto Star* article from *Nov. 25* entitled “No Room For The Children” which reports on Magistrate Denison’s explanation of why he tries them in open court: “~~The Only Place He Has~~”; “~~He Says That He Does Not Believe~~ in Private Hearings in Any Case; “~~The Room That Is Available.~~” Alongside the left margin Kelso writes: *Nov ’93. Why we insisted on a Juvenile Court.*

Tension also emerges in the discussions of British Home Children and the curfew bell, the two subplots of child-saving which invite and incite the greatest prosaic passion, where there is eavesdropping closest to the sentiments of the marketplace: “Even if the Barnardo boys were the children of the first families in Britain, and veritable angels in disposition and habits, it would

¹⁴ Guelph does not become a Children’s Aid Society. It integrates protection of children beneath the title of the Humane Society. Stratford will do the same. Kelso suggests later that the reason is because there are not enough women interested.

¹⁵ Alongside a *Dec 9 Free Press* article headlined “An Influential Assemblage” Kelso writes: “*Ottawa. JJK a guest at Gov’t House and accompanied Lord and Lady Aberdeen from Rideau Hall to the large and fashionable gathering.*”

¹⁶ Kelso writes beneath this letter: “*Judge Ardagh – a good friend whom I have often missed. K*”

be the duty of Canadians first to look after their own boys. And there are plenty of them!” (*Ham. Spec. Dec 18*). “Nearly 2,000 are Brought in Every Year and Provided with Homes While Many Native Children are Not Cared For” (*Telegram Nov 30*). Mr. Alfred B. Owen, the agent of Dr. Barnardo’s Homes in Toronto is given a voice in a two and half page article headlined “A Few Inaccuracies” in which he responds to the *Telegram* article. To assist the reader in navigation, Kelso references us back to that article in the left margin: *Telegram See Page 68*. An article entitled “A Great Work” makes apologies to “references that were unjust to Miss Rye the helper of orphan children,”¹⁷ and continues, “Miss Rye has done a great work, and this journal would be extremely worried to print anything tending to cripple the movement which she has directed so long and so efficiently.” This article dated *Dec 17* sits above the story of the crippled Gillett Child. The curfew bell continues its uneven proliferation whereby it is reported as already adopted in many towns as distant as Rat Portage while there persists a strong public opinion against it: “Good Mr. Gibson’s bill for the better protection of children proposes to save the little ones from crime by making a new crime for them to commit.”

The appearances of the four object lessons to December 1893 amid these artifacts embody the thrust and comprehension of child-saving to date. A nascent myth of concern is working within the discourse. The story of Joseph Holloway is a lesson that there are kindly men who will take in a needy boy, and that Joseph’s offence is dire. It is not about the taking of 60 cents. It is that he steals the “saving” impulse of another boy, the liberal urge of planning and investing for the future. Joseph is stealing another boy’s destiny – committing bio-larceny – and thus he is entered into the judicial complex to be disposed of. The story of the woman trying to

¹⁷ Mrs. Maria Rye is an importer of British Home Girls to the Niagara Region. For a biography see Joy Parr, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, General Bibliography*, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/rye_maria_susan_13E.html

apprehend a 13 year old girl teaches that there are evil women in the midst, those bereft of a kindly Christian mother-heart who threaten female purity. They will lie, they are cunning, disregard boundaries, change appearance, and have skills that can outwit certain authorities – but not the administratively adroit Kelso. The dramatic case of the four Goldsmith sisters teaches that someone is closely watching who your girls spend time with and perform for. The reader learns about a new organization that has the right to interrogate your parentage and investigate your operations no matter your class-standing, and that an administrative procedure is necessary, possible, and transparent in this new reality. The Gillett child teaches about a state who will care for its most vulnerable, and will come to your door to collect when you voluntarily hand over your child. These four stories serve to portray the young thief who will cunningly bite the hand that feeds him while snatching the future of others; the sexual vulnerability of pre- and pubescent girls and the need for wise men to protect them from the likes of “Black Crooks”; the administration that traces, guides, and records conversations between owners, parents, agents and the court; and the social and pecuniary costs associated with not taking care of your own child. These stories activate the authorities upon the action of those who transgress, exhibit a lack of liberal self-responsibility and/or self-efficacy, or in the case of Manager Morris, follow the letter of the law.

In this quartet of folk tales is embedded the words of a new law with keen eyes which warns in a *Telegram* headline that “The Bogey Man Will Come” and apprehend children, as described under the headline “Caring for Children.” The article continues, “Protected by Law. How the Law Touches the Little Ones – Love and Kindness Must be Their Portion – “the Children’s Protection Act.”” The hand of the state is reaching out to children and leading them from their pre-political place to a liminal role on the political stage with adult actors: from pre-

forensic towards forensic. There is material contact with dedicated governance which enacts a *conscientia* which Kelso is housing in his collection.

A Picture is Worth 84 Pages: The Mass Production Circular

These four stories of the everyday lead to the moment in the scrapbook when Kelso begins his practice of merging language and iconography. What appears unique about Kelso's method is his use of sketches and photos in unofficial newspaper articles, quasi-official circulars, and official documents such as his annual reports which are included in the Ontario Sessional Papers. The use of imagery was a practice that Dr. Barnardo famously employed in London, and for which he was eventually criticized for "staging" the plight of street children. In United States Jacob Riis,¹⁸ a Danish American social reformer used photography to expose the middle and upper classes to the realities of the New York slums, most famously in his 1888 book "How the Other Half Lives,"¹⁹ and his "Children of the Poor" in 1892.

The November 1893 circular that Kelso pastes on pages 84 and 85 lives in this tripartite current. He embeds a staged photograph to support and personify the language. He is working to wrap the imaginative and the abstract with the dispositional and sartorial. The image is striking. The boy is dressed in a manner suggestive of what would be referred to as a "Street Arab," wearing a cloak with a contrast of a white and black evoking light and shadow. The boy is not overtly threatening or down-and-out. Rather, Kelso chooses an image of curious confidence. He

¹⁸ Kelso shares a similar trajectory with Riis who was an immigrant, became a police reporter with an eventual reformist tone, and employed the use of a Magic Lantern. Kelso's language is reminiscent of Riis as evidenced the opening words of "Children of the Poor": "To my little ones, who, as I lay down my pen, come rushing in from the autumn fields, their hands filled with flowers 'for the poor children' I inscribe this book. May the love that shines in their eager eyes never grow cold within them" (1903, v).

¹⁹ Riis borrowed this title from Rabelais who wrote in *Pantagruel* (1532): "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives."

is a confidence man-boy: a *conboy*. He looks us in the eye. The boy's countenance and body-language deliver an almost elegant swagger, broadcasting a cunning rather than violent threat. Kelso wraps language all around this image, demanding the reader to tilt their head to adjust their viewing plane, and includes decorative icons, and an eye-catching, emphatic, upper-case "NEGLECTED!" He also employs a rhetorical device which becomes common in child-saving language – the posing of questions which work to diffuse accountability from abstraction to the material life of the reader, whose literacy, *whose ability to read this*, signals a partnership and implication: "If not rescued what will his future be?", "Can we afford that these boys should be lost to honor, virtue and usefulness?", "Is there such an organization in your city?" This document is overt about its purpose: "In the person of this neglected child is presented the type of many such children who are growing up to be burdens to themselves and the community because unloved and uncared for in early childhood." The artifact condenses, and with great confidence, declares the pillars of "Child-saving," a term used for the first time with such a momentous imprint, branding it as the moniker of a movement and posing it as "the question of child saving – that is, the true training and teaching of all children, is the first step towards laying the foundations of a permanent and perfect social fabric." This fantasy embeds children as forensic beings in the making of the future. The circular is alive with anxiety and immediacy: "every moment lost means a suffering child left without protection..."; there is the evocation of a resident "evil" and the call to duty that "we owe to ourselves, to the children, to humanity, to God"; "The presence of large numbers of neglected children in every centre of population is a satire on our civilization." It includes "all children" within in a phenomenon of childhood and implicates every citizen: "This is a work in which every citizen may have a worthy part... to secure justice for every child it is necessary that citizens generally should realize their

responsibility in this matter... When you hear of a child being ill-treated or wronged either by a parent or anyone else, report the case at once to someone in authority. Do not fail in this.” Kelso communicates with certainty and textual authority which equals the fear and anxiety it produces. He is part wild-west sheriff and part evangelist slinging pointed words to rouse the complacent perched upon the stools of the public house: “No one can escape responsibility by claiming it is not his business. It is every one’s business. A suffering child has an irresistible claim on the heart and conscience of every man and woman in the Province; in its weakness and helplessness it presents a plea that none should seek to resist.” On the first page of the circular, in the top left hand corner, Kelso writes on a 45° angle: *5000 printed. Nov. 1893. K.* This note suggests that he is adept at “getting the word out.” His inspiring note that will soon get Hamilton moving is further evidence that Kelso is both clever and strategic in his intertextual management. This young provincial knows the plays and rules of a large discursive field. There is a noticeable change in the tone of the scrapbooks after the firm announcement domiciled this two-page multimedia inclusion which also introduces Kelso’s guiding binary theme: “It affects every condition of life and our individual and national well-being and it will decide the destinies of two worlds – a world of happiness and a world of woe.”

Intertextual Confinement

With a single turn of the page the language becomes more corporeal, violent, and contiguous with “confinement.” At the same time there is increased intertextual traffic, momentum, literary motifs, and Rabelaisian body-culture series. The first artifact declares: “On the Verge of Starvation” wherein the *Tor Star* details “the shocking revelations in the east end – children starving in a hovel... Not fit for cattle... on the verge of starvation... Mother in prison, father a drunkard... Will they now be cared for... should the case end here?” Meanwhile in Hamilton as

described in two articles, “Rev. Father Geoghegan is tireless in his efforts for the benefit of his unfortunate fellow-creatures. He is now working up a scheme to take advantage of the Gibson Act.” The lash enters the conversation: “Grand Jurors Favor The Lash...it would be useful in the case of young thieves. And check them from following a criminal career. The Jury also thinks the jail should be better ventilated.” In the *News Jan 15*, beneath the headline “Use The Whip” it is reported that “More than once J.J. Kelso and others, who have given much study to the subject have made the same recommendation on that which found a place in the presentment of Saturday.” Under the headline “New Books and Periodicals” we learn that “*The Canadian Magazine* for January” contains an article by Kelso entitled “Neglected and Friendless Children.”

In the text of *Foreign Fields, a U.S. Publication, Chicago*, Kelso appears: “The following interesting summary of the Act for the Protection of Children...has been kindly furnished us by Mr. J.J. Kelso...The Act, it will be noticed, gives prominence to the Christian family home as the best place for friendless children.” *Prison Sunday issued by Prisoner’s Aid Association of Canada* lauds both the Act and Kelso’s appointment: “This legislation will doubtless be followed immediately by the re-organization of the Boys’ Reformatory at Penetanguishene and the removal of the Girls’ Refuge from the contaminating influence of the Reformatory for Women.” The article continues echoing the lamentation of the *Canadian Churchman*, “We were...disappointed that the Government did not accede to the request of the Prison Reform Conference, that a special grant be made to enable the Prisoner’s Aid Association to inaugurate a prison reform movement in each county in the Province.” *Prison Sunday, Jan 10 ’94* prints the legislation in full. *The Chris(tian) Guardian, Jan 12, ’94*, includes an excerpt from Gibson’s *Methodist Magazine* article:

The process of absorption is more natural and more gradual, and consequently more successful, than can result from the institution plan of caring for these children... They should have the care of motherly and fatherly people, who, as their foster-parents, may replace those they have lost... The matron of a home cannot bestow her personal affection upon the large numbers under her control, and she should not single out a limited few to the exclusion of others. The child's natural desire is for home life, for affection and, above all, parental love.

The Hamilton Times, Jan 16, reports on the *Prison Sunday* article. This is pasted beneath cuttings from two magazine articles. The top is entitled "The Children's Act. By the Hon. J.M. Gibson" which is "reprinted from *The Methodist Magazine* January, 1894." Below is "From the *Canadian Magazine*, January 1894" and entitled "Neglected and Friendless Children. By J.J. Kelso." We can only read the severed first lines of his article: "In this latter part of the nineteenth... Very little thought has been given..." In the Toronto *Empire, Jan 13*, it is reported how Kelso "has succeeded in the short time that he has been in office in systematizing the new department. During the last few months Mr. Kelso has travelled all over the province and has distributed literature amongst charitable workers, besides organizing children's aid bands in many places. During this month, Mr. Kelso will lecture on the provisions of Mr. Gibson's Act... in Hamilton, Brantford, Paris, and St. Thomas." Thinking with Bruce Curtis, Kelso's job to date has been to incite and stimulate an exhausting hyper-intertextual cacophony that is strangely coordinated amid the din. It becomes difficult to ascertain where voices are originating from, but they all confirm the same thing. They become diffused yet always-everywhere. I begin to witness how the circulation of utterances works towards a self-generating interlocking enclosure towards a normalized and consensual way of speaking. Through the PAA there is an appreciation that one must participate in order to critique.

Hamilton Inspired

In this flurry of articles that sits amongst thirteen artifacts between pages 86 and 92 (approximately January 12 to 15), the echo of Gibson's *Methodist Magazine* article dominates

the clipping content until page 102.²⁰ On page 93 is an official document that Kelso *rec'd Jan 1894* from *J * Pringle, County Judge* informing that “the judge of the County Court, the Sheriff, and the Warden of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, have, according to the direction contained in the 11th Section of 56th Victoria, Chapter 45, the Act passed by the Legislature of the Province of Ontario in May last....appointed the persons hereinafter named to be “THE CHILDREN’S VISITING COMMITTEE” for the Electoral District of...” Like a film that begins with its own end, this artifact presages what is to come. There is now a recognition that Kelso prepared us for this moment back on page 81, in the December 13 Hamilton article that he “inspired.” Portions of Gibson’s article are referenced and/or re-printed in: “Looking after the little ones,” *Ham Herald Jan 15/94*, “Protection of Children,” *The Globe, Toronto, Jan 20th*, and “Cruelty to Children” *Baptist Jan 20*. Then, the *Hamilton Times, Jan 23rd*, headlines “Children’s Aid Society” which describes the “Large and Enthusiastic Meeting at the Board of Trade Room. An Organization Formed.” It continues, “Hon. Mr. Gibson was called up and addressed the meeting. He said that although not entirely responsible for calling the meeting, he had taken part in the preliminary arrangements thereafter.” *The Globe Jan 23rd*, reports “that Ald. Pratt moved and Rev. Dr. Fletcher seconded a resolution to the effect that the organization should be incorporated...Mr. John W. Bickle moved, seconded by Rev. G. Forneret, that the society should work in co-operation with similar existing institutions in the city...” Pasted

²⁰ There is a single story regarding children, reported in the *Toronto World, Jan 16, 1894* from Ottawa: “Child Vagrants Pardoned. Remarkable Case of the Exercise of The Executive Clemency. Infant children of a bigamists’ first wife, left destitute, jailed as vagrants, released by the Crown on Petition – Ottawa Branch of the National Council of Women of Canada.” After the death of their mother, the Lanark County authorities did not know what to do with Gilbert, 8, Bertha 10, so they put them in jail as vagrants. When transported from Perth to an orphanage in Kingston, they could not be admitted due to their criminal status, and thus remained in jail. “A petition was addressed to His Excellency the Governor-General setting forth the facts of the case, and he on the advice of the Attorney-General for Canada promptly ordered their release.” 90.

beside, The *Hamilton Spectator Jan 23rd*, reports the same meeting across two pages. The *Hamilton Times* and *Herald* also reports on *Jan 23rd*, the Herald opining:

The little ones are the future men and women on the country, and if they are not cared for now and put in the way of becoming good and useful men and women the outlook is not bright. We permit children to be brought up with professional thieves and amid disreputable surroundings, and then pack them off to jail because they do not behave themselves in after years! Was anything ever so illogical and absurd? Early training is everything. If it tells in speech and manners, how much more so in morals and ideas of right and wrong? If the community exacts exemplary conduct from its members, it should at least put them in the way of learning what exemplary conduct is during the impressionable years of youth, for the influences that mould the young are the ones that are paramount in later life. It is the old story of the twig and the tree.²¹

On the next page is another article from the *Herald* on *Jan 23rd*: “Neglected Children. A Society Duly Organized to Look After Them” which reports Kelso’s attendance at the inaugural meeting: “Superintendent Kelso said he was present, not so much as a Government official, but as a friend to children.” The same article concludes: “Rev. Father Geoghegan will be appointed a special constable, under the Children’s Protection Act, so that he can the better carry out its provisions. He will be sworn in before the Police Commissioners in a few days.” The good reverend is inspired to action.²²

Whip into Shapes

Indeed there is a palpable energy, at times a nervousness, as publications speak to each other, embed each other’s statements, and motivate local bodies into action. There is only one folk-story in these pages, yet I still sense a movement of language from official and statist tracts to a

²¹ 100

²² Born in Ireland Thomas Geoghegan immigrated to America where he abandoned his business activities and eventually entered Trinity College in Toronto in 1877. He was highly esteemed and known as a “friend to the poor” through his 18 years of work in the Hamilton region. On February 24th 1899 Toronto’s *Daily Mail and Empire* published the headline “Church Scandal at Hamilton. Charges Laid Against Rev. Thomas Geoghegan.” This article (not in the scrapbooks) describes “an ugly rumour” concerning “sensational” charges laid regarding a woman from Buffalo from a “well connected” and “respectable” family. The reverend denies the charges, the article saying: “what he did was done as an old friend of the family. His friends refuse to believe him guilty but the woman’s relatives claim they have strong evidence.” The nature of the charges is not described. Article accessed June 28, 2014.

<http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=36&dat=18990224&id=CYsJAAAIBAJ&sjid=nSgDAAAIBAJ&pg=4478,4775224>.

more prosaic, editorial style. A quasi-official tone that is both mimetic/compliant and commonplace in the same moment – it has extra-abstract personality. Kelso’s stated disposition in Hamilton as “friend” and not “agent” personifies this; it is as if he is working to drive the language “downwards” towards visibility and materiality where readers can both understand and participate through everyday means and images. Church lecture halls are being booked and prepped. Contiguous references to prison, confinement, and the lash serve this end and also assist in heightening the intensity and immediacy of the movement. This is supported in the first artifact after the aforementioned NEGLECTED! circular: “Grand Jurors Favor the Lash” wherein a sketch of a hand grasping and wielding a whip is embedded at the head of the article in front of a large “T” followed by a description of the lash as the remedy to the crux of the fresh child problem. As I soon discuss, the whip is a culturally understood symbol of discipline and will continue to emerge in the conversation.

The Prisoner’s Aid Association (PAA) is interestingly represented in these articles. Their publication *Prison Sunday* (published not on the Sabbath but on a Wednesday) supports the Gibson Act yet laments that more was not done for greater reform for (presumably) adult prisoners in the wake of the 1891 report of the Royal Commission on Prisons.²³ The prison reform movement and child-saving are intimately linked as evidenced in the *Prison Sunday* article which concludes: “Copies of the Children’s Aid Act, and copies of the Prison Reform Commissioner’s Report and the Annual Reports of the Inspector of Prisons for Ontario, may be obtained free on application to the Provincial Secretary.” The role of the PAA can be discussed in an ironic way when considered alongside the thoughts of Judith Butler who speaks to the roles

²³ The article references the “Prison Conference.” I speculate that it is a reference to the 1890 Royal Commission of Prisons and Reformatories.

of contemporary prisoner advocacy groups. Butler discusses how these groups illuminate the realities and conditions of prison life to those beyond the walls of the institutions of confinement – a function of the 1890 Royal Commission. In other words, as Butler borrows from Hannah Arendt, prisoners are not entirely “banned from public spaces,” as these organizations serve to represent and mediate their experience of forced sequesterment to the outside world.²⁴ Thus in the space-time of the scrapbooks the PAA embodies the prisoners’ link to the public sphere – and vice versa – and thus makes them representationally visible through an advocacy discourse. The society serves to produce an accessible epistemology and collection of chimeras as Kelso will soon demonstrate in his “Cradled in Crime” article. The work of the PAA performs what might be called a “discursive doublet,”²⁵ whereby the representation of prison realities inversely serves a bifurcation: the idea of the prisoner is generative, not in their present experience, but as “other” in the program to represent the future hopes of the child. The expert knowledge of prison reform has become condensed in the orderings of the new child-saving movement. The confined prisoner is cast as a “pre-historic,” nostalgic subject-object, while its “other,” is imagined into the “future.”

As the PAA laments, adult criminals were largely ignored, left to old devices, the main concern being “bad ventilation,” a common euphemism for bad odors. Hope was lost on them as relics of a now-outdated and failed institutional experiment,²⁶ yet in their (now) “pre-historic” form they were highly valuable in the role of the binarized other – examples of what it looked

²⁴ Judith Butler, “Public Assembly and Plural Action: University College Alexander Lecture,” (University College, Toronto, February, 11, 2014).

²⁵ I borrow this term from Thomas Popkewitz in his discussion of “Teach for America” a schooling program for low-income inner-city and rural students: “Teaching practices designed ostensibly to help children develop their ‘potential’ and ‘intelligence’ are discursive doublets that embody the negative norms of the child-as-other while repositioning those norms as positive ‘traits’ from which competence and salvation can be derived.” *Struggling for the Soul: The Politics and the Construction of the Teacher*. (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1998), 107.

²⁶ Matthews, 231.

like when life and time were preserved in costly cramped cemented cellular confinement.²⁷ They had no “time” or projection into the future except as deterrence-totems for the next generation. In this economy, viewed through Kelso’s imaginative dioramas, hope was heavily invested in fertile lives that had “time” and in the idyllic promise of future spaces with friendly God-fearing families, and “free,” fecund fields.

Cure and Cause?

This brief exegesis of the PAA demands a pause to reflect upon what Rev. J.C. Smith declares in a meeting to discuss the formation the Humane Society in The *Guelph Mercury*, Nov 18: “This was the age of societies, yet he had often thought we would be better off perhaps if we had less of them.”²⁸ At the upcoming Toronto child-saving conference in October 1894 it will be discussed that the welter of local societies that attract parents to leave the home in the evenings should be listed on the eclectic menu of causes of child neglect. As discussed in Chapter 8, this sentiment will also empower the argument for the curfew bell in gendered and satirical ways. And time and time again, as evidenced in the preamble to multiple articles reporting on CAS meetings, attendances are governed by the climate of “competing events” in the particular town.²⁹ By June this will prompt Kelso to include “more entertainment” to entice greater attendance and accordingly he will produce “louder” posters, hire elocutionists and musicians, and by 1896 employ a Magic Lantern to project images (this technology is also referred to as a “Limelight”). The phenomenon of “societies” bears discussion in light of Butler’s thoughts,

²⁷ Butler.

²⁸ He continued: “This society from the majority, there was nothing selfish in it, it appealed to our better instincts and calls for sympathy without any reference to class.” 62.

²⁹ Frequently “weather” is also mentioned as a factor affecting attendance numbers.

alongside the rationality of the liberal order which strives to decrease the presence of the state in peoples' lives through the mechanism of diffusion.

It seems that a role of benevolent societies such as the PAA and CAS is to delineate and describe particular concerns. As a collective of sentimental bodies motivated by a sense of liberal humanitarianism and applied Christianity, their job is to make visible and promote a particular "ideal." This ideal is bifurcated and polysemantic. Meaning, they work to create an ideal image of the realities of the "now" and simultaneously an image for the future. This is redolent of Comacchio's thoughts on the opportunities of "crisis." Depravity is highly generative. The language debases in the present in order to justify the idealized contrast towards an imagined future: "the possible" in a current of hope that flows beyond view. It is as if the role of philanthropic societies is pastorally anthropologic, akin to Echevarria's notion of the "ethnography of anthropology." They work locally to identify, observe, and report upon particular cultural phenomena which are included in a trans-local network at the behest of a hegemonic discourse. This process informs modes governance and is made intelligible in part by literary description. The annual oeuvre of the Ontario Sessional Papers is material evidence of this. To re-quote Stoler: "*Statecraft was not opposed to the affective, but about its mastery.*"³⁰ This line of thought urges a consideration of the function of these societies within technologies of governance. Although the state and its governmental practices may be critiqued by these societies and their attendant movements, they do not function "outside." They have a particular internal utility driven by ambition, social standing, evangelism, and the power to portray. The organizations provide moments of quotidian visibility to assist in surveillance and maintaining a sense of obedience and security – balance – and alleviate the anxiety of its imagined/potential

³⁰ *Along the Archival Grain*, 71, italics original.

loss. It is a poetic irony that the surfeit of societies is identified as a source of insecurity. Indeed Rev. Smith's observation is both prescient and productive.

As the language in the scrapbooks moves towards the discussion of reified forms of child-saving language – architectures, the lash, the curfew bell, taking children, Home Children, Bands of Mercy, etc. – there is an appreciation that these are not ironic, humorous, or contradictory when considered through the space-time panes of the scrapbook. Foucault's reminder of the guiding need for feelings of security cues consideration that these are practices which act as levers of balance in the service of alleviating anxiety and maintaining a sense of stability. The debates that are waged specifically regarding the Home Children and curfew bell enrich the discussion of the hoarding, elusiveness, and wholeness of discourse, its "inclusiveness." The conversations are not consensual yet their very existence as a "debate" serves the same ends; they unevenly pulse on the edges, carefully circumscribing limits of what the (literate) population will permit. The very fact that debate simply *exists* serves rational ends; critique and resistance are participatory and productive in the organization of "what is said rightly."

Chapter 5: Moods: Past Perfect – Present Tense – Future Uncertain

“The City and Suburbs”

Akin to Hamilton, on page 103 Kelso forecasts the coming pages through the inclusion of an artifact that is not a popular article. This is an invitation headed: “Children’s Protection Act of 1893.” Beneath a simple decorative horizontal accoutrement it continues “A Society has been formed for the North Riding of the County of Brant under the above act....to give [dependent children] that kindly encouragement and counsel which their youth, inexperience and friendless condition calls for.” Kelso is noted as the speaker who will give an address in Paris Ontario at the Congregational Church on February 2, yet it appears that his first name is misspelled. He entirely scratches out a name and boldly writes a large **J.J.** The invitation concludes, “We shall be pleased to have a large attendance, and if necessary establish a Children’s Aid Society.” And so, as Kelso’s collage has presaged, a trip begins to Southwestern Ontario, the most represented region outside of Toronto in Volume 10. Here resides one of the most ardent future promoters of the CAS, and local people who will express that they simply do not have “those type” of children but will happily “prepare for when that day will come.”

Meanwhile, back in the metropolis, Rev. Starr is preparing to ask the Dominion Government for changes in the Criminal Code. “He will ask that no child under sixteen shall be sent to jail. He believes that they should be sent to an industrial school, handed over to the Children’s Aid Society, or whipped by an officer appointed for the purpose or the parent as the court might direct.” And in Hamilton, despite the presence of Rev. Geoghegan, Kelso and

latecomers Rev. Starr and Hon. Gibson it is reported that “the meeting of the Children’s Aid Society in Association Hall last night was poorly attended.” But explains “this apparent lack of interest in the society by calling attention to the largely attended missionary convention, which has concluded the night previous, intimating that the citizens could not be expected to turn out in large numbers night after night.” Kelso “began his address by saying that he thought the audience was not small, but the hall was big, and that was what was the matter.” In the same article Gibson’s comment on the small attendance was a lamentation that there were not more men present. Pasted beside, The *Hamilton Spectator* reports the same day on the same meeting where “The majority of those present were ladies.” Rev. Starr declares that Gibson is “the father of the bill” and continues, “In the past the state and the church had not looked after neglected children. The proposal was that the state should be the father of every neglected child and the church its mother.” Gibson takes the rostrum and admonishes that “There was not enough practical Christianity in the world...In a city of this size it should not be a difficult matter for the society’s officers to have every child of this class under their eye...For men to do a little work in the interests of the society was better evidence of practical Christianity than going to church once a week.”

S.M. Thomson, the benevolent tailor, is introduced through a letter he read “*To the Mayor and Aldermen*” represented in full in the *Brantford Courier*, beneath a headline which reads: “SIR OLIVER MOWAT...Levies another charge on this city – indigent children cannot be kept at the house of refuge.” Thomson’s letter embeds passages from the Gibson Act “section 10 (1)...[and] Section 12 (1)” to support his request for temporary shelters or homes for children apprehended under the Act. Ald. Strickland responds to Thomson’s letter: “Such a law was all right for Toronto or Hamilton, but not for a place the size of Brantford,” referencing two boys

who “came under the Act were now in the House of Refuge and doing very well there.” Ald. McGregor retorts that “the statute distinctly stated that children must be kept from that institution,” while “Ald. C. Whitney was surprised that such an expense should be placed on the city.” The meeting concludes by a motion by Ald. Halloran that Thomson’s letter be forwarded to the finance committee, “and that a small sum of money be placed at the credit of the city treasurer, \$20 for the purpose of Mrs. Cochrane, Mrs. Fullerton, and Mr. S.M. Thomson” who make up the committee charged with “carrying out the provisions of the Act.” The next pasted article from the Brantford *Expositor* entitled “Gather Them In” reports on the same meeting and in addition to the comments of Ald. Strickland includes voices of other Aldermen. “Ald. Hall moved that the matter of providing a temporary building be taken up by the buildings and grounds committee at its first meeting. Ald. Raymond – We are not asked to provide or build a building for them, we are only required to provide necessary shelter. Ald. Strickland – I don’t think we are asked to erect a building or provide one. The matter should be handed over to the finance committee.” In the next two weeks, a great momentum will gather in Brantford which will also drift to Paris. On *Feb 2nd*, the *Expositor* reports that “A Society Formed in the City – Work of Rescue to Begin at Once.” Kelso, described in the *Courier* as “pushing and energetic...is there to give as much information possible about the helpless children of this city,” and, continues Kelso, “There is no question as to the work being necessary, but the only matter to be discussed is the plan to be adopted.” There is the sense of a warm and reciprocal relationship between Kelso and the Hamilton-Brantford region.¹

¹ Artifacts concerning the establishment of the CAS in Brantford and Paris continue from page 112 to 117. In these pages Kelso travels with Rev. Geoghegan to Brantford, and then with Thomson to Paris to form societies. As well, it appears that Kelso (or Thomson) has garnered a letter from a Provincial statesman with local history. The Hon. Arthur S. Hardy, minister of Crown Lands (Provincial premier as of 1896) sends a supportive letter in lieu of attending which is re-printed in two articles on page 117.

Back in Toronto, in “Homes for Little Ones,’ The *Globe Feb 3*, assists the Toronto CAS in appealing “to the philanthropic Christians of the Province to assist it in providing homes for the little ones that have been placed in its charge...The Children’s Aid Society of Toronto is desirous of finding homes throughout the Province of Ontario and elsewhere in which to place out children...[who] have either been deserted by their parents, or, by reason of their parents’ neglect, have been committed by the courts to the care of this society.” Readers are assured that “The society places out no child which on the order of a Judge has not been certified by a regular medical practitioner to be free from all chronic or contagious diseases. The ages of these children are from three to sixteen years, and they are bright, robust and intelligent, needing only a change in life to become useful and respected citizens.” The article directly asks, “Reader, have you room for one in your home?” and if so, instructs that any applications “should be accompanied by three references – one from a minister, and two from people of known standing in the neighborhood.” The article reaches out to readers and beyond: “Perhaps readers of this article could inform the society of likely homes for some of these children. The Provincial press can very materially assist by making known the fact that the society is desirous of finding homes for these children.” The article concludes by stating that “the society is non-sectarian.”

Pasted later in the scrapbook yet predated, the *Globe, Jan 29*² under “Our Industrial Schools” is an article firmly opining that parents should be paying to have their boys and girls interned in industrial schools: “At the present time there seems to be a disposition on the part of the members of the City Council to do their duty, even if it is rather a thankless task. Before this

² The other article on this page is from the *Mercury Guelph Jan 27*, reporting on a Humane Society meeting. The article is striking not because of its content, but rather due to a thick diagonal pen mark across the entire article from top left to bottom right. Interestingly, other articles pertaining to the Guelph Humane Society have similar markings. (also 120 and 192)

mood changes we would direct our attention to the financial management of our Industrial School system as a fit subject for investigation and reform.” It continues:

The Mimico school, an admirably managed institution, has become a free boarding school for the children of parents who do not care to be bothered with troublesome boys, and who are not at all averse to having them educated, fed, clothed and taught a trade at the cost of the ratepayers of Toronto... There are at present about 200 boys at the Mimico school... Probably \$8,000 or \$10,000 yearly could be saved by forcing the parents of children committed to our Industrial Schools to bear the cost of their maintenance. Nor would this be the only good result. Vigorous action against defaulting parents would check and discourage the very marked tendency toward throwing off parental responsibility. If a father knew that the almost inevitable result of allowing his boy or girl to mix in questionable company and run about after dark would be a committal to the Industrial School, and a charge upon him of \$2 weekly, he would in many cases exercise more supervision over his children than under present conditions.

In the left margin alongside this article there is a partly indecipherable notation “* * *JJK*” suggesting that Kelso might be taking responsibility for its authorship, although the consistently heavy tone bereft of sentimental balance suggests that he may not have written it. On the same page, the *Star* announces “Make the Parents Pay” which lauds how “The Globe calls very timely attention to a matter that affords an excellent opportunity for the Council to show its ability as an economiser of the funds of the city treasury. This is as to the \$16,000 annually granted by the City Council to the Mimico Industrial School.” The industrial school, established in 1887, is “re-established” through the language and principles of the Gibson Act which are concerned with enforcing new responsibilities of municipality and parent.

On the same page is a small clipping: “The City And Suburbs.” It describes “The Weather. Probabilities: - Lakes – Northerly to westerly winds, fresh to strong at first, clearing and cold.” It continues under a smaller sub-heading: “To-Night...Carnival, Cole & Henderson’s ice rink. Executive Local C.E. Union in Y.M.C.A. rooms at 7:30. Address by Mr. J.J. Kelso on Children’s Aid Societies in Trinity Schoolhouse. Joint meeting Advanced Prohibitionists and Executive Plebiscite Committee in Y.M.C.A rooms at 8.” A turn of the page reveals that this clipping is from St. Thomas, a busy rail-hub town in southwestern Ontario, the death-place of

Jumbo the Circus Elephant, where P.T. Barnum's famous intemperate pachyderm was struck by a train in a classification yard on the evening of September 15, 1885.³

Page 107 is dedicated to two articles announcing the arrival of Kelso in St. Thomas. The *St. Thomas Times Jan 30* headlines "Neglected Children" and subheads, "Mr. J.J. Kelso will speak on their behalf to-night and to-morrow night." On the right the *St. Thos Journal Jan 29* headlines "Destitute Children," and continues: "To-morrow night, in Trinity church school house, Mr. J.J. Kelso....will deliver an address, and steps will be taken to form a Children's Aid Society in this riding. Judge Ermatinger will preside. On Wednesday evening in Knox church lecture room, a second meeting will be held, Mayor Oill in the chair." The *Times* article embeds verbatim extracts from Kelso's circulars, and the *Journal* article includes quotes from Gibson's

³ Jumbo was reportedly captured in Abyssinia in 1861 when he was approximately one year old. He was sold to *Jardin des Plantes* in 1862 and moved to Paris. Three years later, he moved to the London Zoological Gardens, some say he was exchanged for a Rhinoceros. Eighteen years later, in 1882 he was purchased by P.T. Barnum for \$10,000 and relocated to the United States. There was great protest in England over the loss of Jumbo, yet some officials said that Jumbo's bad temper was the reason for his sale. "One can wonder at Barnum's courage in purchasing a dangerous elephant to parade with his circus; perhaps the excuse was taken lightly by the public, which also knew that the \$10,000 must have had something to do with it. At any rate, Englishmen continued to protest Jumbo's removal, and Americans did not object to the admission of a dangerous elephant to this country." To calm Jumbo on his transatlantic journey, it was reported that he drank whiskey, beer, and champagne, and was fed oysters by excited passengers. Indeed, his trainer told reporters that Jumbo drank a bucket of beer per day. He toured with Barnum's circus for the next three years across North America where "more than a million American children were said to have ridden on his back." Prior to his sudden death, Barnum had already anticipated the eventuality of Jumbo's demise and had pre-arranged with Dr. Henry A. Ward of the Natural Science Establishment in Rochester New York to mount Jumbo when that day came. After Jumbo was struck by a train in St. Thomas on September 15, Ward and his assistants Carl E. Akeley and William J. Critchley arrived two days later. "It took Ward, his assistants, and half a dozen butchers from St. Thomas, two days to dissect the elephant and prepare the hide and skeleton for shipment. The hide weighed 1,538 pounds, the bones 2,400 pounds. Coins of many kinds were found in Jumbo's stomach, and Ward was quoted as having said that "Jumbo was a bank all by himself." Six months later Jumbo was presented to eager reporters in two mounted forms: one his taxidermied and stuffed skin and the other his skeleton. Parts of Jumbo were requested, memorialized, and even eaten: "Professor Ward is a very enthusiastic scientist, and full of novel ideas. In preparing the tusks he accumulated about a pound and a half of the ivory finely powdered, and in honor of the occasion he took this substance to the cook at the Powers hotel with instructions to use it in the composition of jelly. This was done, and the journalists of course sampled the unique dish, and some of Jumbo did they thus assimilate." "Jumbo," John R. Russell, University of Rochester Library Bulletin. Vol. 3, no. 1 (autumn 1947). Carl E. Akeley would go on to become "the father of modern taxidermy," noted for his contributions to American Museums by way of his African expeditions. (See Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions*.)

Canadian Methodist article. This triggers a brief *déjà vu*. Yet the paper embeds a different passage from Gibson's article:

He says: 'It is not merely the infliction of physical injury and suffering that children are made the subjects of cruel treatment. The man who deliberately teaches his child to steal, whose home is a school of crime, and the mother who turns her apartments into a brothel, are practising the worst form of cruelty upon children whose natures are day by day being moulded under such immoral influences and surroundings... This is a busy world, and philanthropic work is too much confined to the few, but a movement of so vital importance to society should enlist the active co-operation and practical sympathies of all.'

Thinking with Chen, Gibson differentiates "cruelty" and "neglect" while watering down the infliction of physical pain, and he evokes the presence and threat of male thieves and female prostitutes – threats to property and life.

On *Jan 31* the *St. Thos Times* announces: "Children's Aid Society...formed for St. Thomas having jurisdiction in the entire county. The Act explained by Mr. J.J. Kelso." The body text begins "There was only a small attendance at the meeting in Trinity schoolhouse ...but what it lacked in numbers it made up in intelligence and enthusiasm. Rev. Canon Hid opened the meeting with prayer...Kelso said he did not look for large numbers at these meetings." He immediately links Social Gospel, children, control, and Empire: "There was no subject in which Christian people should be more interested than that of neglected children. It was only recently that the idea of interfering with parental control had been obtained. Up till forty or fifty years ago in England a man would be punished for ill-treating his horse, but not for breaking the leg of his child. In this act we were now following the example of England." Later in the article it continues to recall Kelso's speech which turns to psycho-emotional and operational concerns: "They were not to be placed in institutions where there were, perhaps, a hundred children dealt with very much as machines. If such a society were in existence here and such a work done he was satisfied that there would be no need of an orphanage, or a boys' or girls' home, or an

industrial school in the city.” Kelso moves to a pastoral articulation, diffusing responsibility to localities and local people: “If foster homes could not be readily procured, the Children’s Aid Society was empowered to go, say to some workingman, and arrange for the adoption of the child, agreeing to pay a certain amount, say \$1 per week to towards maintaining it. A visiting committee was appointed composed of representatives from the different municipalities. These it was expected would interest themselves personally in the children, and visit an encourage them.” He contextualizes these sentiments in a “national” frame against the importation of Home Children: “It was intended doing for the children of Ontario what we were now doing for the children of Great Britain. There were seven large institutions bringing out children, and during the last fifteen years 10,000 had been brought out. It was a false economy to look after these, although he had not a word to say against it, and neglect our own children.”

After Kelso’s speech “Mayor Oill said he had come to get information, and had been much interested. Our neglected children should be looked after if we had such and no doubt we had a few. Mr. Kelso said it would probably be found when the society was organized that there were more than there were thought to be.” The lengthy article concludes “The resolution was then carried unanimously, after which most of those present signed the application for incorporation, and the meeting dispersed. To-night Mr. Kelso will speak in Knox Church, giving cases of neglected children from his own observation, and the organization will be completed.” That meeting, as reported in the *Journal Feb 2nd* was a great success: “There was a large attendance, over 200 being present. . .Mr. D.K. McKenzie gave out the opening hymn, ‘There’s a friend of little children,’ after which Mr. J.J. Kelso . . .delivered an address.” As Jones and Rutman similarly discuss, Kelso is effectively linear in his execution: from announcing a meeting, to speaking to local officials, then to the public, and winning a consensual

incorporation. The scrapbooks tell the story of how Kelso re-enacts this precise linear progression time and time again across the Province. Similar to Miss Spence's comments regarding South Australia, there is no debate, "not a dissentient voice."

The *Times*, *Feb 1*, reports on the meeting, editorializing:

County Crown Attorney Donahue expressed...that in many cases when young boys were convicted of crime it would be better to apply the rod to their back and send them home than to send them to jail to consort with hardened criminals, but the law does not give authority to a judge or police magistrate to order such a punishment. In this connection it is noted that a resolution in favor of birching bad boys instead of sending them to prison has been sent to the British Home Secretary, signed by a number of magistrates...The judicious use of the birch would, these magistrates believe, as does our Crown Attorney, not only have a more salutary effect, but would save the boys from acquiring the prison taint, losing their dread of the prison, and sinking deeper into crime...To send a boy to prison means his almost certain ruin.

The *Journal St Thos Jan 31*, continues with echoes from the meeting, and delineates age, criminality, and confinement: "Mr. Kelso's address was a clear presentation of the objects of the Act, the aim of which, in a word, is to strike at the root of the criminal tree, by rescuing children at an age when they are susceptible to the influences of good homes and Christian training – to pluck them from the hands of who, if given charge of them until they are ten or twelve years old, will make them depraved criminals, almost past redemption by the methods now usually adopted in prisons and reformatories." Pasted beside, the *Journal* headlines "Birching Bad Boys" in support of Donahue's forcefully reasoned argument that reformation will not be achieved through the incarceration of juveniles with adults. The editorial avers that when "these youthful offenders come forth from jail they are more incorrigible than ever, and have become heroes of their little circles...This course of reasoning, even if it appears to advocate a return to the good old days when the rod was king, and he who spared it was the greater sinner, is not finding favor alone in Canada."⁴

⁴ The author appears to be interpreting a Biblical verse from Proverbs 13:24: "He who spares the rod hates his son, but he who loves him is careful to discipline him." Psalms 23:4 also mentions the rod saying, "Thy rod and thy staff,

When the Walls Come Down...

Beneath the certainty of its exogenic purpose the whip pulses with anxiety and seeks certainty amidst the idea of freeing delinquents beyond of the walls of confinement. In this manner it also serves as a pedagogical “selling feature.” This tool goes by many names, takes on various forms, and is described from the literal to the satirical: the whip, the rod, the birch, the lash, “a slipper tattoo,” “a jacket-warming.” Accordingly, its contexts range from serious to whimsical. Despite the name it serves as a substitute, interim function of de-confinement requiring the approval of the British Home Secretary. It is as if the force with which corporeal punishment is spoken of (over)compensates for the fear of tearing down the walls. It conjures an image of a sentry of concerned men wielding whips as throngs of boys and young men scramble over the rubble to unchecked freedom. As the *St. Thomas Journal* sermonizes: “when these youthful offenders come forth from jail they are more incorrigible than ever, and have become heroes of their little circles...” The author admits his projection back through history to “the good old days when the rod was king...and he who spared it was a greater sinner.” A historical sensibility brings a sense of certainty and security in the midst of fear. As the author intimates, the rod is something that is culturally “known” and perhaps this helps explain its enunciative possibility. As such it seems that its very entry into the conversation is intended to transport it from the past-“perfect” to the present-“tense” as a comforting Golden Age symbol. Whether or not the British Home Secretary says “yea” or “nay” does not matter. The mere administrative act of sending a letter to a man across the sea asking for permission that may never come – and thus does not say “no” – declares

they comfort me.” In the Hebrew translation, “the shepherd’s rod was used to guide the sheep, not beat them.” Dr. Michael Eric Dyson, “Punishment or Child Abuse?” *New York Times*, Op-Ed, September 18, 2014. Accessed September 18, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/18/opinion/punishment-or-child-abuse.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&module=c-column-top-span-region®ion=c-column-top-span-region&WT.nav=c-column-top-span-region&_r=0.

local quotidian permission in the meantime. Ontario wants and needs this. It is has been released into the present and now literate fathers can read that it is alive and well and supported by the governing “fathers,” some of whom are agitating for magistrates to order parents to whip their children. Overtly stated, the state wants delinquents whipped in lieu of confinement; the whip fits conforms to the emergent social reform sentiment as “prevention versus punishment.” Reading through the liberal order framework permits a thinking about how this broad public plea presented in moments of reaction and anticipation is at the same time a means to domesticate penal practice as “prevention” so that fewer children reach the costly category of delinquent. Not only are children to be de-institutionalized, but particular confinement practices, like the whip and “isolation,” are to follow. Genealogically I observe how “progress” relies on new statements, architectures, and spaces, yet not necessarily on practices. In conjuring Foucault we observe how the home (*oikos*, *economy*) works as an instrumental site of governance, reviving forms of a now-politically-pejorative space. As J.S. Willison presaged in the wake of the 1888 American Humane Association held in Toronto, “No Discipline can be so potent as that of the family.”⁵

When the Act is first introduced, as in previous locales, the whip is an immediately-emergent conversation. In St. Thomas, the “extracts” and editorials pasted directly beside those from the meeting focus most poignantly upon “the salutary effects of the whip” and “striking at the root.” It helps in selling the project and allays fears by grounding a large futuristic concept in a simple, archaic technology that anyone can hold and control. Similar to an imaginative historical sensibility, it provides a material sense of security and certainty. Indeed it confirms that very sensibility into the present. Just holding it inspires a different posture. In addition it is an intense body-threat that conjures a practice of both animal husbandry and slavery, symbolizing

⁵ Jones and Rutman, 36.

control and authority at an intimate distance. It is a powerful, up-close, everyday tool that provides a physical distance that keeps it from landing in the category of “cruelty.”

The lighthearted nostalgia of the author in St. Thomas delivers a deep implication that is never overtly said but remains hidden and diffused in symbols, practices, and mockery: that men are no longer the dictatorial kings of their realm. They have lost their ability for authority and obedience and *this* is the problem. Hon. G.W. Allan declares this as the current problem of the state at the upcoming child-saving conference. As the eager promotion of the whip temporarily ebbs, the debate over the curfew bell starts chiming; this “moving away” from the body might suggest a greater confidence and comfort, or perhaps something else as well. What they share as subsequent interim forms is not only a place on the continuum of discipline but also an *aural* effect – a whip *cracks* and a bell *peals*. They reify the language through a different engagement of the senses. They are not only leather and iron but are also “sonic.” The bell does not inflict pain from close contact, but draws attention from afar. As the winter turns to spring the curfew bell will become the project of the WCTU, who agitates many towns into action to institute this arms-length and eventual distant concern of the Gibson Act, but not of Provincial governance.

Out of the Shadows

In the *Canadian Magazine* also published in sev. newspapers Feb 10, 94 Kelso pens a mighty, lengthy article in which an earnest sketch of himself is embedded. I will spend time with this artifact. It is long and dense and serves as the next condensation point in the scrapbook, working to delineate and bridge his dioramic worlds of woe and happiness. It is the next syndicated piece after the NEGLECTED! circular and where the reader encounters “pure” Kelso. He is not spoken about, or his speech mediated by local journalists, or his printed words edited and re-printed. It is

as if he is taking a bold step forward and emerging from ghost-written articles, anonymous circulars, and intertextual existence. The article does not present an image of a staged or sketched child, yet one of a respectable likeness of Kelso. His ordering of statements and tone elevates the movement to a place “above” law; he does not mention the Gibson Act or work to detail and promote its provisions. He does not mention a name or a geographic place. He does not even write of a timely movement but of a new reality. The reader is compelled to imagine. This is about the “children,” “the community,” humanity, and by the end, Kelso and God. The article both confirms and reveals rhetorical styles and techniques, and the manner in which Kelso structures and presents his ideas to engender immediacy and implication while creating an abstract cause that lives amidst bad parents in a land far away. There is a “something else” that is undefinable yet is a constitutive element in the “stream of evil”: the elusive “community.”

Entitled “Cradled in Crime” it subheads “A Plea For The Neglected Children Of The People. Raised in ignorance and privation they grow up to swell the army of the world’s offenders – practical suggestions for diverting the stream of evil.” He begins: “In this latter part of the nineteenth century, more attention is being paid to the causes and sources of crime than ever before.” His preamble of criminal context continues by lauding prevention and stirring a sense of immediacy through the other: “Every day it is becoming more evident that in the past, much effort has been wasted in dealing with effects rather than causes, and the most advanced thinkers now fully acknowledge that to effectively grapple with crime and vice, thought and effort must be concentrated on the children of the poor.” Kelso links criminality, the state, education, citizenship, and the delineated child in lock-step: “The Governing power must come to regard the child as a future citizen, and must see that it has opportunities for education and for development along the lines of industry and morality. A child’s education begins from its earliest

infancy, and the State has a right to insist that its training shall be such as to fit it ultimately for the proper discharge of its duties and responsibilities.” He recognizes the public findings of the 1890 Royal Commission and epistemically and experientially engages the reader as he moves towards practices and architectures: “We all know the difficulties experienced in influencing for good the inmates of reformatories and penal institutions, the years of labor that have been exhausted in seeking to break the chains that bind the drunkard.” Now that he has metaphorically placed his reader in confinement, he deepens the relationship through the common device of posing a rhetorical question: “How much more hopeful the out look [*sic*] when we deal at once and directly with the little children, and implant in their young minds aims and aspirations that shall carry them safely through life?”

This opening column sets the tone for the rest of the article. Kelso effectively reflects on the history of the present where he invites the reader into the “here and *know*”: he tells them what they know about the difficulties of prison reformation. He puts them in a cell next to the drunkard whose experience is accessible through the work of the PAA. By invoking his rhetorical question, he includes the reader in the plea of “the people” whom the neglected children belong to. Through the ordering of his words and contiguity of his sentences Kelso implies that “the child” is the “children of the poor,” and *that* is who is “cradled in crime” and in need of the “governing power” towards citizenship. Thus through exclusion and particularization it is implied that children not of the poor are already on-track for citizenship. What he seems to be doing is widening the concerned field of citizenship. Accordingly, as he continues Kelso also widens the onus of “neglect”: “Very little thought has been given to these children. They have been neglected by parents, neglected by law-makers, neglected by school boards...” He notes who has not neglected them: “...and only thought of by the faithful mission-worker, who, in the

absence of suitable laws, and the lack of public recognition, could accomplish but little of a permanent character.” Kelso is working to craft a “consciousness” by focussing thought and knowledge on subjects who otherwise have only been “known” by those in the otherworldly setting of the mission – a place outside of modern law and society. Once he has the reader in the anthropological site of the mission Kelso briefly changes hats and proffers “scientific” data, observation, and interpretation: “It would not be too much to say that seventy-five per cent of the criminals of to-day were made such in early childhood. It is true that that occasionally a young man of good family and occupying a good position of trust gives way to temptation and falls to criminal ranks, but he seldom remains there, usually returning after a short time to law-abiding citizenship.” He allays fears of the readership that there is no threat that their children will be assigned to this particular fate. They will not permanently enter into the world of woe.

Kelso is concerned with the “habitual criminal [who] is made such in childhood, [who] continues to live by crime, not voluntarily so much as necessarily. His actions indicate the early training working to its logical conclusion.” Again, he rouses immediacy, yet his language is more anthropological and “visible” and articulated through a pre-millennial, Calvinist sensibility: “There are children on our streets at this moment who will almost surely be criminals. It is their hard and cruel fate.” Kelso locates the physical space where these children can be seen: “Our Streets”: the public marketplace. Again, he places the reader into the consciousness of “the people,” and as he does in the previous column works towards a condensing rhetorical question, yet not before slinging arrows and broad blame with more forceful language: “They are consigned to it by neglectful and vicious parents, and by the indifference and shortsightedness of the community, through its authorized representatives. Are we justified in expecting otherwise than that evil training shall bear evil fruit?”

Kelso moves from the street and enters the apathetic home. He asks the reader to consider the lives of those who are

growing up in a hot-bed of vice; hearing nothing but profanity and obscenity; learning nothing of the difference between right and wrong; no prayer whispered over its cradle; no pure thoughts of a better life instilled into its budding mind; its playground the street; its companions equally benighted with itself. It cannot attend school; it has no clothes; it is not kept clean; the mother would not take the trouble to send it, and the school boards are not always sufficiently interested to provide accommodation and enforce attendance.

Through the use of the semi-colon he attaches discreet vignettes into a patch-worked, yet coherent idea, which moves from the home back out to the street, further to the governing institution of the school, which is also failing in its duty; this is a dialogic and reflexive passage from the private, to the public, to the state. The semi-colon list is also a taxonomy of “negatives” – what these spaces are “not” is what should “be.” In public space, the street is not a playground to consort with the equally ignorant, and the school as synecdoche for the state demands clothing and cleanliness. In this picture, the mother is at fault in private, the school board in public. The street is a zone of close contact where these subjects become visible. References to clothing, cleanliness, architecture, and “the street” is reminiscent of Foucault’s inclusion of non-human phenomena in the constitutive relations of governance.

Kelso continues to move from broad to specific, detailing a male developmental-stage rubric, its attendant skill-sets, and pedagogical framework. He writes this with an ethnographic authority, concluding by revealing the ultimate ontological objective of this life-path: “Growing up untrained, except in evil and sharp cunning ways, the child at seven or eight years of age is sent out to sell papers or to beg, sometimes to steal, on the streets constantly, and with companions older than himself. The boy learns rapidly, until at fifteen or sixteen he becomes a thief when opportunity offers, and trusts to luck to escape detection and retain freedom.” His analysis shifts genders: “With the girl the downward course is somewhat different, though the

result is essentially the same. Escape from the family quarrels and squalor is sought on the streets, where vice is easily learned, and the road to comfort and luxury made to appear comparatively easy, until by stages she sinks into a common outcast, unpitied and unloved.” Her objective is not freedom, but an uncomplicated path to comfort and luxury. It is as if sex is a fast track to depravity. The language is increasingly intimate but has not yet approached the body proper.

Kelso concludes page one with a brief, tidy, and earnest summation which includes his gendered abstractions: “Thus are the ranks of the criminal classes supplemented, and thus is perpetuated the curse of evil that stands as a constant menace to life and property, and continues to hold over every community a sense of insecurity.” Kelso’s study reinforces Gibson’s thoughts in the *Canadian Methodist* article that males are governed by principles of property, females of life. And he is suggesting that a resident evil is causing an imbalance that affects security. He gestures one last time to the reader, asking a question that he answered earlier through a statement: “And where, we may well ask, lies the blame of this state of things? Not with the helpless victim of untoward circumstances, but with the parents, and with the community which failed to step in when the parents proved false to their duty.”

Page 119 is dedicated to the continuation of this article. Kelso begins by situating and defining education: “In proposing a remedy, the first essential is education. Not education in the narrow sense of the mere intellectual instruction; but education which cultivates the heart and the moral nature, which inculcates truthfulness and gentleness and modesty and calls out the purest and noblest instincts of humanity.” This transcends citizenship, nation, empire, and religion, reaching further to a participation in the human race. Kelso is widening the field just short of the transcendental, sketching the importance of a collective endeavor which has potentially high

costs for the non-enlightened: “In providing such an education it may, and often will, be necessary to remove the child from its natural parents. In this enlightened age, it is a recognized principle that no man or woman has a right to train a child in vice, or debar it from opportunities for acquiring pure and honest habits; and if parents are not doing justly by their children, they forfeit the right to continued guardianship.” Similar to his earlier transnationally-contexted articles he assures readers that this is not a localized, reactionary, or arbitrary philosophy but is rooted in modern civilization and has a firm objective: “This principle is now a legal enactment in almost every Christian land, and it is only in the careful yet unfaltering use of this power, that we can hope for a noticeable reduction in our prison population.” Kelso gestures again to the reader: “It is a duty we owe to ourselves; it is far more a duty we owe to the children who are thus unfortunately placed.” And then firmly implicates: “Every resource of the law should be exercised to compel such parents to pay for the education of their children removed from their control.” He begins a new paragraph echoing the sentiment of the January 29th *Globe* article concerning the Mimico industrial school: “For the protection of the child the removal is made; for the protection of the community, the unworthy parent should be compelled to pay to the last farthing.” The community is no longer a cause but a vulnerable victim who needs protection through the payments of the unworthy parent, in the currency of England. There is a symbolic crime against the Mother Country. Kelso discusses the absorption process: “For all such children real homes should be sought, where they may develop naturally, and grow up in common with all other children.” And as he has been trying since July, he works to empty out the orphanages, yet he never entirely dismisses them for both political and operational reasons. “An institution is not a home, and never can be made such, though it may be useful as a temporary abode in which to prepare the little one for the family circle.”

Kelso continues by discussing spaces which lie between utter ruin and eventual happiness: “While there are these cases in which the only hope for the child lies in its complete removal from improper guardianship, there are also many children who, without removal from their home, need a little supervision and as many good influences as can be brought to bear upon them.” He proffers examples: “Families, for instance, where the mother is employed during the day, or, where the children, living in poor neighborhoods, are in danger of evil companionship.” Next he transitions into a graduation of material spaces and their attendant age and gender concerns. He begins with “THE MISSION KINDERGARTEN” for “little ones from three of four years up to seven [who] are gathered from the streets and alleys, and taught to use both their fingers and their minds. In many instances they are saved from acquiring evil and untidy habits.” He proceeds to the gendered space of “BOYS’ CLUBS.- For growing and active boys of twelve to fifteen years of age...Boys must be doing something, and if not induced to belong to some evening organization will learn much on the streets that is evil and hurtful.” The next catchment are “DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS – ...To these would be sent truants, or children unfit for the common schools, children getting beyond parental control, or those guilty of first offences...Such schools would do away with the necessity for sending so many children to reside permanently in industrial reform schools at large expense to the country.” Kelso is moving along a carceral continuum, eventually landing in “THE POLICE STATIONS” which he highlights in the margin with a vertical line. “No child should be taken to a police station except in a very extreme case. The fear of such a place is the best deterrent, and the child who has been confined there is likely to lose its dread of punishment, and return again in a short time.” Similarly, highlighting with double vertical lines he discusses the “POLICE COURT- The trial of children and young girls in the open police court, can only be regarded as a barbarous proceeding, in

almost every case confirming and hardening the offender. It is false economy; it is the greatest cruelty to the child; it is disastrous to the community in the end.”

Kelso begins to conclude by approaching a type of subject that is reminiscent of his NEGLECTED “Street Arab” from page 84. “The business in which so many boys are engaged – that of selling newspapers on the streets – is hurtful in many ways. Besides tending to make boys cunning and unscrupulous, it is an occupation of a temporary character, leaving a youth at sixteen or seventeen years of age without a trade and altogether unfitted for any vocation which requires steadiness, punctuality, obedience or manual labor.” I appreciate the irony of these boys selling the papers which give reason and purpose to this new movement. This is not new territory for Kelso. His first journalist-activism was an 1888 campaign to have news-boys licensed and “tagged,” for which he was virulently attacked, mainly by the *World* who nicknamed him “Kelso the Tagger.”⁶

He begins the penultimate leg of the article, elegantly outlining a pastoral mode of governance: “All successful work on behalf of neglected children must be through personal contact and sympathy. The child must feel and know by many acts and words of encouragement and kindness that he or she has at least one true friend. For this reason large classes are to be avoided, the economy that appears on the surface being really a loss and hindrance.” And finally, Kelso lets go on tear that moves from motivational to Social Gospel to virtuously pathetic, and concludes with him:

In this thought there should be much encouragement for those earnest workers who have nothing but their services to offer. They may gather little bands around them at trifling expense, and experience the great joy of turning aimless young lives into spheres of usefulness and happiness. And surely there can be no greater service to God or humanity than in calling forth in young hearts, aspirations and hopes that lie dormant, and

⁶ “His Law to Tag Newsboys, Why Shouldn’t Reporters Be Tagged, Humanitarians Run Mad.” *World*, April 18, 1890. Jones and Rutman, 41.

in removing from their path the obstacles that prevent them from achieving all that is best in their nature! Hope and joy may be brought back to crushed little hearts by love and sympathy, and if, through the reading of this article, some friendless child is gladdened and aided along life's journey, it will not have been written in vain. – J.J. Kelso, in Canadian Magazine.

Beneath the article he writes: *published in a syndicate of over twenty papers*. Pasted on the same page is an article entitled “Looking After Destitute Children” which states that the Act “has been favorably received and a gratifying disposition has been manifested by the public to take advantage of its provisions. The rescuing of children from lives of crime and placing them in the way of becoming useful and honorable citizens is a work which may well engage the best consideration and attention of the community.” Kelso writes in the margin: *Speech from Throne. Feb 14.*

Interpretation of Space and Time

In the movement to the southwest the language becomes more creative and uneven as it works to gain confidence. And as it approaches interim forms of de-institutionalization I detect that there are differences between Toronto and the localities which are reflective of their space-time differences. The language is also tested and responds in different ways as it approaches a transfiguration to reified forms. There is a greater awareness of its competition for a local audience. Kelso exhibits confidence in others to mimic the language as he starts recruiting Rev. Geoghegan and then Thomson to travel within their regions to assist in inciting interest and incorporation of CAS chapters. Kelso does not appear fazed by small attendance and indeed, as he does in Hamilton, confidently and creatively “alters” the perception of space through his clever and creative use of language. *It's not that we are small, it's just a big space*. The problem is not the size of the gathered body but the space. As he says in the St. Thomas *Times* he is not

concerned with how many show.⁷ At the beginning of the same article the author mimics Kelso's crafty use of language in Hamilton by noting that although the gathering was small, it was made up in intelligence and enthusiasm.⁸ There is no problem at all. These moments are reflective of the scrapbooks wherein we sense that Kelso is comfortable and exerts confidence outside of Toronto; and how his mission to "speak on behalf" of neglected children is not stalled by size. Kelso seems to exhibit an even, abiding faith, whereas Gibson appears with greater force and anxiety, interpreting space through a gendered lens that reflects his theory of state and church merged into practical Christianity. He has two problems. First: it is *not* the space but the type of bodies. Second: it *is* the space which limits the body, wherein men should exhibit their faith not in the church but in daily life. There is a distinction in their roles: both have conviction, yet Gibson admonishes as "father of the bill" while Kelso educates as its "friend." These familiar roles are reflected in how they interpret the realities of space differently. I wonder if Kelso's piety is rooted in his relations with the press which helps mitigate the problem of small local attendances. Perhaps he is more concerned with generating print than filling seats.

The confidence of the language is uneven as it becomes more intimately engaged in discussions of architectures and material practices in different places. In Toronto, the *Globe* is busy with full-frontal appeal: appealing for homes, appealing to the city council to force parents to pay when they place their children in an industrial school, appealing to the Provincial press, appealing to Christians and appealing for the Provincial Government. In the metropolis there seems to be a greater confidence as the language approaches architectures. *We want your kids out, but if they have to be here you're going to pay.* The Aldermen in Brantford are less certain

⁷ The St. Thomas paper announcing the Trinity Schoolhouse meeting did not provide a time. I am curious if this contributed to poor attendance.

⁸ Although Kelso is not quoted as saying these words, I wonder if the author is paraphrasing Kelso's words.

as they work to fit the language to a material space. They are trying to interpret the space-request of the Act which Thomson re-prints for all to see. The anecdote about the two boys doing well in the House of Refuge is a problem of both space and the interpretation of legislation.

The fidelity of the language is confirmed as more voices participate and mimic, yet concurrently its boundaries are tested the further the artifacts travel in space-time from the main event at Queen's Park. As the utterances gain the heft of more voices they begin to move into different spaces: the House of Refuge, the Industrial School, the jailhouse, the prison, the Reformatory. As the language circulates through these architectures it works to empty them of their objects and utility. And as children are imagined on the "outside," other material forms are discussed. Yet the transition to new material forms comes with uncertainty and hybridity. The *prisonness* of the children's shelter,⁹ binding-out agreements with farmers, and most interestingly, the whip and the curfew bell all represent ancient and a priori practices of child management and all pulse with particular nervousness as they are pulled into the present. As evidenced in Brantford, municipalities resent being burdened with the cost of constructing new buildings, and thus utilize existing institutions such as the local orphanage or the House of Refuge.¹⁰ And it is here where there is an uncharacteristic limit to Kelso's confidence and/or foresight. When working to explicate the workings of the Act in St. Thomas he suggests that in lieu of available homes, a child could be bound out. After this he has no confident scheme: "If foster homes could not be readily procured, the Children's Aid Society was empowered to go, say to some workingman, and arrange for the adoption of the child, agreeing to pay a certain

⁹ As discussed in various towns, the local orphanage served as temporary shelters in lieu of a dedicated CAS shelter.

¹⁰ The Act states: "For the better protection of neglected children between the ages of three and fourteen years there must be provided in every city or town have a population of over 10,000 one or more places of refuge for such children only, to be known as temporary homes or shelters." 1893 Annual Report in *Ontario Sessional Papers 1894*, no. 47, 6.

amount, say \$1 per week to towards maintaining it.” “...*Say...Say...*” is a subjunctive chink in Kelso’s armour; there is no future-form and thus his uncertainty makes him vulnerable. Through this parapraxis is a glimpse into governance and political will: that a project can only plan so far. The rest is an inconclusive promise. There is the present which is visceral, and the future whose mood is subjunctive and imagined. These are spaces of the intended and unintended. It is as if the language to date is enough to speak about getting children out, but as to what to do with them now is discussed, the discourse reveals the novelistic quality of its youth and inexperience. The rhetoric lacks material practice. But fortunately it comes from a powerful family with an epic tradition. The knee-jerk response is to default to older forms, as long as they conform to the macro-mandate and look different from confining children with adults, or in other contaminating enclosures with permanence. This is a function of revised statements ordered in new spaces. As Kelso’s “*Says*” say, there is an almost automatic genealogical reflection, a hasty archaeological dig for artifacts to be dusted off and re-used. The ideal is the Good Christian Home, but while these are being sought, with Toronto in the lead, interim forms are promoted to fill a nervous lacuna. These buy time and keep momentum in uncertain moments. Interestingly, beyond the time under consideration, these forms exit the conversation as homes are found. And from there, “The Good Christian Home” is further particularized and essentialized until it is nearly impossible to find.

“Cradled in Crime” reveals Kelso’s confident posture at his writing bureau and the breadth of available enunciative possibilities available to him. Again, his tone is even and he presents the anxiety of the object within careful boundaries. He always seems to offer “a way out” through material forms, communicating abstract ideas through physical spaces. Unlike Gibson, Kelso does not say “practical Christianity” but instead domiciles the post-millennial

ethic in the prison, the school, Mission Kindergartens, Boys' Clubs, Industrial Day Schools, and rhetorical questions. It is as if he reserves "Christianity," maintains a reverence for it by not repeatedly saying it. Instead, Kelso carefully integrates it as a given, not in rhetoric but woven in to themes of "civilization," "humanity," and "God," materialized in physical spaces.

"Cradled in Crime" freshly circulates the language through common spaces. "The Street" is presented as a pejorative space and a non-human relation, the ground where the squalor and billingsgate of the home are played out and made public; it is the fetid reservoir accepting the tributaries of all bad homes. In this space Kelso situates the Mission and its purity workers, who can accomplish very little, yet importantly function as first-contact knowledge producers in the interpretation of the homes of "drunk and degraded parents," whose impurities both motivate and threaten the space of the Mission. These delineated subjects live not in a contemporary space-time, but in a type of Biblical age through the mythical, Edenic significations of "temptation" and "evil fruit." This typified class is not only *not* of *this* space-time, it is identified against it by means of ethnographic study and interpretation. At the same time "the street" is presented as the zone of maximal contact where the pre-historical other rushes into the present. It is a space of immediate threat.

The Police Station and the Police Court are ironically presented in the protection discourse. Kelso's language infers that the move to keep children away from these spaces is not about protecting the children, but rather a means to protect the effect and integrity of these spaces. It is not that the "fear" and "barbarous proceeding[s]" are harmful, but the concern is that they would lose these effects if children encountered them. These spaces must remain the mysterious, hidden, and feared architectures and processes where reason boldly confronts unreason. Fear and barbarity are supposed to reign as constitutive elements of this encounter.

Kelso's language "naturalizes" this effect whereby exposing a child to these spaces is "the greatest cruelty," akin to placing them near a river's edge at the height of a spring thaw. There is an inference that children's innocence is emboldened with a transformative power that can make impotent the processes of justice. The irony provides a crack through which to glimpse Kelso's pre-occupation with separate trials for children. This delineated process is not about "protecting" children but about the ultimate goal of reducing the prison population through fear and threat. Yet Kelso's fear is that these spaces would lose their dreadful deterrent effect in a generation if leagues of children proceeded through them. Kelso presents these spaces last in his order of spaces which begins in Kindergarten, the first catchment on the continuum to save the little ones from the alleyways "from acquiring evil and untidy habits."

Kelso newly implicates "the community" and its lack of awareness and action as a cause of the problem. It seems the community is not a "thing" or a "place" but a ghostly phenomenon born of the constitutive network of relations *between* "things," both human and non-human. When Kelso tries to bring "us" and "them" together in "community" it becomes abstract and illusory, it is everywhere and nowhere. It is unidentifiable, although he attempts to personify it through unembodied "authorized agents." Kelso's article, a plea to the community does not ask anything of it. The reader could rightfully ask at its conclusion, "am I in this community?" "If so what do I do now?" It does not mention the Act, Children's Aid, Visiting Committees, foster homes, nor even Kelso's title or office, it only presents his sketch and name. It does not ask the reader to "see and tell." It is practical in its language yet does not operationally recruit for its immediate future. Kelso embeds the language in architectures but it is not yet doing any work there except for reinforcing itself and fabricating his dioramas by ordering statements in particular ways. It is as if Kelso is teaching a new dialect regarding ways of speaking about

children. The article is a dispatch from a nearby foreign land and only asks its reader to be witness as a member of a failing community under pending threat. In its lack of practical direction it functions to confirm helplessness and the immediacy of the problem. And perhaps this is the very message that Kelso intends.

“Looking After”

From “The Shocking Revelations in the East End [and] the rescue of a perishing boy and girl” on December 29, 1893, page 86, to the announcement that Brantford and Paris had incorporated their CAS chapters on page 117, there is only a single Ontario folk tale included. The *Toronto Globe* publishes an article appealing for homes for CAS wards yet they have not yet started including the detailed ethnographic descriptions that will emerge in their forthcoming appeals, when J. Stuart Coleman begins authoring them. Yet the article suggests that there might be real children out there. They have genders and ages and are “bright, robust and intelligent, needing only a chance in life to become useful and respected citizens.” And doctors, the medical participants in child-saving, ensure they are not contagious or diseased. The only other tale is the story of “Lillie Deischeidt, an attractive girl of 15 years, the daughter of a New York saloon keeper [who] appealed to Justice Welde one day last week to be committed to the care of the Gerry Society.” Despite this American tale from an unidentified and undated publication, which feels like a contrived inclusion to hold us over, I feel a wintry fallowness by February 8. I become frustrated and impatient with the collection and by now the novel excitement of the scrapbook is beginning to lose its hold. A whimsical historical tangent about a drunken elephant is welcomed respite when the everyday gets boring. I feel as if I am experiencing the effects of the imperial pathology of acquisition and collecting that MacKenzie describes; the repetition that fends off death and keeps an archive alive. The repetitive density, once an ethnographic

goldmine of thick description and incitement, seems indulgent and numbing. One visit representing two meetings in St. Thomas is represented in eleven artifacts across six pages. In addition to tedious reports on meetings and the recurring support for corporeal punishment, we learn about the weather, and that the Advanced Prohibitionists and Executive Plebiscite Committee have joined forces (and that such organizations even existed). Except for the local characters the same story plays out in Brantford and Paris represented in ten artifacts. Other than the artifacts dedicated to St. Thomas, Brantford, and Paris there are three short articles from Toronto publications. Two report on Kelso's success in establishing Children's Aid Societies in Brantford, St. Thomas and Paris, the other is a two-week old letter to the editor of the *Mail* entitled "Corporeal Punishment" reverberating the conversation in the southwest. The author "J.M" says "It is a most salutary punishment. We use the rod with our own children, and why should we hesitate using it with the waifs and strays of society, who need it far more?" A two-week old metropolitan sentiment travels ahead in the pages to support the present in Brantford.

The early winter collection does not yield the handful of folk stories that were collaged in the autumn, those of Joseph, Mrs. Bedson, the "Black Crook," and the Gillett Child. The stories that made the reader crave a personified folk language and began to teach about the new law in action. In the early winter the language seems busy doing other things – working to gain confidence and territory – and I observe how it works in interesting and surprising ways. The idea of "circulation" enters by way of its material forms of popular articles and official circulars. I discern how in its circulation, the language "consumes" itself; how it is in a constant state of interpretation and reflection and cannot escape, like a *cul de sac*. It is both hermetic and hermeneutic. As artifacts detail a trip to St. Thomas, Brantford, and Paris, all Toronto can talk about is what Kelso, the language personified, is doing in these places. There is a powerful sense

of “enclosure” within an autopoietic system whereby discourse is capable of reproducing and maintaining itself.¹¹ It is an Ouroboros, the snake that eats its own tail. Although child-saving language is young in Ontario it exists and circulates within a large and ancient field. It is as if the dialogics between epic time and novel time, the old and the becoming, establishes an on-going reflexivity. It is a massive global-historical site as Kelso taught us earlier on and again in St. Thomas. This process is more like an interpretive dance than a military march, improvisational jazz versus parade music. It is urgent and aesthetically unpredictable. There is a looking forward and behind: a looking after. The language performs an “archaeological” site-dig looking after forms to re-interpret into new statements to fill the vacuum of confinement while maintaining its ultimate promise of Good Christian rural childless families in a pastoral mode. The promise remains. Yet this promise does not yet materially exist and thus remains fictional. It is within the imagination of the movement, but it is still only a wish fantasy based on a storehouse of interpretations of a closed-off, distant, and epic Golden Age, some of which reside in the spaces of penal confinement. It will soon need to make real the fiction it has promised. Public education needs materiality.

The handful of folk stories to date reveals how the language can be reified not only in sounds, architecture, and other material forms, but also in the service of portraying and animating bodies. Yet this form of reification has been uneven and hesitant. It seems that through Kelso’s eyes there are not many “Gibson Act kids” because they are not quite “out” yet. They are

¹¹ See Maturana and Valera *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realization of the Living* (Dordrecht, Holland: Reidel, 1980). Says Maturana: “Autopoiesis... was word without a history, a word that could directly mean what takes place in the dynamics of the autonomy proper to living systems. Curiously, but not surprisingly, the invention of this word proved of great value. It simplified enormously the task of talking about the organization of the living without falling into the always gaping trap of not saying anything new because the language does not permit it. We could not escape being immersed in a tradition, but with an adequate language we could orient ourselves differently, and perhaps, from the new perspective generate a new tradition.” Xvii.

ghosts bereft of a bed sheet. Perhaps the powers that be are still nervous in this moment between past and the future; except for talking, no one really knows what to do once the new mythic forms appear. They are still in formation. Ancient, emasculated men are just holding whips and temperate women are readying middle-age curfew bells in anticipation. What I sense this winter is a language that is not ready for human material and the arrangement of real skin, or perhaps it has not yet inspired the new subject into action. As Kelso says in St. Thomas “it would probably be found when the society was organized that there were more than there were thought to be”: the law scripting reality. Similarly Kelso’s little opus suggests that despite a confident, even language, it is not ready for the participation of the community despite his insistence that this is a cause of the problem. He works to make “it” aware, yet does not provide space for action. In the ordering of the flood of words there remains a hesitance. A world among “us” that is spoken of and discernible in print but still not quite materially visible. My analysis reflects this: my discussions of Kelso’s largely nominal inclusions are mainly theoretical and abstract. Akin to him I waver between present and subjunctive tones and lean on extant thought to keep momentum and fend off feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. I too am working to ground my examination and make sense of my project. And I too am eager for more folk to ground the story in the everyday.

To illuminate two headlines: “Looking After the Little Ones” and “Looking After Destitute Children.” To date I read “looking after” with a semantic twist, not with a sense of care but with a sense of pursuit, quest, and desire. Through this re-read it seems that the language is “looking for” the destitute little ones, as there are currently not any to “look after” in the present Gibson Act tense. The language is still maturing, the grammar of intelligibility is still being taught. This brings us full circle to the opening lines of this section, the June 30 article

announcing Kelso's appointment which stated that his job was to "Look After the Children."

Doubtless he is trying, as seen through the organ of his scrapbook. As the time of youth emerges – the spring – I explore other ways in which language behaves as it gains further geographic momentum and materializes human beings in the imaginative marketplace.

Part ii: “Her Sphere Was a Little Difficult to Ascertain.”

From February to October 1894, pages 121 to 214, I take a “longer” view on Kelso’s archontic practice and arrangement of skin through approximately 267 artifacts. This will take us to the end of the period under discussion through various conversations in the next four chapters. Over the next four seasons the language continues to spread and take greater hold on objects, subjects, and in forms. This continues to develop through Kelso’s travels and writings and the enlistment of more participants; most interestingly however is how the discourse gains momentum by way of other representational forms and spaces motivated by gendered and racialized assumptions, roles, and colonial “male-power fantasy.”¹ As the movement begins to widen it surveys a larger field which accepts more concerns and people into its periphery. In the archival sensibility of his day, Kelso has effectively instituted a “territorial competence,” has put localities to work, and is waiting for the provincial return of the good, the bad, and the ugly, whose descriptions indeed roll in. I observe how the press becomes ethically *responsible* in two senses: in a Levinasian sense they are *able-to-respond* as they now have a framework based on the Act, Kelso’s interpretation, and the generative intertextual flurry of the winter. As well they are now responsible beyond simple intertextual mimicry, compliance, and cutting and pasting into their own publications. They are now responsible to make interpretations upon local happenings which are inspired by the new law. Accordingly there is more independent, broader, and revealing interpretation, more original ink, more words, more type set, more folk.

¹ Stoler, “Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-century Colonial Cultures,” *American Ethnologist*, 16, 4 (1989), 635.

Rhetorical contrasts play out through various forms as a greater diversity of topics and tales enter the story. A careful examination of the independent artifacts reveals how in their contiguity and contrast they interconnect into a growing unified narrative. It seems as if Kelso remains well-attuned to this narrative through an archontic practice that is necessarily *improvisational*. I imagine Kelso waiting for stories to support and inspire his program of prodding public sentiment towards the definitions of good citizenship. It is as if he is in waiting, with an ambitious passivity – a scissor-ready active patience – for more diversified affective data to cross his desk to insert into the greater story which begins to take on deeper elements of allegory. In these pages Kelso’s storytelling skills are demonstrated.

As a reader, the story only gets better as diversity, dissonance, discomfort, inversions, irony, and ambivalence enrich the narrative. There is less exhaustive and nervous repetition, there are new characters that do new things, old characters become more complex, there is the new setting of the courtroom, and many new towns. There are more-complex symbols and iconography, Home Children appear, and I felt compelled to learn more about the not-so uncomplicated pedigrees of the stately men who are at the bottom of this. There are more folk tales which stimulate and uncomfortably titillate our imagination. We more intimately understand the reach of the Act for we are being better educated. Although we find ourselves not reading to learn history or law, but for the storied actions of a nostalgic, awkward folk whose skin is thick with it. The loss of novelty in the early winter, that fallow feeling, has been remedied. I no longer feel compelled to go outside of the scrapbooks looking for fabulous elephants. And I become curious how intentional Kelso’s archontic practice is. There are wonderful moments when I ask: *did he mean to paste that there?! Am I making meaning through this particular contiguous coincidence, or is it not a coincidence?*

It seems that Kelso's role as an intertextual manager slightly changes and thus he appears differently through the artifacts; he is not managing the circulation of text on the landscape as much as he managing his own artifacts. Although he still contributes articles into the fray, he is not as prolific. Early in the movement he was exhaustively always-everywhere, however with more people on the job he is less broad and more specific, and necessarily more responsive as the boomerang he has thrown starts to make its return. Beyond dates, place names, and publications, Kelso makes twenty-one notations and nine underlines and/or parentheses or "ticks." Sixteen of his comments and markings are dedicated to the promotion of a juvenile court and separate trials for children. One comment jars the reader's space-time sense, shuttling thirty-seven years into the future when he writes: *Sir. W. Murlock now Chief Justice at Osgoode Hall Feb 1931, J.J.K.*

Kelso takes credit for ghost-writing one article "The Penetang Reformatory"² although, based on tone and structure it seems he is responsible for others. On page 202a³ he authors a two-page circular dated September 14 preparing participants for the upcoming conference. He presumably pens the cover letter for the petition to secure a Juvenile Court for Canada and identifies five articles that have been syndicated, one of which he most likely scribed. An interview with Kelso and a re-printing of his correspondence support two entire articles. In the

²This is a "(Special)" story from Hamilton, June 6 in support of 15 year old Robert Work of Hamilton whose forgery charge landed him in the reformatory for two years. In the left margin Kelso sarcastically writes *law must be upheld! No matter about the boy!* Kelso notes Robert's "good character" evidenced by his membership in the "Central Presbyterian Church Sunday School," and describes that his forgery was motivated by the desire to go to England to serve in the British Army. Kelso describes how many people took an interest in Robert's fate, including the CAS, reverends, and even Gibson wrote a letter supporting a pardon, as did the bank that was the site of Robert's forgery. Despite provincial urgings, Ottawa ordered the boy taken to Penetanguishene. Kelso says the sentence is too severe, and that Robert will "make the acquaintance of some of the worst young toughs Ontario has ever produced, and the extent of contamination will depend upon his strength of character." Kelso concludes that "the entire system is radically wrong" and with the strong position that "The Ontario Government should have complete control of the institution, for which this Province pays so much; and if this cannot be obtained, then the place ought to be shut up." After this, in small font he awkwardly notes: *J.J.K*

³ This is my own page number. This artifact was not pasted its own numbered page, yet on the microfilm is after page 202. Although it may be simply tucked in, it does not seem "out of place" chronologically.

latter he says: “During the past few months it has been my practice almost daily to go through the Provincial newspapers...”

To be sure, Kelso does not disappear while new forms and faces contribute to the work. He remains highly mobile and diversified, lending his energy and voice to multivalent concerns within the widening enclosure of the movement, finding himself, for instance, speaking at a Tuesday meeting of The Toronto Pansy Society. He intervenes in cases, even ending up on the witness stand, and dips south of the border to validate and refresh as is his young custom. Kelso’s provincial confidence swells, telling the “social problems meeting” on *March 26*, that the “Act...passed last year, being based on similar statues of Massachusetts, Australia and England, was much more effective than any of these.” Concurrently a developing educational movement is in the process of learning about its own development. Feedback from the public in the form of applications for children compels Kelso to become more helpfully-instructive and age-and-gender specific in regards to “how to ask for what.” This subtlety provides a glimpse into the banal needs and desires of the farmer and the common folk against the rhetoric of the state. It seems that the God-appointed institution of the family needs teenaged labour, not to proffer mother love to domestic infants in a pastoral project of obedience. The everyday wants to take, not give. It has material needs and unlawful carnal desires. Within this emotional economy people are offered up, offer themselves up, and are sacrificed as the public learns what it needs and wants through the availability of discursive interpretation. Kelso offers himself as a head-hunter to provide “good situations” for “Boys anxious to learn farming,”⁴ he appropriates the everyday of two girls for official means, “Kindly Children” perform to raise money, girls are offered up as spectacle to throngs of men, “unattractive” Home Girls are “ruined.” The economy

⁴ “How Boys Can Get Work,” page 190 *July 1894* in both the *Star + News*,

of child-saving becomes more sophisticated alongside descriptions of greater banality. Stoler's thoughts on the primacy of affect and emotion in governance are strongly invoked as more stories of the everyday are included in the narrative.

There is much action in these pages. A gendered sensibility emerges while children from the old country ironically and viscerally colour the shape of the background with tales of arrival, assault, and ruin. The process of the courthouse reveals a public site of male gazing and grazing while the hand of authority is more gently placed upon the shoulder of "the lads." All the while earnest, strong, stately men with thick *curriculum vitae* gather and expound with sincerity, their liberal loyalty lending ballast and reason. Secondary "textual" subjects such as typesetters, artists, and caricaturists contribute and have an interpretive role through twenty iconographic inclusions. The Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways, whose pathways of least resistance "unknowingly" move knowledge, now consciously contribute through the movement of rebated body-fares for the upcoming conference. The reverence of reverends extends beyond the pulpit to a role as hierophants embedded in the secular world, enriching it with sacred mystery and pastoral stability. The descriptions of transgression, courtroom drama, step-incest, and squalid dying babies become dimensionally heuristic and are more effective than flatly listing the provisions of the Act or highlighting the motions of a meeting. As Geppetto's wooden boy-puppet became animated, descriptions of "awkward folk" bring a population of uninhabited cast-metal letters to "life."

I observe how in the teaching of sentiment particular people need to break the laws written to circumscribe them. The Act is re-juvenated through the literary descriptions of their actions: the young law *in action* through motifs and sublimation. The awkward folk begin to occupy their place out-of-place and exhibit depravity to allow the contrast of the saved to shine.

The story of this law is not made effectively pedagogic by instituting sameness but through highlighting and exploiting difference. The farmed infant, handed off between depravity and innocence, becomes a potent character compelling medical doctors to emerge and diagnose the extremities of hope and the Necropolis: knowledge and its earthly end. While the whip is temporarily holstered at the hip, a new exoteric form, sober and earnestly strong, peals with interest and effect in many council chambers and towns. As the WCTU rings the praises of the curfew, the map of Ontario becomes larger and local men get flummoxed and observe themselves through mockery. The Act plots upon the map new faces, ages, and places who join the carnival. We begin to appreciate Ontario's *pastorality* through the active participation of more interpretive localities wherein we sense how this movement of sentimental education is not only about the governance of bodies, but concurrently about how the Province participates in and imagines its own *being* governed.

The Bell Swells

New towns enter the pages: east, south/west, north/west, and slightly northeast from Toronto centre. They are made visible on the map through the reportage of the mechanisms of the CAS, Humane Society, Bands of Mercy, the curfew bell, Home Children, and/or transgressive townfolk: Owen Sound, Windsor, Walkerton, Amherstburg, Stayner, Chatham, Strathroy, Woodstock, Belleville, Brockville, Port Stanley, Galt, Ridgetown, Gananoque, Belleville, Teeswater, Mitchell, Nissouri, Zorra, and Omemee. One article alone "The Curfew Bell," reports that "Up to the present time twenty towns and villages in Ontario have made it law that the Curfew Bell shall ring every night. Fourteen of these are: Cobourg, Collingwood, Barrie, Galt, Kincardine, Norwood, Leamington, Parkhill, Paisley, Glencoe, Wiarton, Mitchell, Wallaceburg and Sault Ste Marie. Lakefield passed such a some time ago, but up to the present time not effort

has been made to enforce it.” A small article from *March 10*, reports how Kelso has been “writing to Kingston parties seeking arrangements for the caring of the little folks” and how “Miss Machar says there are a number of cases in the city that need attention. There are parents who are unfit to have the care of children.” Three days and six pages later,⁵ the Queen City quickly and firmly establishes itself in the movement, motivated by the pitch-perfect and respectable Rev. J.R. Black and the elegant evangelical pathos flowing from the omniscient pen of the mysteriously anonymous “G.H. de B.” Kelso includes four of his articles.⁶ As spring retires to summer, Orillia too enters with great commitment at the behest of Mayor Thomson and *The Packet* who loudly announces Kelso’s public presentation on June 29, and reports upon his visit to the asylum for the “feeble-minded, where there are over 100 children under the care of Dr. Beaton.”⁷ Toronto, Barrie, London, Hamilton, St. Thomas, Guelph, and Brantford continue in their respective missions and broaden their activities to include Bands of Mercy, Children’s Shelters, adoption advertisements, and agitations for the curfew bell which become the most colourful of conversations. It is from their courtrooms and police blotters that the Gibson Act begins to act upon actions. Interpretations and descriptions may differ depending on factors of location, age, gender, disposition, and who is in charge, yet Kelso arranges this heteroglot to tell a unified narrative: free children’s picnics happen next to the abuse and unlawful carnal

⁵⁵ In the *Kingston Whig Mar 13 94*, p. 139, under the heading “A Subject of Interest” Rev. Black writes: “I have in memory now a family consisting of parents and six children. The house is unclean, the bedding scant, ragged and dirty, the food is served and eaten in a style reminding one of the sty, the mother and father are frequently intoxicated, the children are sent out to beg in the street, in getting food and clothing they lie, and on two occasions they have been caught stealing. Now how slim are the chances of any of these children keeping out of the criminal court, the jail or the penitentiary, during the next ten or fifteen years.”

⁶ These articles are not all strictly pertaining to Kingston. Kelso notes that the article which G.H. de B. writes in *May 1894* on page 173-174 (“TORONTO LETTER”) is published in the Kingston *British Whig, St. Thos Journal*, and *Chatham Banner*. Through content and tone we get the sense that Kelso and G.H. de B. are kindred spirits.

⁷ In total there are 12 artifacts from Orillia between pages 184 and 211 (there is potentially at 13th on page 211 but the writing is too faded to be entirely sure. That it is sandwiched between other artifacts from Orillia makes it a potential). The artifacts between pages 184 and 191 are from June and July; the three (potentially four) on page 211 are from October.

knowledge of a “densely ignorant” illiterate girl who cannot discern time and space; Kelso is reported as giving a speech at the Toronto Pansy Society, while in the next column two sisters are prey for sporting gentlemen in Hamilton; the Toronto Humane Society advocates for girls to be able to sit down while working at Eaton’s next to the verdict in the Lace case where dead babies were piled in shallow graves. Every artifact portrays “life” in this confined, textualized carnival.

Chapter 6: A World of Woe Within Reason

Artists Render

Of the twenty iconographic inclusions, nineteen are embedded within textual articles. Four are small and serve to “showcase” the first letter of the respective article – three are from Hamilton within a few pages and include: a sketch of two elegantly-dressed women in intimate proximity beside a cartoony “T” setting up “HE Children’s Aid Society will require the assistance...”; a sketch of a small girl in a full-flowing dress and hat holding an odd-shaped “T” to begin, “HE meeting of the Children’s Aid Society...”;¹ a sketch of four neatly-dressed children: an older boy behind three younger children, two of which appear to be girls. In the sketch is a large, thickly-drawn fancy “S” which sets up the rest of article’s first word “CARCELY.” These articles report upon the meeting where Gibson lamented the lack of men in attendance, and encouraged businessmen to practical Christianity beyond the pew. The other is a small full-body profile sketch of a newsboy in the article “A GOOD IDEA!” which details the arrival from Detroit of Mr. A.G. Crane, the founder of the Newsboys’ Aid Associations in the United States. Images of the new Toronto CAS children’s shelter² are the most numerous. Beneath the headline “AS GOD HAS WILLED IT” are four sketches: three small children basically-drawn with their arms raised in front of a large “Y” to start the article “OU wouldn’t think from a cursory view...”; a sketch

¹ As a point of interest: This exact sketch begins an article from the same newspaper on *Mar 17 1899* in Volume 2 of the scrapbooks which is dedicated to the emigration of English Children. The headline is “AN INTERSTING TALK” with the subheading “On the Subject of Child Emigration.” The next subheading: “The question discussed by the debates section of the Canadian Club – Address by J.J. Kelso,...- Varied Views Expressed.” Later in the article it states: “One remarkable feature of the work was the demand for the children, there being about six homes offering for every child brought out. It was alleged by the Trades and Labor Councils that this was due to the desire of the farmer for cheap labor.” 116-117.

² For a discussion and analysis of the shelter see Chen, Chapter 5: “The Shelter: A Locus of Organizing and Transforming Power Relations,” 79-101.

of “The Shelter,” unadorned with little attention paid to perspective or aesthetic. Above, the article describes: “On the window east of the doorway gilt letters tell the story: ‘Shelter of the Childrens’ Aid Society. Suffer Little Children to Come unto Me.’” In the right column the article also describes how “Painters and paper-hangers and carpenters have been busy. The floors have been oiled and varnished, all the walls re-papered, and the interior made clean and bright and cheerful.” The article proudly describes the shelter: its board and reception rooms, dining room, play-room, the bedroom of Superintendent Mr. Samuel Wotton which is close to the front door in order that he can answer the door late at night and accept children otherwise destined for police cells or jails. “In the basement are the store-rooms, punishment rooms, kitchen, and a room that will eventually be fitted up as a washroom with a great bath in the center.” In the same column is drawn “A Group of Little Ones” comprised of six children of (three male, three female) awkwardly and uselessly frolicking: one boy has his arms raised in a “Y,” another in the background looks like a standing corpse with his head tilted way back and mouth agape, another badly-drawn boy looks middle-aged bald, a young girl in profile pats a large sitting gender-neutral tot on the forehead. The article describes some of the children in the shelter: “There are about a dozen small boys and girls, two or three whose skins and hair tell of African ancestors, and one tot whose head was wrapped in a muffler and whose pale face showed white and pinched.” The article describes the exterior of the shelter: “At the rear and sides and across the yard a short distance behind the front of the house a nine-foot fence will be erected to prevent the escape of restless youngsters, and a six-foot partition will separate boys from girls.” it concludes: “Altogether the place is remarkably well fitted without great expenditure.” Attention is demanded to the bottom right of the page where there is a bizarre non-contextualized sketch of the head of sternly-looking man wearing a winter hat. Except for portions of the left side of his

face, and highlights on his hat and shoulders it is drawn heavily black. It is a bold contrast to the rest of the white page. He is in profile looking harshly to our left, we are barely in his periphery. It could be Rev. Starr although he is not mentioned in the article.

Six pages later there is another sketch of the children's shelter by "J.A. Lough" which more carefully details the architecture. Lough more aesthetically postures the home and includes verdant touches of trees and grass. Through the use of shading and the inclusions of a path and detailed brick chimneys he shows the home in a warmer perspective. The short article beneath notes: "The interior of the old St. James' rectory, Adelaide street east...has been completely transformed." An article from *The World June 13, 1894*, entitled "The New Children's Shelter" reports upon the official opening where "Speeches appropriate for the occasion were delivered by Mayor Kennedy, Inspector Archabold,³ Rev. J.E. Starr, Warden Massie and J.J. Kelso." I note the professions and genders represented. In the margin Kelso writes *Shelter opened on 12th. See "aims + objects" of Humane Society, page 138 for first advocacy of such an institution. K.*⁴

³ The Inspector's name is sometimes spelled "Archabold" and other times "Archibald"

⁴ Kelso does not mislead us. "Aims and Objects of the Toronto Humane Society" was published in 1888 and edited by George Hodgins, A Vice-President of the Society. A 24 year old Kelso is listed as Secretary. It is a dense instructive publication of 250 pages and "One Hundred and Twelve Illustrations." The first thing we see as we open the book is a painting titled "Thorough Bred" which shows a well-dressed fair-haired-and-skinned woman feeding a horse an apple with her left hand while her right hand appears to be stroking the mane. Below, two dogs obediently look up at her. In the "Prefatory Note" it quotes, "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin." As Kelso notes above, on page 138, there is an item entitled "Temporary Refuge for Destitute and Neglected Children." Beneath is the verse: "'Give like a Christian – speak in deeds; A noble life's the best of creeds; And he shall wear a royal crown, Who gives a lift when men are down.'" It continues: "Mr. Kelso has also, at the request of the Editor, prepared the following. "A temporary refuge for destitute and neglected children is one of the object which the Toronto Humane Society desire to promote. Such a building, situated in a central locality, would serve as a temporary home for the waifs picked up by the police, and for those children whom it might be necessary to remove from the influence of a cruel, drunken, dissolute parent or guardian. There is at present no institution in the city where a destitute child would be sure, at any time, of a reception and kind treatment. It is, therefore an urgent necessity that early attention should be thus given to the children of the byways, who, in years, may prove a blessing or a curse to the community, according to the early treatment which they many receive." This is three years before Kelso establishes the Toronto CAS.

On page 138, dated *Mar 15* Kelso includes a large caricature of Rev. J.E. Starr “Constable of the Children’s Aid Society” which boldly demands a quarter of the page. He is smartly dressed in an overcoat and has an enormous mal-proportioned head that is as large as the rest of him. His left hand holds back a tail of his coat and sits squarely in his pocket. Do not mistake this for being casual. His strong, elegant gait is strangely reminiscent of Kelso’s “NEGLECTED!” Street Arab. A simply-dressed eerily-miniature woman-in-white with no shoes tilts slightly towards him as she holds his right hand with both of hers in a scene of quasi-worship. Her head slightly tilts to look up towards him, but not to his eyes. He is much too large. It is hard to discern who is serving whom. He gazes extremely in the distance over our left shoulder. He is drawn with hard lines around his penetrating eyes. The *Star*’s caricaturist presents Rev. Starr in collective strokes of jingo and mockery and shows: *Beware*. This is the one image that is independent of an accompanying article. It is pasted amongst three articles. On the immediate left is “POLICE COURT GUESTS” in *Hamilton* which describes “Two Wayward Girls...Lottie and Mary Lally” whose falls from grace and emotional breakdowns are witnessed by a throng of gazing men. Pasted below from The *Star* *march 25*, the headline “THE BOYS WANT IT” reports that “Supt. Hassard, of the Boys’ Industrial School at Mimico, told his pupils the other day of the efforts that were being made to secure the separate trial of youthful offenders...Six or eight of the boys declined, but the petition was got up and signed by 183 boys.” Next to this article in the bottom right quadrant is the headline “TORONTO PANSY SOCIETY” from The *Globe* *March 27*, describing “a most successful parlor entertainment” that Kelso attends where young girls perform to raise money. The increasingly troubling likeness of

Rev. Starr with the insignificant woman sits like an anchor in the top right.⁵ I re-visit this page in other discussions.

On page 141 is pasted a petition cover letter presumably written by Kelso. In the top left he writes *To Secure Juv. Courts for Canada! 1894 K*. At the top of the document is the official seal of his office. It is strong and perfectly circular with “Neglected & Dependent Children” written within the arc of the circle. An object wrapped around the bottom of the circle is suggestive of a belt or type of harnessing. Inside is the triangular crest of Ontario, and above hang a set of scales. Below is written “ONTARIO.” Atop, in dark profile, sits a beaver (with a whimsical glance this looks like Kelso’s hairstyle). This is Kelso officially symbolized.

The article headlined “TO PROTECT THE CHILDREN” functions as a practical and operational extension of “Cradled in Crime.” It presents two images. Kelso notes in the right margin of the first page, *syndicated article in many papers*. The third subheading states “Parents must do their duty” leading into the next subheading “Or the Law Will be Put in Operation.” The first image, titled “Boy Awaiting Trial” is a sketch of a family of three – the boy, holding his cap sits between his father and mother. The father sits on our left, he holds what appears as a countryman’s hat. He is smartly yet humbly dressed in a coat and cuffed pants, his figure is half-shaded. The mother, on our right, is dressed in a protective cape and a heavy dress, her hands are

⁵ This caricature seems apt alongside Starr’s comments quoted in the Hamilton Spectator Feb 23rd: ““Neglected children are a down trodden class, and their wrongs can only be righted by such a society as this. The society has the power and the machinery to put that power into force. You must let parents know that they cannot neglect their children with impunity... There are plenty of people who are glad to escape trouble by getting their children into reformatories, where the expense of bringing up has to be borne by the State... Parents who neglect their children are usually cowards at heart, and if they know that their actions are watched by a powerful society they will soon mend their evil ways... Most people have the idea that children belong to their parents, but that is a mistake. Parents are only entrusted with the care of their children in so far as they train them properly. When they are being brought up to be criminals the State steps in and takes the children away from evil influences... Their salvation now means wealth, strength and brains to the country in the years to come ” (Applause).

concealed, and her right cheek and shoulder are shaded in darkness. It is difficult to ascertain the precise direction of the parents' gaze as their eyes are drawn with a heavy ink, although they look more towards us than the boy whose head is tilted and looks to our extreme right. His face appears without shading. He appears to be in early adolescence. All three wear particular countenances: the father sad, the mother embarrassed, and the boy anxiously curious. I imagine this as Johnny Conn and his parents. In the background, behind the wooden bench with a decorative trim, stands what appears to be a man wearing a bobby hat. In the bottom right quadrant of the same page is another sketch which dominates a third of the column. She is a "Girl When Rescued" against a messily-sketched and immediate blank background. With her right hand she grasps the top of a stair post that is anchored in concrete. She is bare-foot, standing on hard ground. Her clothing, a simple smock, is sketched black. Her shoulder-length hair is swollen in its unkemptness. She seems to be looking at us with her thickly-drawn eyes, her face is frowning and tense. The girl appears to be in her early teens. The article, which is presumably from the desk of Kelso says: "Nursed in hotbeds of vice and denied reasonable opportunities of acquiring either moral or intellectual training it is little wonder that many children have grown up to be thieves and vagrants of the community, and a constant source of unrest and insecurity." On the next page the article boldly asks "DO YOU WANT A CHILD?" and continues by first educating the reader on the operational strategy of the CAS: "All the Children's Aid Societies will work in unison and will assist each other in providing homes for their protégés. For instance, if the Hamilton Societies should have a child they wished to place some distance off they would call in the assistance of the Brantford, London, or Paris Societies and vice versa, each Society exchanging information and aiding each other in a hundred ways." Next the application strategy and its effect are described:

If any reader has a childless home and longs to hear the patter of the little feet and to feel the caress of chubby, grateful arms they should send their names to the Children's Aid Society...-Only be sure and don't make this mistake: Don't say you want to adopt a healthy, well-educated boy or girl of 11 or 12 for they are very scarce and very valuable. Apply for a baby or a little tot of four or five and then you have a human soul that you can train, a little heart you can teach to love you and call you by the sweetest of all names – "mother." There is not better service anyone can render to church or state than the training of a child for good citizenship. It is a noble task and worthy of even some trials and disappointments. NUMEROUS TOUCHING STORIES are told of the gratitude of these boys and girls to faithful foster parents after they have grown up and gone out to make their way in the world.

In the right column is the static experiential conversion of "How She Looked Afterwards." The girl stands in the foreground of a country perspective. Her right hand gently rests upon an object draped in vines; her left hand and neatly-braided hair fall alongside her humble yet elegant dress. Her feet are visible yet the sketch suggests she is wearing shoes. She looks at us, her eyes still drawn too dark to be sure of the quality of her gaze. She still frowns, yet the tension is gone. The article concludes "...it will provide justice and good home surroundings for the unfortunate little ones now treated so shamefully by indifferent and unworthy parents. Mr. J.J. Kelso, the State Superintendent, should be generously supported by the philanthropists of the province so that justice may be secured for the neglected or morally abandoned children of the province." At the end of this syndicated article, the next condensation point in the collection, Kelso writes: ***Truth patent inside series, April 19. 1894.***

On pages 179 and 217 are sketches of Gibson. The first is from "Ontario's Secretary," an article dedicated to "A scholarly and Able Gentleman With a Brilliant Academical Career" from an undated and unspecific publication. He is drawn from the chest up. He is wearing a proper jacket and tie. His hair is neatly combed fairly-flat, his thick beard trimmed. He appears a man whose stature might deserve his being honored by the Freemasons with "the office of Grand Master for the last two years." With his oval spectacles he looks well beyond our right about a quarter turn. He does not seem too interested in his reader. Although described as "Courteous, kindly and generous without a blemish," his aged stare may suggest the "severe calamities in his

domestic relations, death having deprived him his first and second wives.” The article does not mention the death of his father when Gibson was three and his subsequent migration to be cared for by his sister. The sketch on page 217 is the exact same one. It is in an article from the *Kingston Daily British Whig* October 19 entitled “CHILD SAVING WORKERS” which discusses the child-saving conference in Toronto. This version is cropped tighter. Presumably in an effort to economize space and make greater room for text the typesetter cut off the lower part of Gibson’s chin. It effectively brings the image closer. This version is a little lighter, and thus reveals a little more assuredly that his large pupils are sharp, experienced, and fixed in the distance, although there is a sense of fatigue. I appreciate the veracity of the previous article which stated that “Col. Gibson is a marksman of repute” who won the “Prince of Wales Prize” in 1879, and was “the president of the Ontario Rifle Association for several years, and for the past two years of the Dominion Rifle Association.” There is more the fullness in his beard, and a seriousness and impatience in his tightly-pressed lips that the previous wider sketch did not reveal. Although he is closer and clearer this “hardest worked officer of the Ontario Government” remains, perhaps understandably, detached.⁶

What appear to be versions of the British Family Royal Coat of Arms are embedded in three articles. The first is atop a May 4 article from the *Mail* re-printed in the *Lakefield News* in support of the curfew bell.⁷ The next is from a “loud” full-page poster from Orillia announcing a meeting regarding “NEGLECTED CHILDREN” “to consider the advisability of forming” a CAS. “MR. J.J. KELSO” is prominent towards the bottom as the keynote presenter. At the

⁶ Gibson’s comments from February 23 meeting in Hamilton: “The needs of neglected children should enlist the sympathy of all business men. Of course, many of the children who came within the control of such a society would be repulsive physically and mentally, but what the work lacked in pleasure would be more than made up by its usefulness” 128.

⁷ This is the article atop the first appearance of Little Johnny Conn.

extreme bottom in a long, compressed font is “GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.” In October the Arms appear a third time, again from Orillia crowing a very brief article announcing the annual meeting of the CAS. Again, the artifact is buttressed by “God Save The Queen.” Subtly sandwiched between the Family Arms and the headline “Children’s Aid Society of Orillia” is written: “Not a broken law, but a broken little heart, is the motive in prosecution.”⁸

The final image in the pages under discussion is the only photograph. It is embedded in “*Our Boys*” *official organ of the Victoria Indus School* and is decoratively entitled “The Boys’ Friends,” a series from the boys in the Mimico industrial school who learn the craft of printing, wherein “under this heading will appear portraits and sketches of men and women who prove themselves, by work and contributions the true friends of the boys.” Their friend in this July edition is “Mr. J.J. Kelso.” The picture is not of great quality, and appears presently nostalgic like something found excitedly in an old trunk. He appears as a dear distant relative even in 1894. He is honest and unguarded as the article describes how “his parents had been well-off in the north of Ireland, but a destructive [*sic*] fire and business depression swept everything away, and in 1874 they came to Toronto to start anew.” His flesh and the background are the same cloudy-day tone. His crafted hair atop his broad forehead and jacket are the same quality of coal black. He appears from the chest up. He is smartly dressed in the contrast of the ebony jacket and a white collared shirt. He is bereft of a tie but does not present too casually. His image befits one whose provenance and circumstance imbued him “with a broadened sympathy and a maturity of judgement possessed by few so young, [who] was in a position to sympathize with the little boys and girls whom had a hard fate.” His moustache is thick and extends west and east equally-

⁸ Orillia cues us to think about the English-born writer and humourist Stephen Leacock, whose family immigrated to Ontario when Leacock was six. He was educated at Upper Canada College and famously made his home in Orillia which inspired his popular book “Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town.” Leacock was an unabashed imperialist.

elegantly, perhaps he disciplines his whiskers with wax. His spectacles do not have arms, they simply balance on the bridge of his nose, like the scales of his official seal. His body is turned slightly away from us, yet his head does not commit the entire way. He might be looking at us, yet the contrast darkening his eyes makes it difficult to tell. The article helps make sense of this sentimental and contrasted picture: “Mr. Kelso is possessed of a very kindly disposition, and is never happier than when aiding some unfortunate boy or girl to do well in life.”

Men and Girls and Kid Gloves

In *Jan* The London *Adv.* reports:

Edward Dell, a little fellow belonging to Strathroy, has been brought to the county jail to await removal to the Reformatory for Boys at Penetanguishene. Dell is but 13 years of age, and was always bright and honest. His parents are both dead, and his aged grandfather has since taken care of the lad. He stole an accordeon [*sic*], a pair of mitts, a pair of kid gloves, a pair of spectacles and one ring, the property of John Best and a number of residence in that vicinity. Dell was brought before James Noble, J.P....and was sentenced to a term not to exceed five years, and not less than six months. The boy feels his position very keenly, and during the whole day does nothing but moan and weep bitterly. He repeatedly asks to see his grandfather, and the authorities will comply with his request.

To date this is the most ink dedicated to a folk story. It is not only the length that is novel, but also the detailed description of the property he stole. As well the author extends the description to Edward’s emotional state which works to evoke empathy in the reader. The stories of girls his same age are handled differently.

The first text at the top left hand of page 134 is Kelso’s handwriting: *preparing the way for Juvenile Court*. This entire page is dedicated to five articles detailing the crimes and subsequent court experiences of two girls, Ada New and Isabella Bowering, aged 13 and 15 respectively. The first and boldest of the headlines is from The *Star*: “PUT WITH CRIMINALS...Two young girls placed in jail with other prisoners.” Its subheading describes how “Mr. J.J. Kelso objected to this, and asked for a separate trial, which he was refused.” In the

body of the article Kelso is quoted: “Mr. Du Vernet and I asked the Magistrate to try the cases separately, but this he refused to do. I think that this is a very poor method of reforming the girls.”” The article pasted below is entitled “Making Criminals” from the *Mail March 5*, and begins by quoting a clause of the “Act of the Local house” which states “Where practical and expedient, all cases of children under sixteen shall be tried separately from adults...It is difficult, however, to induce the police and the magistrates to comply with the spirit of the Act, as two cases called in yesterday’s Police Court go to show.” The article continues to detail the cases of the two girls: “Isabella Bowering, aged 15, was charged with stealing a hat from her sister, and Ada New, aged 13, was charged with stealing 65 cents, a brush and comb, and some other small articles from her employer, Mrs. Wilkinson of Rose avenue.” It continues by describing how the girls are shuttled through various spaces alongside “some pretty bad characters” and thus are now tainted in their own communities. Pasted beside from the *Globe Mar 5* “CHILDREN IN THE POLICE COURT” reports the same story although with different details. Isabella is reported as being sixteen years of age, and Ada is reported as only stealing 60 cents and no other articles from her mistress. It too describes their experience in the process: “On Sunday morning they were taken in the van with a crowd of adults to the gaol, where they were placed in the same corridor as the women now awaiting trial for abortion. After spending a day and night in the gaol they were bundled into the “Black Maria”⁹ this morning, with about 40 others, and were carted to the Police Court to stand trial...They were placed on trial at 11 o’clock in the midst of the court business, and with an audience of over 100 men, who had gathered to take in all the interesting features of the show.” G.T. Denison is identified as the Magistrate who refused the request for

⁹ The “Black Maria” was the name given to the van that transported prisoners from gaol to court. Legend has it that it is named after Maria Lee, a powerful black saloon keeper who helped constables drag drunks to the police cells in 1830s Boston. The Black Maria has also been called 'Mother's Heart' as it is said that there is always room for one more.

the separate trial, “remarking that the law only required this to be done ‘where expedient,’ and it was not expedient for him to take the matter up except at that present moment.”¹⁰ The article continues: “The whole process was degrading and hardening, and not at all calculated to accomplish the object aimed at, viz., the reformation of those showing signs of waywardness.” In the right-hand margin Kelso writes *asks private trail of children*. In two short undated articles at the bottom right the girls are discussed separately. Ada is confirmed as “An Alleged Dishonest Domestic,” while a reportedly incorrigible Isabella is turned over to Detective Duncan by her own frustrated family “in the hopes of reforming her.”

Kelso dedicates two pages to excerpts from the 1893 “Report of the Directors” of the PAA dated *Jan 30, 1894*. On page 135 *S.H. Blake*¹¹ proclaims: “It has now become a trite

¹⁰ Colonel George T. Denison is legendary in the annals of imperial court records for both the amount and speed at which he adjudicated cases. In his 1920 “Recollections of a Police Magistrate” he says: “I doubt if there is any judge or magistrate, either in Canada or England, who has tried as many indictable offences as I have in the last forty years, or had so wide an experience in the administration of criminal justice.” (8). Between 1877 and 1919 Denison estimates that he presided over 650,000 cases at the Toronto Court. In this book he states that “In 1892 we instituted the Children’s Court...[and] I understand that the Court was carried on for eight years before any court of the kind was started in any part of the world.” (254-255). He continues to describe how the Toronto Children’s Court was replicated both in England and Colorado after 1904. It is difficult to get a clear sense how Denison, in his well-noted haste, used this space that “was not really a separate court, but...a small room in the lower part of City Hall, with a table and a few chairs, [where] I was accustomed to go down to that room to try all charges against children, in order to keep them out of the public court.” (254). Before his 1877 appointment by Premier Oliver Mowat, Denison was a renowned soldier, “military enthusiast,” and author who had close relationships with many of American Civil War military leaders of the South who found refuge in Canada during or after the war. “The Canadian who won the prize of the Emperor of Russia for the best “History of Calvary”, whose work on “Modern Calvary,” being translated into several languages, exerted so marked an influence upon military tactics in Europe, and whose book “The Struggle for Imperial Unity” aroused profound interest throughout the Empire” (vii). Denison was zealous in his imperial views and his work to maintain a strong tie to the empire. He was one of the founders of “Canada First” and the “British Empire League” and was the President of the “Canadian League” which “produc[ed] the most important practical results, such as Imperial penny postage, the West Indian sugar preference, and the abrogation of the Belgian-German treaties which had retarded Imperial union in tariff matter for forty years. He also supported giving Great Britain a preferential tariff” (x-xi). The introduction to Denison’s book was written by Dr. A.U. Colquhoun, the Deputy Minister of Education, Ontario.

¹¹ Samuel Hume Blake was a Toronto-born “lawyer, judge, Anglican layman, philanthropist, social reformer, and pamphleteer” who came from a “refined Irish” family. He was educated at Upper Canada College, became a successful lawyer, replaced Oliver Mowat as junior chancellor on the Ontario Court of Chancery in 1872 and became senior vice-chancellor in 1875. As well in 1876 Premier Mowat appointed Blake, “a lifelong advocate of temperance, as a tavern-licence commissioner for Toronto.” By the 1880s Blake’s outspoken evangelism conflicted with his role on the bench and in 1881 he resigned to return to his firm. Nicknamed ““Hon. Psalm Blake”...he became increasingly involved in efforts to reform society.” In 1874, He and W.H. Howland and other evangelical activists established the Prisoner’s Aid Association...[and] helped bring about the appointment in 1890 of the

observation that the turning point for good or evil in the life of most persons is generally before arriving at the age of twenty.” He immediately repeats: “It is the turning point for good or evil.”

Below *Hon. G.W. Allan*¹² offers: “There is one other subject which I think calls for Dominion legislation...and that is, the making of due provision for the separate trial and separate confinement before trial, or juvenile offenders under a certain age.” On the next page *E.A.*

*Meredith L.L.D*¹³ says of the Gibson Act: “No more beneficent or enlightened statute can probably be found on the Statute Book of any country. The passing of this act was an especial

commission on the prison and reformatory system in Ontario, chaired by John Woodburn Langmuir.” Throughout his career Blake approached every task with the certainty of the evangelical. For him there was no paralyzing self-doubt.” He believed that “All theology that does not end in the practical, he once wrote... “should be relegated to the paradise of fools!” By 1909, at age 74, his first wife dead, he married his 32-year old housekeeper in Rio de Janeiro where bulk of his wealth lay, and continued to write “scorching proclamations”. He had “become a caricature of the Social Gospel reformer” with young journalists making light of his “old fashioned morality.” After his death at the age of 79, *Saturday Night* said of Blake that he was “one of the most interesting, and perhaps exasperating figures in the political, social, and religious life” of Canada.” John D. Blackwell, in Dictionary of Canadian Biography. General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/blake_samuel_hume_14E.html.

¹² George William Allan (1822-1901) was the son of a distinguished member of Toronto society, who attended Upper Canada College, and at the age of 15, volunteered as a private in the Bank Rifle Corps and helped put down the 1837 Upper Canada Rebellion. He became a lawyer and a Toronto Alderman at 27, and he was elected the 11th mayor of Toronto in 1855. In 1858 he entered federal politics, following in his father’s footsteps to represent York on the Legislative Council until 1867 when he was appointed to the senate. Allan was active in the Synod of the Church of England, and was president of the Upper Canada Bible Society. As well Allan was also a supporter of horticulture, donating a piece of land in Toronto which became Allan Gardens. Parliament of Canada, Speakers of the Senate of Canada. Accessed April 10, 2014. [http:// www.parl.gc.ca/about/parliament/speakers/sen/sp-10Allan-e.htm](http://www.parl.gc.ca/about/parliament/speakers/sen/sp-10Allan-e.htm).

¹³ Edmund Allen Meredith (1817-1899). Born in Northern Ireland, Meredith immigrated to Canada in 1842, after “a lonely and unsettled childhood which may have marked his nature for life.” He was the principal of McGill College for a year before joining the civil service of the United Province of Canada in 1847. He served as the assistant provincial secretary for two decades and dedicated much energy to prison reform as a member of the Board of Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, and Public Charities. Meredith emerged as “the leading Canadian disciple of Sir Walter Crofton, the Irish prison reformer, who had rejected the rigidities of the so-called Auburn system, on which Kingston Penitentiary was based, in favour of a programme which” graduated from strict to rewards based on good behaviour, and an after-care phase. Meredith also promoted greater classification in the juvenile justice system, recommending the differentiation between “children convicted of crimes and those merely destitute or neglected who might be rescued from potential delinquency. The placing of the latter as apprentices or on farms (John A.) Macdonald as attorney general would not accept, seeing it as interference with parental rights. It remained for the child-saving movement of the 1880s and 1890s to move in the direction which Meredith and his colleagues had promoted a generation earlier.” Peter Oliver, Canadian Biography Dictionary, General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/meredith_edmund_allen_12E.html.

source of gratification to him¹⁴...[who] had again and again...denounced as a crime the sending of our unfortunate little ones to *prison*.”¹⁵ The report also laments the death this year of Mr.

W.H. Howland.¹⁶ On page 140 Kelso vertically pastes a part of a petition to Sir J.S.D.

¹⁴ Blake is speaking here of John Woodburn (J.W.) Langmuir (1835-1915). He was a Scot who immigrated to Upper Canada in 1849 and left his work as a successful general merchant to become the inspector of prisons, asylums, and public charities of Ontario in 1868. “Langmuir would hold the position through the critical years when the new province was developing its policies in social welfare and was establishing new institutions while expanding and reforming others.” Langmuir single-handedly did this overwhelming job with only “a secretary, a clerk-accountant, and a messenger to assist him...From the beginning, Langmuir had a love of order and efficiency and a commitment to social progress which reflected the ethos of post-confederation Ontario...which was blessed by buoyant revenues...The result was an impressively reformed and expanded institutional structure.” Under his leadership The Andrew Mercer Ontario Reformatory for Females was opened in 1880 in Langmuir’s belief that “one with a separate facility would women be fully able to exercise and wield their great power and influence, in a practical way, towards reclaiming the criminal and fallen of their sex.” In its effort “to govern by kindness,” the Mercer reformatory offered a discipline more benign than that in male institutions, which were characterized by a punitive atmosphere.” The Industrial Refuge for Girls, the province’s first facility for female delinquents was attached to the Mercer. Langmuir’s efforts to “enlighten” and modernize the Reformatory for Boys at Penetanguishene were uneven and limited and his efforts to reform local and county jails was mixed: “He was less successful in introducing classification systems for prisoners.” Despite his retirement and return to private business in 1882, he was appointed to a royal commission in 1885 to investigate charges of “cruelty, partiality, and mismanagement” against James Massie, warden of Central Prison. More important, he was named in 1890 to chair a commission on the prison reformatory system of Ontario...Not all the recommendations were implemented, but some, especially in the areas of juvenile delinquency and child welfare, were enshrined in legislation.” Peter Oliver, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/langmuir_john_woodburn_14E.html.

¹⁵ Kelso writes *Prison* where the article is cut off.

¹⁶ William Holmes Howland (1844-1893) was born in Lambton Mills (Etobicoke). He was educated at Upper Canada College, and took over his father’s “grain and milling business and quickly rose to prominence in the commercial world. His father, William Pearce Howland was a Father of Confederation. In the 1870s Howland increased his participation in religious and social matters and became an active member of the Anglican evangelical movement in Toronto which promoted temperance and “stressed the practical application of Christ’s teachings.” His evangelical projects became the focus of his life at the expense of this business interests. He was involved in the founding and/or direction of an evangelical publishing company, the Prisoner’s Aid Association, Central Prison Mission School, the Prison Gate Mission and Haven for unwed mothers, the Mercer Reformatory, and the Y.M.C.A. In addition he was a Sunday-school teacher and church speaker. Howland regularly visited the poor of Toronto’s notorious St. John’s Ward and was the founding member of the Mimico (Victoria) Industrial School for Boys in 1887. After distancing himself from the “high” Anglican Church which he felt did not focus enough on the poor, he and other evangelicals started the Toronto Mission Union in 1884. Howland became mayor of Toronto in 1886, the first year that women were allowed the vote, and combined “his zeal for temperance, his ardent evangelical religious beliefs, and a passionate desire for civic reform, Howland moved quickly to try to end civic corruption, to close houses of gambling and prostitution, to control liquor interests, to improve sanitary conditions, and to implement campaigns to stop desecration of the Sabbath.” After leaving office, he, with Blake and others persuaded the Ontario Government to appoint the royal commission on prisons and reformatories in 1890, and had a role with Kelso in forming the CAS. Ron Sawatsky, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, General Bibliography, University of Toronto/Universite Laval. Accessed April 10, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/howland_william_holmes_12E.html.

Thompson, Minister of Justice for Canada. On it he writes *Sent out by J.J.K. March 15, 1894, Secured sev thousand signatures.*

Ada and Isabella appear once again on page 141. They have not re-offended. Rather, they now find themselves embedded in Kelso's official cover letter for the petition *To Secure Juv Courts for Canada*. Two of the articles from page 134, "Youthful Offenders," and "Making Criminals" are re-reprinted beneath Kelso's seal and introduction which does not gesture to the articles. They are simply inserted below as ethnographic ballast. At first they appear as verbatim copies, although a closer examination reveals some manipulation of the original reports. The girls and Mrs. Wilkson are protected through the anonymity of initials, and Mrs. Wilkson's address is omitted. There are a couple minor grammatical edits – re-ordering a sentence, employing a comma where there was a period. The term "gaol" is changed to "jail" in the first and "police cell" in the second, "Act of Local House" is changed to "Criminal Code." In the original, the girls were bundled in the Black Maria "with about 40 others," in the re-print they were bundled "with forty others." Kelso dates the originals on page 134 as *March 5*, in the cover letter they are dated *March 6*. In the official copy, "now awaiting trial for abortion" is omitted.

This collection of artifacts between pages 128 and 141, which includes the descriptions of the Lally Sisters, the macro-cephalic caricature of Rev. Starr, and the signatures of the industrial school boys has a particular momentum towards legal reform in the administrative procedure of the petition. In these pages Kelso is most concerned with establishing separate trials and courts for children, to remove them from adult legal processes and architectures.¹⁷ These artifacts

¹⁷ On page 132 there is a missing article. All that remains are four corner pieces kept in place by adhesive. Where the article originally was, Kelso writes *article on sep trial of Children with picture of JJK, Juvenile Courts, Toronto Star, Feb 1894.*

present the reasoned and motivated characters of justice and prison reform against and through the description and repurposing of transgressive children, particularly pubescent females.

The Lads' Backstory

The cases of Edward Dell and Ada and Isabella are instructive of how gender is viewed and appropriated through child-saving discourse. That Edward is treated by Mr. Noble and the authorities with the very same “kid gloves” that he stole from Mr. Best is reflective of the cautious manner in which boys and men are spoken of when they confront authority. These men of authority fulfil the promises of their surnames. In these pages are numerous artifacts detailing lads confronting authority: the stories of Little Johnny Conn, our adventuresome “innocent-looking” “small for his age” 9-year old who gets caught but is never “sent”; Wm. Gray who is told to be “a good boy” so he can get out of the reformatory early, Philip Bolton who is remanded, and the boy dismissed for truancy because he appeared sickly; Robert Work, the Sunday-school-going boy from Hamilton who forged bank documents to join the British Army whom Kelso ghost-writes an article to support (see footnote 13); little Joe Milton, the “comely little fellow who stole the purse of Mrs. Smith, a “deaf-mute...with two other deaf and dumb ladies”; “A Guelph Lad” in whom “a number of people interested themselves...and appealed to the Minister of Justice”; in London, the “little colored lad” Albert Marshall, a train tramp who is arrested while sleeping in a barn, whose mother sobs and pleads to have him sent to the reformatory, and who immediately converts to good in the courtroom; in Kingston, vagrants Tyo and Enwright who are found in a manger in Wilson’s livery stable, who three pages later “will be given a chance” by Rev. Black who declares “This is the chance to reform the society gives lads.” Even Charles Goldsmith, the Barnardo Boy who pleads guilty for attempted murder and criminal assault (rape), and who is sentenced to 21 years in the penitentiary, is described “as a

manly boy, and exactly the opposite of the criminal that he clearly is.”¹⁸ Certainly, they might be sent to the Reformatory or Industrial School, or charged, yet the articles are often balanced by a kindness or humour or some other conciliatory qualification. There is a subtle *apologia* or *noblesse oblige* towards “the lads”: they are often given the benefit of “a history.”

To date when Kelso promotes male cases, or males-within-cases, as a means to motivate specific tenets, the boy’s “innocence” and personal experience are highlighted, unlike the manner in which Ada and Isabella are embedded in the juvenile court enthusiasm. The *Globe* article describing the girls’ experience notes that “the whole process was degrading and hardening” yet does not say for whom. There is no supportive affective evidence to link this with the girls’ experience. The author only describes how the “process” itself is degrading and hardening. It is not about them, but about how their age and gender highlight the process. This brings to life the discussion in the last chapter about keeping children out of these environs in order to maintain their deterrent fear. The girls are never described as afraid or even threatened. They are described as being shuttled through various carceral and judicial spaces in contiguity with contagious subjects and as spectacted fodder for male onlookers. That the girls are not described as “affected” supports Kelso’s assertion that children will become immune to the space. Ada and Isabella are highly valuable in dramatizing the necessarily degrading and hardening judicial process, they are offered as sacrificial substitutive objects to give dimension to a “flat” language; they motivate – stimulate action – and animate the words in a way that males are not culturally

¹⁸ This story is also included in Volume 2 that Kelso dedicates to British child immigration: “Barnardo Boy Sentenced.” “Cayuga, May 8 – At the assizes yesterday, Charles Goldsmith, a Barnardo Boy, who pleaded guilty to attempted murder and rape, was sentenced to twenty-one years in penitentiary for the former and seven years for the latter offence, sentences to run concurrently.”

able. The male gaze does not observe itself directly through the prism of “life,” but is mediated through female experience.

The Hamilton Court, however, presents an affectively different case yet with a similar gaze and personification of reason. Four pages after Ada and Isabella, the titular sisters Lottie and Mary Lally appear. They are given a history farther back than their crime: “[They] were two very pretty girls not long ago, but dissipation, like grief, is beauty’s canker, and their remaining charms will soon disappear if they do not mend their ways.” The author seems to have a history with the girls, long enough to witness their descent from beauty to their final vestiges. The headline “Police Court Guests” might be sarcastically referring to the girls or to “the big crowd of sporting gentlemen” participating in this feeding frenzy: “Where the carcass is there will the eagles be gathered, and the knowledge that the police guns had brought down an unusual amount of game drew a big crowd of sporting gentlemen to the court this morning.” The now-ugly, muddy, drunken girls *are* affected by this carnival: “They looked dazed and poured a flood of tears into black-bordered pocket handkerchiefs.” The process breaks the sisters however the author takes the opportunity to showcase the rationality of the whole sordid scene through the actions of calm men: “On being removed they sobbed and screeched so violently that it required the soothing attention of a couple of policemen to silence them.” The soothing state officials do not soothe, only silence. The men provide rationality and order within a process that will trigger such emotional displays. There is no sense that Lottie and Mary might mend their ways, heal their cankers and regain their currency of beauty. They do not, like little Albert Marshall, promise to be better, and the authorities do not exhibit an intimate encounter, only a detached “attention.” They are not extended the authoritative empathy that Edward Dell is proffered. Similar to Ada and Isabella, Lottie and Mary are the dramatic evidence which permits the reader

to imagine a morally absurd scene – the animalistic male gaze, the depraved female – moored and governed by the rationality of professional men. The girls are described amidst a “show” or a “feeding frenzy” providing the courtroom with a theatrical and visceral complexion. Intended or not, Kelso made a brilliant aesthetic decision to paste the Lally sister’s artifact to the left of the caricature of Rev. Starr whose austere gaze looks over to the satirical description of the scene.

Edward Dell’s situation, like many of the lads, is described as more of a personal “experience” with a dramatic backstory that empathetically engages the reader – and the authorities. He has, and has lost, loving people in his life. Ada and Isabelle are alone and emerge more immediately by way of a process activated by the theft of a mistress and a sister. Their history only extends as far back as their crimes or an implied etiology towards their crimes; the reader does not empathize nor does Magistrate Denison. Everyone seems more concerned with the “busyness” of the court site. Kelso tries but he only leans on the flat language law, and when the cases are called he sends a deputy, Mr. E.A. DuVernet. I cannot help but note how these same stories are eventually employed to enliven law when the articles are recycled in an official document. Kelso even takes interest in the fact that the young male Mimico inmates are asked for their opinion and permitted to lend their names to the petition for a juvenile justice system. Their names are included in the petition process not through their transgressions, like the females A.N. and I.B., but as concerned citizens. The young male inmates have a voice in their own fates. No wonder the budding printers celebrate Kelso as a friend in “Our Boys” and choose to present him not in an interpretive sketch or incongruous caricature, but a photograph with nostalgic “dear uncle” patina.

It is as if the potent architecture of the courthouse functions to permit a publicised portal into private *femaleness* and into the mystery of woman-life drenched in relations of rationalized

power and a curious *savoir*. These affective scenes are personified by the over 100 male spectators in Toronto, the male eagle-eyes circling for prey at the Hamilton courthouse, and the soothing attentive policemen who silence.

Female Guilt and Guile

Kelso sacrifices girls and women as guilty object lessons for protection and privacy. He autopsies their stories and re-fashions them in a wider and/or official context, creating antiheroes in the drama-turgical setting of the courthouse. From *Hamilton* on *Mar 22*, is reported “the first case of its kind brought before the Magistrate under the Gibson act,” whereby, “Mrs. Agnes Thurling pleaded guilty to ill-treating her 7 months’ old baby. She was allowed to go on allowing her children to be cared for and her contributing \$1 a week for its support.” Pasted above is the troubling story of a Home Girl in Zorra that will soon be discussed. On page 171 two articles detail the experiences of women in the courtroom. The first from The *Brantford Courier*, *June 1*, is entitled “SAD STORY,” its subheading reads “Of a Mother at the Police Court” wherein “A respectable woman named Mrs. Eliza Hayden told a sad story” of how the father of her seven children would not support them. “They had all been placed with friends, and now she wanted to find a suitable home for the last one, a bright boy of 11 years. The poor mother broke down when telling these sad incidents.” There is no alcohol, insanity, or abuse in this tale; it is about an absent husband shirking his duties which provides a description of the consensual and smooth process of Brantford CAS’s first case whereby “the mother signed the necessary papers.” Fortunately, “a respectable man had already volunteered to take the boy...” The boy, George Hayden, was taken by J. Carron of Delhi, a small town named after Delhi, India, today affectionately known as the heart of tobacco country. Again, “respectable” men solve the problems of the troubled woman.

Pasted below from an unspecified and undated paper, "The Police Court" details five cases. Although Kelso does not specify the location, we know this is London due to the appearance of Johnny Conn.

Mrs. Elizabeth Yates, who keeps a market stall, appeared in the police court with a badly bruised face, caused by contact with her husband's fist, she said. Henry Yates the defendant was bound over to keep the peace. John Conn, a youthful incorrigible was sent for an indefinite term to the reformatory.¹⁹ Johnny is only 9 years old but is beyond parental control"... "Harriet Williams bobbed up serenely for the 25th time since 1885...and was sent to the Mercer for one year....Harriet was drunk...The long-handled-shovel assault case of Mrs. Mary Nash against Prof. Thomas Passmore was withdrawn by the former...Mrs. Hugh McCurdy accused her husband of non-support and Hugh was remanded for a week. A batch of drunks were dealt with according to their desserts.

From another article "An Unnatural Mother" by the name of Mrs. Elizabeth Kennedy is "Sent to Jail for A Month" in Hamilton as reported in the *Times, Oct 12*. After officers arrested Mrs. Kennedy, they "found the house in a terrible state of filth...So foul was the interior of the place that P.C. Barron was attached with nausea after being inside a few minutes." When brought to court "Mrs. Kennedy howled dismally at sight of her two little girls, Kate and Mary, aged 10 and 7 years." The Magistrate sentences her to one month in jail "as a warning others who might desire to get rid of the responsibility of looking after their children by foisting them upon the community at large...The woman wept bitterly, and dropping to her knees in the dock, asked the Magistrate 'for the love of God' to send her to Toronto for six months rather than to Barton street jail...As she was being taken to the patrol wagon Mrs. Kennedy expressed her determination to get control of her children as soon as she got out of jail." Later in the article "Margaret Larkin, a married woman with four little children, was arrested by P.C. Watson for being drunk and disorderly on Saturday night. This morning she blamed her husband for her position, saying that he got drunk on his week's earnings and then supplied her with liquor. The Magistrate let her go with a warning."

¹⁹ Although he never seems to make it.

Whether they are identified as mothers or not, we see how women are portrayed to give pedagogic dimension to the flatness of the law in the site of the courtroom against discourses of sexuality and “life.” Whether the women are described as guilty, not guilty, drunk, or are treated with kindness and pity, the stories of their husbands do not emerge in the same exposed manner. They are kept in abeyance. Their emotional privacy is protected through lack of description. Men remain at a distance, at the very least the length of a long-handled-shovel.

In the London article the police court is a scene where women are observed as objects of mockery, irony, and other language play. It was Mrs. Yates who threw her face at Henry’s fist; her face is described as not being part of her body, but rather as an unembodied thing that she thrust towards her husband’s unawares, passive fist. The addition of “she said” afterwards confirms that this is how it happened, not the other way around. What is the purpose of including her place of work at the market stall? To suggest this could be due to her exposure in a public space? That readers can go see for themselves? To socially situate her? Or simply to add interest to the item? The drunken Harriet Williams is so soused that she “bobbed up serenely for the 25th time.” After 9 years of this, she is now a satirical sight and there is no hope for reclamation. Who is the long-handled-shovel case “against”? The description makes it difficult to ascertain. Did Mrs. Mary Nash assault Prof. Thomas Passmore or was it was the other way around? Was the case or the shovel directed at the professor? It is not until the end that the short item makes proper sense when Mrs. Nash withdraws the case. Mrs. Hugh McCurdy accuses her husband of non-support. He is not referred to as the accused, Mr. McCurdy, or Hugh McCurdy, but rather by the simple and familiar “Hugh.” The likeable Hugh is remanded but we are not sure where or for how long. And I am not sure how to interpret the misspelling of “desserts” in its present context of the treatment of a “batch of drunks” whose gender is not specified. The accidental baking

reference suggests the role of a female. It could be nothing at all, just a grammatical error, or something strangely embedded in the behaviour of the language as articulated by a journalist. The descriptions in these short vignettes, presenting the everyday in the police court are not so simple and innocent. The use and ordering of language is cunning and manipulative, and takes advantage of short itemized descriptions that inspire quick perusal. Its object is the troubled female in the courtroom where in each case a male is mentioned, he somehow emerges innocent or innocently.

Interestingly, the rules as applied to women and men seem to merge when applied to young males: exposure through tricky language, yet with an innocence. With regards to Johnny what appears a straight forward description is not. The first sentence reads: “John Conn, a youthful incorrigible, was sent for an indefinite term to the reformatory.” He is called “John” and described as “youthful” which both suggest that he looks and/or acts younger than he is. There is a sense of guiltiness in an undescribed yet immature incorrigibility. Thus, the second sentence registers as a surprise: “Johnny is only 9 years old but is beyond parental control.” He immediately becomes younger. He is not only as identified as nine but also as “Johnny.” He is not acting or looking young, he *is* young. Yet in contiguity with the first sentence it is understood that he is not immature, but rather the total opposite: he is too young to be “immature.” The misrepresentation of the first sentence is at once revealed and made real by the second, driven by the use of “only” to describe his 9 years on earth. The second sentence is not necessary, but productive; it tells a larger story, one which Kelso specifically brackets with his black pen. He isolates Johnny’s simultaneous guilt and innocence in this courtroom carnival and similarly postures his parents. This 9 year old is so incorrigible that he has overwhelmed his parents, who clearly cannot control him. It might be clear why this short vignette is of interest to Kelso. Its

four lines contain rich fodder for his mission. John is described akin to the Street Arab from the November circular. He is a man-boy in need of correction – incorrigible – who requires the corrective practice of the reformatory. However, unlike the racialized street child, “Johnny” is *only* 9 years old and thus is too young and innocent to be sent to Penetanguishene. The likes of Johnny should be sent to the Industrial School. However this will cost London two dollars per week. I speculate that through this article Kelso learns that this Magistrate is not following the letter of the law. Perhaps this is the reason for the brackets. Either the Magistrate does not know it, or it flouting it to save the city council money. I wonder if Kelso followed these brackets up with correspondence, however such a letter is not included in the scrapbooks.

These courtroom descriptions provide a sense of the rules of child-saving whereby the law is interpreted, applied, and articulated according to female disposition. The drunken Mrs. Kennedy whose husband Andrew fled the squalid reeking scene is punished for pleading guilty and offered as a warning to others; and simultaneously it broadcasts the fearful architecture of the local Barton Street Jail. Mrs. Thurling is charged money, and the respectable Mrs. Hayden is pitied in the absence of her husband. She is not at all guilty of surrendering her children, specifically her 11 year old boy – for he is a most prized possession in the market. No wonder he is immediately seized by the gentleman from Delhi. Margaret Larkin, the married mother of four is only given a warning because her gainfully employed, yet unidentified husband is responsible for her drunkenness.

Through the inclusion of a description of Johnny Conn amid female-centric proceedings, I note another manner in which boys are treated differently than men. As I soon discuss, men might take the stand, but either they have nothing to say or their testimonies are glossed over, not directly quoted, or not described at all. Boys can be described before the court, and earnestly

innocent boys in the role of witnesses are quoted from the stand. It seems that in the orderings of child-saving the role of women and children is to animate and generate affective knowledge while “everyday” men remain opaque, and official men function as observers, interpreters, and personifications of reason. As cases continue which more viscerally present guilt and innocence before the law, I observe how this rubric colours the aesthetic of Kelso’s dioramas.

Chapter 7: Carnal Knowledge & Its Death

For Awful Carnal Knowledge

The “Edwards Case” is reported in nine articles in six papers from pages 186 to 191.¹ After neighbours circulate a petition that is issued to Judge McDougall, Kelso is activated and David Edwards and his wife (Ann) are charged with allegedly ill-treating and neglecting Ann’s daughter Mary Ellen. David is the stepfather (The *Mail* names him “Daniel”). The subheading from the *Telegram* on July 19 promises “Prosecution Under the New Children’s Protection Act” and reports that the action is being prosecuted by Kelso, who is called as witness and who removes the girl to the Children’s Shelter. We also learn in the first report by the *News* that “Constables Brown and Wilson are arranging other charges of a far more serious nature against [David] Edwards,” and the *World* says that “more serious acts will be brought out in the evidence.” Through the *York Recorder* we learn that when Mary Ellen took the stand she “accused her stepfather of having had sexual intercourse with her, and her mother, she said, had put her to bed one night with another man.” The *Mail* reports that she also testified that “she had never been taught religion or taken to church.”

Mary Ellen, who the *News* reports as “11 years old,” the *World* “a girl of about 12 years” and the *York Recorder* “13 ½” years” is described as “plain-looking” and “densely ignorant.” “Calculation, distance or the lapse of time appear to her unintelligible, and she can neither read nor write.” The *World* promises that “a large number of witnesses will be examined.” Despite the

¹ The bulk of the articles are from July 18th and 19th with a short follow-up article on August 13th. The six papers are: The *News*, The *Mail*, *July 18* (186); The *Telegram*, *July 19*, The *World* (187); *York Recorder*, *July 19*; unspecified publication (188); The *Mail* (189); The *World July 19th* (190); The *Star*, *Aug 13* (191)

revelations of “an indecent assault” David Edwards is cautiously spoken about. The violence and neglect with which the girl is treated is largely foisted upon her mother, who is reported to have been married once before and “owned, that, when roused, she had rather a violent temper.” In the *Telegram* Mary Ellen testifies that “nearly every day since January she has been beaten by her mother, but the step-father only once beat her since then.” Fourteen-year-old neighbour-cum-witness “Little Willie Dunn, who said he didn’t know where liars would go, but “it wouldn’t be a very nice place,” swore that he saw Mrs. Edwards beat the girl with a stick because she gave [him] “some broken pieces of ginger-snaps”; and on another occasion the mother used a broom-stick on her because she gave Willie ‘a cracked duck’s egg.’” He also witnessed how she was forced to eat the orts of the other children. Little Willie’s little brother Tommy, aged 12, testifies that he saw Mrs. Edwards beat Mary Ellen “with a club,” something like a broom handle, “four or five minutes steady;” once her mother pulled her by the hair down on the floor. Tommy thinks Mary Ellen is “is a good girl all right.”” The *Mail* reports how Tommy “could not be shaken by a rigorous cross-examination.” The boys’ father “Thomas J. Dunn, was sworn, but could give no evidence of any practical value.”

It was the mother who put Mary Ellen to bed with other men and “put all her troubles at the door of neighbour Mrs. Telford, who Mrs. Edwards “felt sure...was at the bottom of that petition.” Mrs. Telford testified that when she endeavoured to intervene in the welfare of Mary Ellen whom she said was often ill-clad and not properly fed, Mrs. Edwards “replied that she could “pound” her children as much as she pleased and threatened to include in the “pounding” process both Mrs. Telford and “Old Jones.” Old Jones is the dismissive sobriquet Mrs. Edwards gives to the High Constable of the court. Mrs. Telford’s husband Alex took the stand but gave “unimportant testimony.” David Edwards is described as a hardworking Teamster at the Taylor

Bros. paper mills, who “has four children and allows his wife to draw his wages.” “He had found Mary Ellen a hard girl to manage and difficult to control” and “clothed the girl as well as his means would permit.” “Francis Elliot, James Smith, George White, Mrs. Cramp, and Geo. A Taylor (Taylor Bros.) all had a good word to say about the industry and honesty of the Edwards.” Squire Wingfield and Wanless, J.P., “held that it had been proven that the girl had been neglected and ill-treated, but the father and mother were allowed to go on suspended sentence, the child to be retained and brought before the judge. After delivering judgement Squire Wingfield told the mother that this should, and hoped it would be, a warning to her to treat her children better in the future.” Mrs. Edwards concludes by saying that the girl was in the habit of stealing articles from the neighbours. David is “arraigned on the more serious charge of carnally knowing the girl. This case will be heard on Friday next.” A month later, on *Aug 13 The Star* reports that David is on trial, yet no verdict is announced. And the case disappears from the scrapbooks.

Farm Hands

The Edwards Case introduces “sex” less subtly into the central story. By now we begin to understand that the courtroom in part functions as a sexual monitoring station and emotional clearing-house. In part, it is Ada and Isabella’s virtue that Kelso is working to protect, to keep them from becoming the fallen women in the “Black Maria,” the likes of whom have abortions and/or engage the services of the baby farm. Those responsible for life but who end it. Male sexuality is not rendered problematic or precariously perched on a cliff: there are no “fallen men.” Their faults are criminalized, not sexualized. As Gibson and Kelso have taught, a male’s world is governed by principles of property, not life. Yet before the Edwards Case, it is through the Home Children in rural areas that sex emerges up from sublimation and innuendo and into

the visceral, where it is mocked, downplayed, specifically located, and rendered both vulnerable and available. It seems that Home Girls are not entered into the process of the courthouse as per Ada and Isabella. Their stories function differently as they live further on the edges rational protection.

On *March 24*, the headline “A Young Girl Assaulted in Zorra” tells the story of how

...a defenceless girl named Nellie Parker, who works at Thomas Pearson’s was followed from the village by two scoundrels who crossed the bush at the corner of the 15th line, coming out on the road ahead of her. They attempted to stifle her screams, but she bit the hand which was held over her mouth and struggled until the light of a lantern warned them of approaching help, when her assailants fled into the darkness. She is said to be a Home girl lately working in the neighboring of Maplewood. All suspicious characters will be expected to account for their whereabouts last Saturday evening, and also for sore fingers.

From the *London Adv.* it is reported that “Selena Hicks, one of Miss Rye’s importations from Europe, was found in bad company near the river. She was arrested and told the police that she had been working for a farmer in Nissouri, and that the hired man ruined her. The girl is only 18 years old and by no means attractive. The captain of the Salvation Army promised to give her a trial in the Rescue House, but said if she did not behave herself she would be brought back to the police.”

In the articles of Nellie and Selina there are clauses that are arresting. Narrative expectations are jolted by “...and also for sore fingers,” and “...by no means attractive.” Short asides blended into the story which function to eclipse the entire article by either creating an uncomfortable chuckle and/or dissonance. The language either detours or distracts from understanding the assault experiences as criminal acts. There is something else at work. Nellie’s assault is not really described a crime, but rather the actions of local “scoundrels.” No information is sought from the villagers who heard her “piercing screams.” Selina is given a “trial,” wherein she has to prove herself through good behaviour in order to remain at the Salvation Army Rescue House. Nothing points to her bad behaviour except for her associations

with “bad company” near the river. She is over-victimized: raped, not attractive, and on trial for her victimization. The article suggests that in her now “ruined” state she is a sexual threat and will be sent back to the police by the captain if she cannot control her now-wanton disposition.

The stories of Nellie and Selina highlight both the sexual vulnerability and sexual “availability” of Home girls. They are not presented in company as per Ada and Isabella, or the Lally sisters. Boys can find them alone and “defenceless” near the 15th side road bush, or near the river, or “in the neighbouring of Maplewood,” or at the Rescue House. And farm hands have easy access. It reinforces their isolation and parentlessness, locates them geographically, and suggests that there will be no consequence for assaulting them; there is no *de facto* process to protect them, and even a *de jure* process, as with Selina, works to victimize. They do not have neighbours the likes of Mrs. Telford who will take action on their observations under a new law that relies on Home Children but does not protect them. In Nellie’s case the authorities are not activated, there is only a perfunctory editorial threat. There is no mention of people “close” to these girls. “Thomas Pearson’s” is mentioned as a metonymic “place,” not as a person who might help or defend Nellie; she only has the distant lantern light of intangible and unembodied “approaching help.” In Selina’s case the people close to her are the authorities who arrest her and the nominal “bad company” and “hired man” who disappear into obscurity. Both the police and the benevolent voluntary society engage her not as a victim in need, but as a potential threat and victimizer.

Imperial Incest

Above the story of Selina, Kelso pastes “Miss Rye is Short of Waifs,” with the subheading: “And is Compelled to Advertise for This Class of Canadian Immigrants.” This tripartite inclusion

comprised of an intertextual conversation between the *Toronto World*, *New York Sun & Times*, and London England is fitting for an article that speaks to the consanguinity of an entire race.² In a diplomatic and thoughtful tug-of-war between British Imperialism and American Manifest Destiny, Canada is spoken about. By way of overseas and over-the-border sentiment the reader eavesdrops on Canada's plans for the future: "The Mother Country has shown some reviving interest in Canada, which has long been the most neglected of her colonial children... The New York Times says editorially: Whether these unique conditions, pregnant, it may be, with the fate of the whole world, point to the absorption of Canada in the United States, or to her acting as the flux provided in the laboratory of nature for the ultimate fusion of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, is a question which only the future, and probably the far-distant future, can determine." It seems that Canada remains vulnerable to manipulation in this trinity. Interestingly after such a momentous and epic opening, the article shifts not to war, plans for conquest, or overt religious prognostications, but rather to the banal subject of "Miss Rye Advertising for Girls," whereby the benevolent lady is looking to import more material to "assist in the making of Canada," specifically "only Protestant girls... between the ages of 10 and 16 and healthy. But, provided the young emigrants' religious doctrines be orthodox and their bodies sound, Miss Rye is not over particular. The only other condition set forth in the advertisement is that the girls shall be "fairly intelligent... These young waifs and strays... [t]he supplies which the streets and gutters of London and other cities have heretofore yielded in rank abundance" have been placed in this "flux in the laboratory of nature." It is in the bodies of pre- and pubescent cast-off girls that the

²As punctuation, the small artifact at the bottom of the page announces Kelso's participation at the upcoming National Conference of Charities and Corrections in Nashville Tennessee.

fusion of the race depends. With this inclusion, Kelso generates an interesting tension through a colonial irony and inversion of roles.

In the vein of eugenics and degeneration, Stoler says:

European women were essential to the colonial enterprise and the solidification of racial boundaries in ways that repeatedly tied their supportive and subordinate posture to community cohesion and colonial peace... The arrival of large numbers of European women thus coincided with an embourgeoisment of colonial communities and with a significant sharpening of racial lines... women, otherwise marginal actors on the colonial stage, are charged with dramatically reshaping the face of colonial society...³

The Ontario colonial experience in this current is at once compliant and inverted. Young European women such as Nellie and Selina, as Stoler suggests, exist in a system designed to support imperial well-being, in a *quid pro quo* type of arrangement. Ontario accepts burdensome poor white children in order that its vast fertile lands will be populated with vulnerable, docile British subjects. Specifically with regards to Nellie and Selina, they are British immigrants and presumably white,⁴ yet in Ontario's sexual rubric they exist by the rules of the "racialized native." The native Ontario males are treated as white colonizers, versus the native man of other colonial scenarios who would be punished for sexual offences. The Barnardo Boy Charles Goldsmith however is treated as a "native" and sent to prison. We could say he represents "Home Child Peril." To be sure, as Stoler discusses, the tens of thousands of British girls imported to Ontario were meant to contribute to the embourgeoisment and stability of colonial communities, yet not in the same manner as those whom immigrated to African and South Asian

³ "Making Empire Respectable," 640. Stoler discusses the early twentieth century colonial situations of Rhodesia and Kenya, and the dangers of sexual assault on white women by black men ("the Black Peril"). In New Guinea, she notes "the death penalty for any person convicted for the crime of rape or attempted rape upon a European woman or girl." And In the Soloman Islands authorities introduced public flogging as punishment for "criminal assaults on [white] females." Stoler describes how in these colonies the "rape laws were race-specific; sexual abuse of black women was not classified as rape and therefore was not legally actionable, nor did rapes committed by white men lead to prosecution... Allusions to political and sexual subversion of the colonial system went hand in hand." Ibid., 641.

⁴ I suspect the article would note any racial identifiers, as this seems a regular reporting practice throughout the scrapbooks.

colonies. In “making empire respectable” it is not the Home Girls who hold and carry bourgeois mores and dispositions; rather their bodies *are made available as a promise to others* the values and relations which make the bourgeois possible both through their labour and sex. Their highly vulnerable and precarious situations are generative in the making of a stable, secure culture. They permit the colonial population to enter into relations of master and servant, to feel the sensations of desire and power over the other. Yet the girls are not racialized natives, they are from the Mother Country. They are of an impotent and illiberal class with a negative value at “home” who, once culturally conquered, embody triple value across fiscal, political, and emotional economies when sent abroad to an already-conquered territory in need of acculturation. This is a unique meta and ironic colonialism with inverted relations interlacing into an “imperial incest.” The colony is permitted to pursue a sexual conquest over subjugated subjects of the Empire. Placing this line of thought into the discourse of “nation” whereby Ontario exists as its own nation-state, it becomes a kind of “step-parent incest” akin to David Edwards who is accused of assaulting a step-daughter lacking space-time sensibilities. This is not unlike Nellie and Selina whose senses have also been disabled through their forced migration to another space and time. Stoler’s discussion of early twentieth century colonial eugenics and degeneration also stimulates a curiosity about Mary Ellen’s “idiocy” and lack of religion, and the description of Selina’s “unattractiveness,” “fallenness,” and “over-ageness.” Are these descriptions at the same time coded lessons to literate men in who should not be raped in the project of bettering the race? Lastly, Nellie is a character who works to teach that those who effectively resist are biting the colonial-imperial hand that feeds them.

Burial Plot

The tone and texture of the scrapbook changes dramatically with a turn to page to 198. The reader is boldly confronted with: “BABIES STARVED AMID FILTH.” So begins the “Lace case” which introduces the heteroclitite neologism which blends human life, organic growth, animal husbandry, and “the artificial” – the surprisingly common term of “Baby Farming.” Two words that do not comfortably dwell in contiguity. Indeed the term does it job.

Page 198 is wholly dedicated to articles pertaining to William Lace “and his wife” who live at 2 Gladstone avenue in Toronto. They are described through four articles as both raided and “visited” by Inspector Armstrong and J.S. Coleman and Rev. J.E. Starr of the CAS who uncover a scene whose description is of a Bakhtinian body-culture. It evokes a Rabelaisian series of filth, body, beds, clothing, animals, and food which extends beyond the late-Victorian governing ethnographic sense of sight, and is reinforced by the olfactory faculty.⁵ It is by way of the most vulnerable – the infant left by the nameless mother and helped to die by a stranger – that the ultimate trappings of degradation and dependence are described, upon a blank barely-human whose being-in-the-world is solely of a sordid anonymous family history. This is the next descriptive stage after the Edwards case and the Home Girls, both chronologically and “thematically.” In the Lace case the most unnatural copulative desire is witnessed through the substitutive objects of the squalid babies and children. They represent the “dirty desire” of the

⁵ I am thinking here with James Clifford: “Ong (1967, 1977), among others, has studied ways in which the senses are hierarchically ordered in different cultures and epochs. He argues that truth of vision in Western, literate cultures has predominated over the evidences of sound and interlocution, of touch, smell, and taste. (Mary Pratt has observed that references to odor, very prominent in travel writing, are virtually absent from ethnographies.) The predominant metaphors in anthropological research have been participant-observation, data collection, and cultural description, all of which presuppose a standpoint outside – looking at, objectifying, or, somewhat closer, “reading,” a given reality...Following Frances Yates (1966), he argues that the taxonomic imagination of the West is strongly visualist in nature, constituting cultures as if they were theatres of memory, or spatialized arrays.” “Introduction: Partial Truths,” 11-12.

city and its subversive magnetism which ends in the Cabbagetown Necropolis or the shallow vacant lot grave, unless of course the heroic agents of the CAS intervene. And even they cannot always stop the end of knowledge.

Akin to the curfew bell, most reportage begins with the foundational word of the law which prepares the framework to be able to make statements about the body. I revisit the recurring theoretical-archival theme of a reflexive, generative law which inspires animating stories to help define itself while reinforcing itself through teaching a common sensibility. In child-saving there are few stories as sensational and consensual as those of the case of Lace baby farm. Through these few stories I observe how the law enacts an epistemological mini-series of cops, agents, reverends, doctors, judges, matrons, coroners, undertakers. Their knowledges are integrated and unified through the narration of journalists. This cast acts out their roles in spaces across the city: in crime scenes, courtrooms, police stations, morgues, cemeteries, and graves. All of the action centres on the main protagonist – a three-week old filthy baby, whose nameless mother has fled to the east side of town to be a wet-nurse to someone else's newcomer. The lead, who might be a girl, was mistaken for a bundle of rags, but was nevertheless identified as human and rescued by the authorities, and is now hanging on for its fragile life in its new, harsh world. The villain and his nameless concubine cum accomplice are suspected of lacing the baby's bottle with a deadly yet everyday potion. We, along with the entire literate city wait with baited breath as the squalid little thing labors for same in the new sanctuary of the Children's Shelter. Her fate determines the future fate of others. What happened? What *will* happen?

Urban Farmers

The headline quoted above, from an undated and unnamed paper,⁶ continues with the spectacular subheading: “Shocking Discovery In A Gladstone-Avenue House. Five infants Found in a Small and Very Filthy Room Without a Bed – Vermin Had Eaten Into the Back of One Baby – Another Starved Almost into Idiocy.” The body of the article begins with Coleman and Starr before Magistrate Kingsford at The Children’s Court, successful in their plea for the CAS to secure possession of five young children under the age of 6 years. The article continues by discussing how Lace had been under suspicion for some time as a baby farmer and finally the “police now think they have him within the grasp of the law.” The remainder of the article is dedicated to description. First the visual: “The evidence given yesterday revealed a horrible state of affairs, the children all sleeping in one small stuffy room where, as one witness put it, ‘the light of heaven’s sun never entered,’ with no bed save a filthy matted quilt spread on the floor and a small piece of flannel as a covering.” Next the olfactory: “When the police entered the stench was almost unbearable, as the room was entirely destitute of ventilation.” The article is then punctuated with an independent and bolded mid-way subheading: “This Child May Die.” The description begins a longer tour of the scene and moves from general to specific in the encounter of bodies: “Lying in one corner they found what they thought to be a bundle of rags, but on investigation it proved to be a three weeks’ old babe, clothed in filthy garments and the breath of life almost gone from its body. The child could not possibly have lived another day...” The activation and intervention of “medicine” is augured: “...and it is doubtful if medical skill can now save it from death.” Now the article takes us closer, to the material body, consumed by

⁶ I safely assume it is from a Toronto paper. Based on article beside I can confidently date this around September 6, 1894.

defiled nature: “Its little body was raw from the toes to the small of the back, and then holes were filled with vermin.” We assume this baby is female, as the next paragraph begins, linking alimnt with intellect, body with brains: “Another little girl, not more than 4 years of age, presented a fearfully emaciated conditions, its little frame shrunk almost to a skeleton, and the light of intelligence completely faded from its eyes. If this child’s life is saved there is little hope of it ever being better than an idiot.” There is another independent bolded punctuation which gestures towards a literal sense of “farm”: “Huddled With Goats and Fowl.” “When Agent Starr went yesterday to execute the warrant giving him possession of the children he found them closed in a small yard, with a goat and a number of fowl as companions. The Magistrate gave the children over to the Children’s Aid Society, but it was feared the babe would die before the case was finished.” The article ends, dramatically leaving the reader hanging. “Should the child die, Lace and his wife will be placed under arrest to answer to the charge of causing its death by neglect and ill-treatment.” Technically, they should also be charged with “cruelty” as Guelph will attest. Meanwhile, as I banter legal semantics we are left waiting to see if the baby will die.

The body-content of the other two articles on the right side of page 198 are identical. Presumably the *Guelph Mercury* picked up the story from the unnamed Toronto paper above. The headlines differ. At the top right, the Toronto publication employs the headline: “BABY FARMING” with a subheading which, through clever word choice, creates the illusion of greater aggregate numbers: “Half a Dozen Children Found Under Distressing Circumstances in a West End House.” Below, the headline from Guelph reads: “Cruelty to Children.” It has no subheading but begins with “Toronto, Sept. 6...” These papers do not dedicate the same amount of space to the case, they are precisely half as long and lack the sensational tone of “Babies Starved Amid Filth.” However they manage to introduce new details, the mother, and new

authority-characters with binding and murderous opinions. This article is reported with a greater objectivity and to-the-pointness, not as a viscerally vicarious tour of the scene. I imagine a busy cop writing a report, versus a contemplative novelist manqué. It is not described as a raid but rather a “visit” from Inspector Armstrong who first enters and then notifies the CAS agents. It does not drift from the visual sense; instead, in describing the smell it employs the often-used substitutive descriptor “poorly ventilated.” There is no mention of gender, only “children,” “youngest child” or “infant.” When the three-week old child covered with sores is removed “in an almost dying condition,” we observe how “medicine” is activated and enters child-saving. Dr. Oldwright⁷ is “summoned to attend the child [and] is of the opinion that it had been dosed with paregoric.”⁸ This article offers information about the mother who “left it at this alleged baby farm a week ago. She refused to give her name or say where she was going, but gave Mrs. Lace \$5 to take care of it.” William Lace is reported as being 60 years old, and his wife 30. The article notes that “All the Children in the place are illegitimate.” This article does not provide a dramatic “cliff-hanger” which places the fate of the almost-dying baby as the plot catalyst. Instead it ambivalently states: “The authorities have not yet decided whether they will prosecute Lace and his wife or not on the charge of keeping a baby farm.”

The Plot Deepens in the *World*

With a turn of the page, the sensational *World* announces “DIED OF STARVATION” on *Sept 27th*. It is here that we recognize that the *World* was responsible for the more dramatic article from the previous page. This article employs similar typographic elements. Similarly to page 198, the subheading reads: “Shocking Disclosures at the Inquest Held in Connection with Lace’s

⁷ Dr. Wm. Oldwright is Vice President of the Toronto CAS. His wife is a director of same.

⁸ A medicine consisting of opium flavored with camphor, aniseed, and benzoic acid, formerly used to treat diarrhea and coughing in children.

Baby Farm.” As well throughout its full column length it includes bolded independent mid-article punctuations: “Bundled in Rags on an Old Bureau” and further down “Died of Starvation.” Now, twenty days later, more information has surfaced and more characters, professions, and spaces are implicated and described in the process of this case. “The death at the Childrens’ Aid Shelter of an infant child found at a baby farm at 6 Gladstone-avenue, by William Lace and his alleged wife, was the subject of an inquest held by Coroner Johnson at Police headquarters last night. Mrs. King, matron of the Shelter, told of the pitiable condition in which the child was found when brought to the Shelter. Its back was one mass of sores, the skin being rubbed off from the neck almost to the heels. The child had been improperly cared for, and had been heavily drugged.” The description of the scene changes from the previous *World* article. No longer were “the children all sleeping in one small stuffy room...with no bed” with the dying infant “lying in one corner.” More detail is offered in reporting that “The child, which has since died, was wrapped in a bundle of dirty rags, and was lying on top of an old bureau. The other children were sleeping upstairs on a dirty bed, heel to heel...” There are no longer “filthy matted quilts” and flannel covering the children. They are not covered at all. The vermin domiciled in the baby’s back has disappeared. The backyard is now described as a literal farm that “was not nearly so clean as a farmer keeps his piggery.” The gender-neutral “fowl” is now specifically classified as “hens.” And the one “goat” has reproduced to “goats.” The article also describes that “Lace had kept a similar institution in Beaconsfield-avenue three years ago, deaths being quite frequent at his house.”⁹ The mother, after paying five dollars to leave the child, said that “she was going as a wet nurse in Sherbourne-street.” A new doctor enters: “Dr. Young, who attended the child at the Shelter, said the child was suffering from non-assimilation of food.” The

⁹ Beaconsfield Avenue is two streets east of Gladstone Avenue.

doctor shows that the baby lacked both the physical and material means to sustain life. This death triggers the activation of new local faces, places, and actions. The end of knowledge incites a will to deeper knowledge. Accordingly another doctor, seeking more intimate knowledge enters: “Dr. Harrington, who made the post mortem, said the child was healthy at birth.” Akin to descriptions of the house on page 198, the article guides a visceral tour of the doctor’s corporeal examination: “He found its organs badly withered up, as from neglect and lack of proper nourishment. The cause of death was exhaustion, arising from starvation.” This represents a loss of promise in the bio-power network. The article concludes with a final examination: “Rev. J.E. Starr and Detective Verrey were examined and corroborated Inspector Armstrong’s story of the filthy condition of the children and their unhealthy surroundings.” The death incites a search for knowledge to fill the little epistemological lacuna. In the morgue the innards of the dead body are searched to find an answer to direct the case towards a legal conclusion. And in the inquest professionals are examined to extract knowledge to layer upon extant knowledge to firmly establish and validate the articulation of law. The law initiated this story which in-turn incited epistemological sub-plots wherein professionals entered as actors to gather and interpret evidence to embolden the storyline back towards the origin of the law, which is now thickened and more “experienced.” Like any canon, the law has rules and governing myths which guide its trajectory towards its own complexity, growth, and maturity.

A Grave Story

The next chapter of the Lace case continues in the right column on “September 29,” in an unnamed paper. In its headline it announces: “VERDICT OF MANSLAUGHTER.”¹⁰ The first

¹⁰ a quick aside: In the process of first writing this, I accidentally wrote “man’s laughter”

subheading states “Warrants Issued for Baby Farmer Lace and Wife” and second subheading tells how they “Accepted a Lump Sum With the Infants and Then Allowed Them To Starve To Death.” This article concludes the case, offering up the verdict of manslaughter against William E. Lace and his wife Mrs. Lace. Yet, as in previous articles, the details of the case undertaken become broader and include more places, faces, and professions in the ever-expanding world of child-saving, wherein baby farming has become a generative social phenomenon. Still another inspector is summoned, whose expert knowledge comes only through “looking.” Inspector Archibald is now called to corroborate the testimony of Inspector Armstrong as to the “disgraceful condition of the children.” The article takes a newly morbid turn into the knowledge of death and the death of knowledge: “William Moffatt, manager for V.P. Humphrey, was examined as to the burial of the children dying in Lace’s house. Since 1891 he had buried eleven children from there.” Similar to the tours of the home, and then the dead body, the burial plot is described: “Some were interred in the Necropolis, others in Humber Vale. In the Necropolis sometimes the coffins were placed one upon the other, in the same grave, until they came within three feet of the surface.” The next paragraph is an odd mixture of detailing the economies of death and the quintessential image of the job of an undertaker: “Out of the \$5 charged for the funeral the cemetery authorities receive \$1.50. He had sometimes taken the bodies away by night, maybe as late as 11 o’clock. He was in the majority of cases, paid by the city.” Mr. Moffatt concludes his examination with a mix of humility, honesty, earnestness: “He did all the work for which he was paid and anything further than that he thought was none of his business, hence his neglect to report suspicious circumstances to the police.” Coroner Johnson next appears, protruding himself beyond his profession to the promiscuous worlds of polygamy and prostitution: “The circumstances connected with the case, he said, would lead them to believe

that Lace and his concubine kept a house of assignation, as well as a baby farm.” He declares that “the system of receiving a lump sum for adopting a child was a pernicious one, and tended towards inducing those engaged with the children as soon as was possible.” After the jurymen chose between murder and manslaughter, “a rider was added to the verdict, complimenting Rev. Starr and the Children’s Aid Society upon the good work being done by them.”

Life Post Mortem

There are interesting echoes from the Lace case, some immediate and political and others curiously novelistic. This case which has emboldened the law against the exhibition of depravity has thus opened possibilities for looking and knowing. It establishes a legal-narrative framework for the sensation of moral panic. On the next page after the verdict, G.H. de B includes baby farming in his *Kingston Whig* editorial which celebrates the Toronto CAS through the various cases looked into by Rev. Starr which include an investigation of child insurance, eight cases of alleged cruelty, the prosecution of a woman who was teaching boys to steal.¹¹ “The suppression of a baby farm without resorting to force or law; and in the case of another baby farm, its suppression by raiding, filing the six children found in it as exhibits in court, and by order of the magistrate obtaining the custody of same.” G.H. de B never fails to transition into evangelical pathos which generalizes and implicates all post-millennial Christians:

In every infant soul the Creator has implanted germs of sweetness, purity, and love, and delivered them in trust to man’s fostering care. It matters not whether the children are ours or not, for all are equally the

¹¹ Child insurance emerges as a child-saving issue beginning in the fall of 1894. It first appears editorially in Volume 11, 135: “Life insurance is valuable as a protection against want in case of the unexpected demise of the breadwinner of the family. But when the bread-winner insures the lives of his dependents it is at best a rather delicate line of speculation.” *Globe Nov 14*, 1894. On page 166, the *Globe* more forcefully opines: “The mania for life insurance is a disease of comparatively recent origin...In England, within the past ten years, where child-insurance was allowed to have full sway, many murders of innocent children have been brought to light, and these crimes were shown to have been committed simply for a gain of four or five pounds...In Ontario, the law at present sanctions child-insurance, and it is a question if it would not be wise to put a stop to the business before it acquires a firm hold, and before any serious case arises calling for active measures.”

children of one Father-Mother, God, and humanity will be held responsible for every suffering, neglected child. Individually we will have to answer to the Divine One for our thoughtlessness and carelessness, and many are the acts of omission most of us will have to meet.

Below, an editorial from the *Empire* states that “the verdict of the jury in the Lace case is a solemn statement. Among all the varied and original modes of earning a livelihood which distinguish our civilization from the wholesale nursery for nameless little ones is the saddest.” The editorial shifts: “What shocking purposes some such places serve would be beyond belief were it not for the frequent recurrence of exposures like the one under investigation. The jury in the Lace case very properly commended the action of the Children’s Aid Society in the matter. It is well that someone is deserving of praise for giving practical attention to the most neglected of modern evils.”

The next time “TORONTO’S BABY FARMS” are publically mentioned is on October 13. The subheading reads: “Police Ferreting Out Institutions Where Infants Are Outrageously Treated.” The article continues: “Since the Lace baby farm case was first exposed diligent searches have been made by the police authorities for similar offenders and the results of these investigations are appalling.” All of a sudden it is revealed that that baby farms are not entirely illegal. “In Toronto there are only three licensed baby farms, but the police now know that at least six places are carrying on this business illegally, and there are no doubt twice as many houses unknown to the police.” With fire and brimstone the article sermonizes: “When all the facts come to light some one will suffer, and it cannot be done too soon.” As the article proceeds, the Lace case begins to seem almost tame compared to what the police uncover as they burrow like ferrets into the city’s dirty underground networks. It is as if the Lace case opened up new descriptive horizons in body-culture, which again, begins at the law: “One woman particularly may soon feel the weight of the law. Information reached the police that an infant had been buried hurriedly some time ago in a vacant lot at the rear of this woman’s house.” New deputies

are recruited to help the experts: “A neighbor had seen two women digging the hole. Detective Duncan and Patrol Sergeant Brown went up there and dug up the remains of what is supposed to be an infant, but the body was so badly decomposed as to be unrecognizable.” Alas, organic time has erased all knowledge and rendered this case moot. Did the neighbour see what they thought they saw? Either way there is now liminal, floating knowledge with no permanent home which takes the form of “suspicion.” The article suggests that it is not merely old men and nameless women who facilitate this system. It is learned that medical students are attending to women in private lying-in houses and Inspector Archibald urges that the practice cease. It is not only the site of subalterns, future respectable doctors are training in this subversive economy. He reminds the reader about the holism of the law: “He says that the law must interfere to prevent these young men from undertaking work that none but a skilled doctor should attempt.” I note the clever use of “undertaking,” which is validated as the report continues: “The undertakers are also being severely censured. It is said that there is proof that several infants have been buried together in a box, and with only one burial certificate. It is even stated that bodies of little ones have been placed in the coffins of adults at the undertakers’ rooms and thus buried without anyone knowing it.” Unofficial little bodies, off-the-books and not accounted for in the grids of population and governance, buried without knowledge. And as an ultimate denouement, the mystery of how people actually kill these babies is revealed. Through the application and interpretation of evidence the detectives, like the coroner, are able to speak for the dead: “It is worthy of note that in one house all the infants die apparently from the same complaint. The detectives have been following up this clue and have found that the woman in charge buys large quantities of salts. This, it is affirmed, she gives to the infants and when its deadly effects have put them beyond the reach of medical aid she takes them to a physician and then if arrested this

fact tends to lead to her acquittal.” In the end, it is not the likes of William Lacey who kill. He is specifically guilty of owning property used for the means of ending life. Men tend property, women mind life. In this cultural detective story, it is the nameless woman, either digging in a vacant property with a woman accomplice in the night, or she who secretly and silently kills with the bottle and denies medicine the opportunity to apply its knowledge and skills in the perpetuation of life. At the bottom of this article Kelso writes *World, Central press agency*.¹²

Meta Truth Rendered

The theme of baby farms is both arresting and revealing. There is a slight scramble in responding to the Lacey case. Yet this is not a disorganized scene. Rather the scramble is only a short effect while the ready-and-willing experts shuffle to order themselves; they are immediately responsive to any changes wrought by new evidence in a constant surveillance of the aesthetics of order. All at the behest of police headquarters which functions as incident command. To be sure, there is a revelation of a well-coordinated and inter-connected urban system of “emergency” response across the map of a city that we see anew through the scrapbook. Within a few pages we witness a vertically integrated administrative and dispatch system activated by the epistemological event of “end-of-suspicion”; it is a clarion call for a rush of knowledge into a once-liminal quasi-uncertain space. Professional knowledge prepares a substratum for common knowledge. These articles immerse the reader in a process whereby we are both participant and observer within an autopoietic system of police, agents of the CAS, the magistrate, medical doctors, a matron, the coroner, the undertaker, and the jury. Each node is responsible for providing a vicarious tour to

¹² There is not enough information to determine if this is linked with the “The Central News Agency” of London. However the subject matter suggests there might be some relation. The Central News Agency was known for distributing sensational, imaginative, embellished, and even invented stories, most notably those of “Jack the Ripper” in 1888.

exhibit its expert knowledge: observation and forensics in domestic architecture, the exterior of bodies, the interior of bodies, the Children's Shelter, the courtroom, the inquest room, the necropolis, and the grave. Even the "extra" verdict of the jurymen provides a sense of what transpired in the privacy of the jury room, which also stands for the common sensibilities of "the people." The jury, a symbolic selection of the citizenry, are not only rendering a verdict in this specific case. More importantly, they render a "meta-verdict." It seems that the system itself was also on trial. And the verdict publically verified that it performed its legal duties admirably with the integration of the newcomers of child-saving, its new faces and places. Children's Aid and its agents, most notably Rev. Starr, is legitimized and christened into the local juridical-surveillance-emergency complex. The jury's verdict announces that each node co-applied its expert knowledge towards to the law with fervor, diligence, intelligence, and co-ordination, all in the service of law and life. The public has William E. Lace and his wife, or alleged wife, or concubine, to thank for that. Sometimes, it seems, it takes the sensation of a dead baby to check the systems that maintain life in an anxious yet coordinated effort towards an imagined "complex whole." This event permitted knowledge to purge surplus desire by exhibiting it for spectacle and governance by charging it with emotionally charged symbolic imagery, a historical effect of Wesleyan emotionalism.¹³

Detection and the City

This is not a horror story, but rather a detective story mediated through the aegis of "journalism."¹⁴ I note how "fact" is contingent upon journalistic investigation and literary

¹³ I am thinking here with Herbert who quotes E.P. Thompson and Southey: "...it is a paradox often noted that Methodism, which aimed at the iron control of human drives, was wildly emotionalistic in its ritual observations and made of religion, as Southey wrote, 'a thing of sensation and passion, craving perpetually for...stimulants.'" 34.

¹⁴ Says Echevarria: "In reading and writing stories, and in accepting detective stories as realistic, we indulge in the same kind of magic we assume to be typical of primitives. Hence our 'study' of primitives by means of

description; facts can change, and when they do, literary devices are revealed. The journalists, along with the local experts they describe, have their own professional knowledge and practice which is equally, and arguably, most vital in the context of educating public sentiment.¹⁵ The journalists weave the one-dimensional knowledges of other professions together into an aesthetic and animated whole. It is through their mythical framework, their storehouse of stories, that the readers, the literate public, experience the Lace case – a “factual” case presented, not *as*, but *through* artistic device: it is a “True Fiction.”¹⁶ The material vessel of the everyday naturalized newspaper (the “daily”) permits the story to achieve cultural reality. The newspaper like the novel, defies genre, while simultaneously consuming disparate professional genres to succeed in its function of presenting a heteroglossia and the phenomenological system of “the social.” It is the modern marketplace and carnival, presenting “ways of life” in systematic *readable* form.¹⁷ Yet the low do not speak, they are spoken for. They are included in this unity yet told how.¹⁸

anthropology, and our writing about them using the literary conventions of ethnography, reveals as much about us, much that is a mirror image of the object we purport to describe or analyse.” 163. Says Frye: The fact that we are now in an ironic phase of literature largely accounts for the popularity of the detective story, the formula of how a man-hunter locates a pharmakos [scapegoat] and gets rid of him...detection begins to merge with the thriller as one of the forms of melodrama. In melodrama two themes are important: the triumph of moral virtue over villainy, and the consequent idealizing of the moral views assumed to be held by the audience. In the melodrama of the brutal thriller we come as close as it is normally possible for art to come to the pure self-righteousness of the lynching mob....We should have to say, then, that all forms of melodrama, the detective story in particular, were advance propaganda for the police state, in so far as that represents the regularizing of mob violence, if it were possible to take them seriously. But it seems not to be possible. The protecting wall of play is still there.” *Anatomy of Criticism*, 47-48. Frye defines “pharmakos”：“Thus the figure of a typical or random victim begins to crystallize in domestic tragedy as it deepens in ironic tone. We may call this typical victim the *pharmakos* or scapegoat...The pharmakos is neither innocent nor guilty. He is innocent in the sense that what happens to him is far greater than anything he has done provokes, like the mountaineer whose shout brings down an avalanche. He is guilty in the sense that he is a member of a guilty society, or living in a world where such injustices are an inescapable part of existence.” 41.

¹⁵ See Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination*, 289.

¹⁶ “Ethnographic writings can properly be called fictions in the sense of ‘something made or fashioned,’ the principal burden of the word’s Latin root, *fingere*. But it is important to preserve the meaning not merely of making, but also of making up, of inventing things not actually real. (*Fingere*, in some of its uses, implied a degree of falsehood.) Interpretive social scientists have recently come to view good ethnographies as ‘true fictions.’” Clifford, 6.

¹⁷ Herbert, 5.

¹⁸ “The collective feeling of the community, Spencer declares, is to some extent spontaneously created by its members, but ‘is to a much larger extent the opinion imposed on them or prescribed for them.’ Not only the ideas and codified values but even the ‘emotional nature’ of the members of a given society is ‘a product of all ancestral

They rub shoulders with the high only through the discourses of “help” and transgression, and by way of the mediation of ethnographic description which in its most popular, accessible form is the newspaper and the skill-set of journalism. To recall Echevarria: “Ethnography is always literature. The authoritative voice of method is as literary, as fantastic, as the stories that it uncovers.”¹⁹ Thus, in an inverted and ironic way, death still brings life. The dead baby validates a Foucauldian modern bio-powered “life.” A Rabelaisian unity, a yearning for the communal, still exists, not in material reality, but in an imaginative “community” where there is no inclusive laughter extended to the degraded, but only the philological tricks of irony, sarcasm, or mockery. This reality requires the ability to read and write to thrive. A reality that is built upon language that is appreciative of its own ability to adapt, interpret, and improvise. It is open, responsive, and reflexive, with the faculty to remake and refashion itself as conditions demand through its own aesthetic and historical sense. There are no concrete “rules” to obey but rather elusive, undulating, arbitrary and conscious boundaries governing exhibition.²⁰ In this reality the same “thing” can be a word, a statement, a movement, and a whip. As I discuss in the next chapter, it can be a bell, a “screech,” man’s laughter, or a delightful group of perfect little mothers merrily singing “four little curly headed coons.” The scrapbooks illustrate how the object of the newspaper gathers in the heteroglot. The press mediates and brokers boundaries in transforming the everyday into governable life across the province.

activities,’ says Spencer, as are all their ‘special desires,’ which simply grow out of an in fact...are merely symbolic representations of the past.” Herbert, 40.

¹⁹ 163. Clifford similarly discusses this: “Ethnography is hybrid textual activity: it traverses genres and disciplines. The essays in this volume do not claim ethnography is ‘only literature.’ They do insist that it is always writing.” 26.

²⁰ “...a crucial move toward the ethnographic culture concept occurs therefore when the theory of social control comes to frame itself chiefly not in term of external agencies of enforcement (patriarchs, sovereigns, laws) but of internalized, unconscious controls which one does not so much obey as simply exhibit – a move rendering the concept of ‘control,’ like that of ‘freedom,’ philosophically ambiguous ever after.” Herbert, 40.

Toronto the Good

Like all detective stories, the city becomes more than a mere backdrop setting, it comes to the fore as a complex character. The Lace case introduces “another” Toronto, plotting new places on its urban map by way of the flow of the narrative describing “the scene of the crime” and the spaces where professionals work and bodies are interred. Police Headquarters emerges beyond its mere neighbourhood architecture. It is the sheriff who facilitates action towards justice, a rationalized and professionalized modern form of the vigilante mob or western posse. It is the space where messy, brute affective knowledge enters and coordinated, righteous action exits, where knowing bodies are dispatched, where law is applied and interpreted in the most visceral, immediate processes, prior to the deliberation of the courthouse. Like the courthouse it is a clearing house, yet manages what most instantly emerges, *emergencies*. The inquest, representing the acute moment of the condensation of expert knowledge, evidence, and public judgement also takes place at Police Headquarters. It is the anchor in the story, involved from the beginning, through the rising action, climax, closing action, and denouement.

Gladstone and Beaconsfield Avenues teach us about the sordid happenings in the west end, an area of residential brothels, baby farms, and their produce of infant death. 2 Gladstone alone accounts for a dozen since 1891. The mother denies the infant protagonist her milk on the west side, only to proffer its life-giving qualities to someone else’s child in an ancient practice on Sherbourne Street, the east side of the city. The Children’s Aid Shelter, which we know opened only a few months prior on Adelaide Street East, is established as a worthy institution, where matron Mrs. King provides observant, intimate care, and where the baby appreciates its last dying breaths, not in filth, but in a benevolent sanctuary, surrounded by child-care and medical professionals.

The Necropolis and Humber Vale deepen the plot, wherein the reader learns about an active market in baby burials on the riparian edges of the city both east and west, along the Don and Humber Rivers. Through these morbid settings we learn that this baby is not a one-off, but a cipher of a graver problem. It makes the detective story that much thicker. The reader is aroused to imagine clandestine meetings in the still of night where filthy bundles and five bucks are handed off to William Moffat, who, when his shovel scrapes the top of a pine box knows he's deep enough. The city contains this heteroglossia of high and low, the good, the bad, and the ugly, the brutish and the benevolent. It is a rich ethnographic site that functions to demarcate itself from the countryside, where it is imagined that nature rules over the social, and where these problems of sinful Man are absorbed.

Does Kelso Care about Dead Babies?

Interestingly Kelso is largely absent from the Lace case. He provides a curt response to an inquiry of a lady-with-no-name at the Humane Society meeting saying "...the matter was being attended to by the Children's Aid Society." Otherwise the sternly Rev. Starr is the star of the show. The rider on the validating verdict specifically names him separate from the CAS. As far away as Kingston G.H. de B shines a lauded light upon Starr. Instead Kelso is doing other stately things: writing and distributing a dense two-page circular to promote the upcoming conference on October 18 and 19 and writing the twelve-page program to guide it. Both of which are vulnerably included in the scrapbooks, placed between other artifacts and bereft of page numbers and glue.²¹ I note one interesting detail based on his archontic practice, which may or may not mean anything: Kelso does not seem to dedicate much of his own ink to the Lace case. He does

²¹ The circular is inserted between pages 202 and 203; the programme is between pages 206 and 207.

not date or identify the publications of the first two articles, or the climactic “Manslaughter” article on page 202; and yet, he identifies the publication and date of the article pasted next to it, “Girls are Fined” where he speaks curtly to baby farming and otherwise listens to nameless female attendees discuss the sitting habits of girls who work at Eaton’s. He does note “*World*” and the date towards the very bottom of the article of page 199, but I cannot help but wonder if that was only out of convenience in the midst of twice-notating the article below announcing a receipt of his annual report and subsequent praise. Without *Chicago Sept 1894* on the top and *Chicago Humane Journal* below, I might have glossed over the article due to its tiny font.²² On the same page he also notes the *Citizen + Home Guard Sept 8* article which says “Mr. Kelso wishes to state that members of the WCTU will be welcome to attend” the upcoming Child-Saving Conference of Ontario.

With regards to the Lace case he does not seem engaged. He does not underline anyone’s name, say where they might be “now,” or note its importance in the greater project of child-saving. Nothing. Shortly I reveal how there was much to reflect upon in the years to come regarding this specific case. Even the list of leading baby farm questions he asks in his conference programme is listless, the inquiries lacking the excitement and sensation of baby farming. You would think he had hit the mother lode of child-saving. But it does not seem so. All I can do is ask questions, and proffer speculative answers: did he know that this was oversensationalized, a moral panic, that this did not represent an aggregate of hundreds of babies for foster care? Even if he did sense moral panic we cannot imagine Kelso, a former *World* journalist not taking advantage of such publicity. As well, this is a man who will dedicate a day

²² The publication seems aware of its tiny font when it says “We have not the space to speak of the magnitude of this work...”

to ride on a train to visit a single child. Was he just too busy with other things to bother – the conference, juvenile courts and separate trials? Did he know it was in good hands with Rev. Starr? To the first question, perhaps, to the second, not sure. Kelso never mentions or comments upon Starr in the artifacts, and vice versa.²³ It is known that Starr was a likely candidate for Kelso’s job, and that they are both a little sycophantic with Gibson. Thus there could be some evangelical rivalry here.²⁴ As well, iconography and excerpts of speeches suggest that Starr is a harsh grandiose man, which would not jive with the gentlemanly, at times self-conscious Kelso. Additionally Kelso may have been jealous of the attention that Starr received through this case, which could account for little attention he paid. Did baby farming even matter to Kelso? This may be the proper question. Ironically it may not have. Or rather it did very much but for a different reason. It may have presented a problem for him, revealing the failure, underside, and limits of his heroic mission. People did not want to adopt babies, they wanted tweens and teens. These motherless, anonymous “dirty” babies would not do well on the bio-market. And thus the publicising of baby farms may have threatened to flood the market with illegitimate babies who needed institutional care. This would have been a problem for Kelso’s mission of de-institutionalization while giving too much power to the Infant and Orphan homes that were marked for extinction and re-classification, a carefully articulated guiding theme at the conference in a couple of weeks. Baby farming was an exciting issue for police, papers, and the public, but not for Kelso.

²³ In the appendix of the Kelso’s 1894 annual report which is dedicated to the October conference proceedings, Kelso and Starr tensely engage over the economy and efficacy of Visiting Committees.

²⁴ Kelso makes a long notation in the margin of a *Daily British Whig* article from November 1895 in volume 12, 52. Under the headline “The Children’s Aid Society” Starr is credited as “the originator of the idea” of the Gibson Act. Kelso writes: *Starr claims too much. Was not the originator. The foundations had already been well laid before he was in in any way connected with the movement. At the last moment he was active in urging the gov’t to do something. JJK. I was asked by Sir Oliver Mowat to [illegible] of the work six months before as Gibson [illegible] of the law that was to be enacted. K.*

A final speculative twist to this question: Kelso may not have “cared” for this class of child, as they potentially fell outside of the mandate of child-saving. Certainly, child-saving discourse is a broad, whole project, however there were identified two classes of children – the idiots and the vicious: the incurables and abject who were not identified for modernized saving. The children who represented the limits of the mission’s fantasies. Institutions remained, and would remain for them. Through both a Lamarckian and Darwinian lens the children of baby farms, if not dead, would grow up vicious or as a starving idiots, as was determined the fate of the girl found on Gladstone Avenue. They would forever lack the mental fitness, cultural literacy, or the moral character to make it outside the walls of material architectural reformation. So Kelso need not devote time to this class as he is too busy with other matters, and these kids will be taken care of by others such as Dr. Beaton in Orillia. Although in this particular case Kelso does become involved, three years later.

The Return of the Lady with No Name

The kindling of baby farming ignites again from October to December of 1897 regarding debates around the adoption of The Maternity Act. The sensational case from 1894 is in the canon to bring to the fore. In Volume 13, page 152, the *Sept 28, 1897* headline reads “LACE BABY FARM AFFAIR RECALLED” with the subheading “By a Scandalous Story in a Buffalo Paper.” It begins: “About two years ago a man named Lace and a woman named Woods were charged with manslaughter in connection with a baby farm they had in Seaton Village.” Although the timing and location are inaccurate, we finally learn the name of “the wife.” Further in the column we learn that “Lace was sent to the Central prison for a year, and Mrs. Woods to the Mercer reformatory for eighteen months.” Although another article notes that she was sentenced to eight months. Upon release from the Mercer Mrs. Woods began to seek out her daughter. Presumably

it was the emaciated and malnourished girl who was destined for idiocy back in October of 1894. Mrs. Woods “began to cast about for her child, and made herself a nuisance to Judge McDougall, and at the Department of Neglected Children at the Parliament Buildings.” At last Kelso is compelled to enter this story: “She said she was going to Buffalo, and finally Mr. J.J. Kelso...deemed it advisable to give the child over to her, and recommended this course to the Toronto society.” There was an interesting rider attached to this release: “This was done upon Mrs. Woods signing an agreement to leave the man Lacey.” She signed the document. “Shortly afterwards she rejoined him in Buffalo.” This is not the end of the story, far from it. In true baby farm, detective story form, things gets strange, more complex, and darker. And newspapers drive the story. “Yesterday the Buffalo Courier-Record published a story of a column and a half, announcing the child’s death...” it continues: “...and accompanied it by a harrowing account of her sufferings and abuse while with Mrs. Hughes, to whose ill-usage the child’s demise was directly attributed.”

Beneath the headline “A FURTHER DENIAL OF THAT BUFFALO STORY,” “Mr. J. Stuart Coleman Writes on the Katie Woods Episode.” Coleman, the secretary of the CAS describes how the girl, Katie Woods, was sent to live with a Mrs. Hughes during the trial back in 1894, and she stayed on with this “high standing” family living in a “thickly settled locality” somewhere in Ontario. It is reported that she was so well “trained” that she became “the president of Junior Epworth League of Christian Endeavour” in the village near which she resided. Mrs. Woods however describes how Katie “was forced through circumstances to part with” her daughter and that the managers of the home in which she placed her “gave her out without my knowledge or consent, and on hearing of it I at once started to try and recover her. We tried for two years before we succeeded, and when we did recover her the poor child was more dead than alive.”

Mrs. Woods describes how Katie was kept like a slave for Mrs. Hughes' family of seven, making her "carry buckets of manure water every day from the barn to the cabbage patch, besides forcing her to wash and...[article cut off]." In her interview with the Buffalo paper, Mrs. Woods describes how Mr. Bogart, "one of the officials of the institution, called at the Hughes farm. He met Katie in the yard tottering along with two buckets of manure water. The poor child fell under the heavy load...Mr. Bogart called Mrs. Hughes attention to the matter, and told her that it was not right to make Katie work so hard. That afternoon, when Mr. Bogart had gone, Mrs. Hughes took my poor little girl upstairs, and, stripping her of her clothing, took a double leather strap and beat her until the blood came." It transitions into something out of a medieval tragedy: "She told me that one day she felt so badly that she went out into the woods and gathered poisoned herbs with the intention of committing suicide, but the herbs were taken away from her before she had an opportunity of preparing them." Kelso re-enters with his side of the story. He speaks first and at length about how "the authorities were never able to satisfy themselves, he said, that the two prisoners had been married, and this was demonstrated by the agreement to quit Lace that the woman signed before she got her child back." He then claims that the child was in excellent health upon release from Mrs. Hughes, and based upon descriptions of Mrs. Woods' home in the Buffalo paper, he reckoned "the girl died from want of care and nourishment." Lastly this publication states that: "Altogether the story is a most unfair libel upon one of the most beneficial public institutions of the province." This story finishes on page 155 with "Mrs. Woods Latest" wherein she is interviewed and fully admits that "Yes, it is true that I took care of children...I had a house fitted up for that purpose. Mothers who could not take care of their young ones brought them to my place, and I looked after them. One delicate child died on our hands, and we were arrested on the charge of manslaughter. I was convicted on evidence that

was false, and sent to the Mercer.” The subheading of the article states that she “Says Toronto Papers are Subsidized by Police.” It seems that Mrs. Woods too has reflected upon the coordination of city services.

This case briefly transports us three years into the future. Its revival is interestingly heuristic, cueing a few things that provide grounding outside of this year under discussion. Although it does not transcend the consciousness of the scrapbooks, it transports us to another space-time within them. It is a reminder that “life” does not end when an article ends, nor does the issue. Kelso may stop pasting a series of a story, but the story lives on outside his scrapbook reality. Mrs. Woods and Katie testify to that. It is also a reminder that this project of child-saving becomes more internally complex and political over time as more people and professionals enter. The largely consensual moment that I am exploring is still naïve, innocent, and largely imaginative. Indeed, things are taking hold, yet material children have not yet been taken hold of in any aggregate way – common people have not started materially resisting yet, either through escapes, dramatic rescues from care, or yelling at Kelso’s office window. The Catholics and the Protestants have not yet started warring over children and the press have not taken sides. The subalterns will speak as Mrs. Woods so forcefully does, even interrogating the inner workings of political systems. And when they do speak the veracity of the stories become difficult to tease out. Truth, or at the very least “what happened” is elusive as more voices enter and become politicized.

The Lace case re-dux reminds us of the political role and influence of newspapers. Mrs. Woods re-emerges in Volume 13 only a month and twenty pages before baby farming again becomes an issue. This time however, it is politically loaded Province-wide with influence upon a proposed Maternity Act lead by Mrs. Boulbee of the Infants’ Home and her “vigorous

agitation for the passage of a by-law providing for the regulation of maternity boarding houses...Mrs. Boulton claims that the lack of proper regulation and of a system of registering the names and places of residence of the mothers of children born in these houses results in the death of many of these children..." Dr. Sheard makes a "lengthy report on the subject" in which he concludes that "in order to carry out the conditions of the act providing for proper control of these houses it will be necessary to provide for the adoption of most of the children, who are almost always illegitimate." He reports that "upwards of 500 children per annum are in some way arranged for...one-third of them find their way into certain public institutions in the neighborhood of Ottawa and Montreal." His investigation found that:

In most cases the mothers have come to the city to conceal their shame, and to get rid of their offspring, and as far as I can see there is nothing in the Act to prevent their doing so. A Legislative attempt to force such parents to maintain and rear their children for a lengthened period would simply result in the transference of the offspring to some place outside the municipality, or to someone who in a short time would permit it to find its way into one of our charitable institutions, or into houses within the city, which sooner or later would be reported to the officers of the Children's Aid Society as improper places for children. The care of such children would thus ultimately fall upon the society.

Dr. Sheard concludes that the amendments to the Act "would put the city to great expense." The law leads the body as per three years ago, yet things are "bigger." As the Lace case ends again as a sensational narrative catalyst, as "true fiction" rife with literary devices and gaps in its presentation of truth I cannot help but notice Kelso's picture on page 182, under which he writes:

A terrible picture – not true to life.

Part iii: “A World of Happiness”

In “CHILDREN AND THE STATE” the *Globe Feb 5* reports on “The Social Problems Conference” and reprints excerpts of a paper delivered by Mrs. Dr. Stowe-Gullen:¹

Most of those present had heard the home alluded to as woman’s sphere. Her sphere was a little difficult to ascertain, as it differed so greatly in various countries. Men and Women must be equal in reality before the home can be an ideal one. The home is the most noble sphere alike for men and women. Women were not selfish nor were they monopolists, and consequently they were willing to share the responsibilities of bringing up the children with the men. Into the home the child was born with certain rights and privileges. Every child had a right to be well born. He must be born of free parents, not having a bondwoman for his mother.

Mrs. Dr. Stowe-Gullen continues in a manner highly reminiscent of Kelso’s “Cradled in Crime” article, as she defines education, admonishes the state for not advocating prevention as much as cure, and accordingly describes how “the State strives to stamp out what it might easily, so easily, have prevented. Dr. Gullen’s paper was enthusiastically received.”

Kelso is interviewed by the *Citizen and Home Guard*, published in *London, Feb 12*. ““I have always had,” he reveals, “even in early childhood, an intense sympathy for abused, neglected and unhappy children, and it was largely the desire to plead their cause that led me to select newspaper life as a profession.” He takes us on a brief historical trip: “For over a century the stumbling-block of ‘parental rights’ stood in the way of child-saving legislation both in Great Britain and later in the United States.” He continues by describing how protection against cruelty to animals prepared the way for the protection of the “human animal” through the work of

¹ “DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN, 1857-1943. Canada's first woman graduate in medicine was born in Mount Pleasant. She attended the Toronto School of Medicine, received her degree from Victoria University in 1883, and was licensed to practise. Her mother, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, had graduated in New York State in 1868, and after a prolonged struggle for recognition had been licensed to practise medicine in 1880, thus becoming Canada's first woman doctor. Both were ardent feminists, and devoted themselves to the advancement of women in education and public life. Dr. Emily Stowe organized the Canadian movement for female suffrage, and under her daughter's leadership women in Ontario received the franchise in 1917.” This is the inscription on the historical plaque dedicated in 1962, in Mount Pleasant, Ontario (south of Brantford.)

Elbridge T. Gerry in New York² who, after “the persistent pleadings of a poor woman...produced in court a little girl with a bruised, maimed and emaciated body, showing in many livid marks the evidence of parental brutality – no further time was lost in organizing such a society for the protection of all such unfortunate children.” He shifts to the present: ““This Province,” continues Kelso, “is particularly fortunate in having secured Government recognition and backing in vindicating the rights of children.”” He continues to explain his leading talking points: “Children in institutions lead an artificial existence; they are marked off from the rest of the community, are looked upon as objects of pity, and do not undergo the ordinary experiences of happy and growing childhood. They are not on going out so well prepared for life as the ordinary child, and the expense of establishing and maintaining a large institution is very great.” He describes the alternative: “In the foster home the child grows up naturally, goes to the common school, forms an acquaintance with the children of the neighborhood, soon becomes self-supporting, and is in time absorbed in the general community and its early misfortunes forgotten. By this method you save the boy or girl from being stigmatized as a charity-child, and you insure for it a natural unrestrained and therefore happier life.”” Kelso dedicates attention to the “ordinary,” “common,” “children of the neighborhood,” a slight shift to developing the discourse of the “natural” child with no memory.

To realize this noble objective Kelso clarifies that he is “anxious to find warm, motherly hearts...and is sure there are many Christian women in Ontario, having humble homes it may be, but having the priceless jewel – compassion for these children of misfortune, and a desire to make up for them what they have lost.” Kelso continues to clarify: “You will readily understand

² Gerry and Henry Bergh extended “the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals” towards the incorporation of “The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children” in 1875. It is also referred to as “The Gerry Society.”

it is not social distinction we seek for these children, but cottage homes where they will be treated with affection and forbearance.” Kelso provides the first view into “real” practice: “...a short time ago I received a complaint that an orphan girl, placed out with a farmer, was lonely, unhappy and overworked. I wrote the nearest member of a visiting committee asking if she would kindly drive out and see the child, and the result was that we removed her to another home. In this case, you see, the matter was attended to at trifling expense.”³

When asked “What about the Curfew Bell?” he responds: “The adoption of that section of the act is not compulsory, but it has already commended itself to several municipalities. Many children learn much evil through being allowed to constantly run the streets after dark, and parents have often no idea of the danger they encourage in this way. The home should be made so attractive by good humor, harmony, entertaining books and games that the children would not desire to be on the streets...The WCTU has taken up this reform...” Differently than “Cradled in Crime,” Kelso provides practical, and then operational direction to readers through a pastoral mode: “I would like to urge that all should take an interest in [this work]. No one should pass over a case of ill-treatment or neglect without seeing that it is investigated and the parents warned. Then I would like to secure correspondents in each town and village of the Province, who would aid in finding homes for homeless children.” He continues with a new typology: “It is easy enough providing places for boys and girls over 10 years of age, but we want Christian women who will take in little ones from 1 to 8 years of age.” As Kelso describes in later artifacts, eight years of age is determined as the maximum age where children will be able to “forget” their urban experience and wilfully adopt a rural lifestyle.

³ Kelso also tells this tale at the upcoming Child-Saving Conference when discussing the function of Visiting Committees. It is transcribed on page 820 of the *Ontario Sessional Papers 1895*.

These two articles, included early in the series under discussion, forge a particular tone and tension that persists until the conference in October when the woman's sphere is clearly ascertained. The role of women, and "future women" – not "girls" such as Ada, Isabella, Mary Ellen, Nellie, Selina – emerge through two forms: most aggregately the curfew bell, while with more performability, Bands of Mercy and similar "kindly" groups. As observed above, Kelso firmly modifies "women" with the adjective "Christian" and seeks to canonize them, while Mrs. Dr. Stowe-Gullen is more tempered and grounded, emphasizing equality. For Kelso the woman's sphere is very easy to ascertain. He is unabashed in opening spaces for women, the good Christian type, to participate in the child-saving movement, and his hyperbolic plea for mother-hearts creates an inequality of responsibility that Dr. Stowe-Gullen's gender-role mapping resists. Thus on the lighter side of "virtue," similar to its dark contrast of "vice," we observe Kelso delineating and posturing women and idealized girls to animate and give form to his "world of happiness." This does not occur in courtrooms or rural landscapes, but rather in council meetings, private parlors, and community spaces.

Chapter 8: For Whom the Bell Tolls

The curfew bell is the most persistent topic between pages 121 and 214, proliferating quicker than the CAS and finding its way into smaller localities. It is a catalyst that ignites a domino effect both metaphorically and etymologically (see “*domain*”) inspiring hidden places to emerge on the Provincial map and into the pastoral governance of child-saving. That the WCTU takes on this enthusiasm inspires both complex questions and both aggressive and passive-aggressive responses. If indeed Kelso made this delegative decision it is an apt one; either way he is supportive of the organization that in turn publically supports the Gibson Act and Kelso with fervour. Philosophically and in practice the WCTU is quite perfect for the job: earnest elite evangelical Christian women, highly organized and represented across the Province (and the United States where it originated), who battle intemperance and the very potion that has trickled down to become deemed as a leading cause of child neglect. Similar to the poor woman who inspired the children’s movement in New York earlier in the century, Kelso seems to recognize a particular cultural function of females in patriarchal institutions.

Most interestingly are the questions that emerge as we consider that the curfew bell clause in the Gibson Act is optional. Unlike the other laws it is up for discussion in localities. Is the WCTU given the job because they are most effective at agitating? Or are they chosen to be the target of potential criticism, and if the clause fails, the men of the movement will not be exposed and be freed of blame? Accordingly, that the curfew bell is optional speaks to the local anxiety and nervousness that surrounds it. Did the men who drafted the Act sense that by 1898 the superintendent would declare that it was a failure, that the population simply would not support it? Is it a red herring? Similar to the sexual assaults of Home Girls, there are filaments of mockery and humour in the thread of the curfew bell, and it proves effective in the observation

of male-female relations at distinct social stations, highlighting moments of male anxiety, deepening the “street” and “night” as pejorative spaces and times, and drafting plans for the ideal home governed by the mother. Whether the bell rings or not, its very agitation, its mere inclusion, is what effectively “rings.” Akin to the threats of the CAS to remove children of the degraded classes, the curfew bell seems to function as a threat, although for a different type of parent. It seems to warn and threaten the “ordinary,” “general,” “common” class – those who are out each evening participating in society meetings. Differently than the degraded and subaltern parent however, these parents have the opportunity to participate locally in the legislation of their own fate. They populate local institutions and have a “voice.” The curfew bell is not always immediately passed with consensual approval like the CAS, it gets passed to a committee, or an alderman forgets the petition at home. There is greater hesitation and checks when the subject is not the evil progeny of dissolute drunken parents. *These* “lambs” look more like the lambs in *our* folds – they are visible not in literary and ethnographic description but are literally in their homes and neighbourhoods. In the catholicity of child-saving, the bell seems to toll the knell of critique and force reflection upon how the “normalized” family should govern itself. The decision is diffused to them. This it seems is whom the bell cautiously tolls for and whom tolls the bell. While Dr. Stowe-Gullen promotes equality in the privacy of home, Kelso evangelically encourages a more publicized mother, whom simultaneously protects the very same ego the curfew bell threatens to expose.

“Nonsense, Ladies, Nonsense!”

From an unspecified paper with no date is the headline “WANT A CURFEW BELL” reporting that “a deputation of ladies waited upon the Mayor this morning to urge that a by-law be passed that all children under a certain age be compelled to stay at their homes after 9 o’clock. Mrs.

McDonnell, school trustee, headed the deputation.” Beneath Kelso’s interview on the right-hand side of page 125 is an article from the *Leamington Post*:

We are well aware of the difficulties surrounding the bringing up of children, but allowing for all these there are many ways in which some fathers and mothers could exert a restraining influence upon the young that is not exhibited in scores of families of this town if we are to judge by the children seen running wild upon our street at all hours of the day and night. THE POST has directed attention to this matter and we have urged the town council to pass a bylaw adopting the curfew [*sic*] bell or some other signal... The lesson is a bitter one for the families connected, and we sympathize in their affliction.

An article from the *Globe Feb 20* asks “SHALL CURFEW RING AGAIN?” “The Ladies of the WCTU Think it Should and Ask the Mayor To Aid Them.” Quoting the letter from Huldah Rockwell, Gertrude H. Wood and Mrs. Mary McDonnell, it continues ““The ringing of this curfew bell has been adopted in some of the smaller towns of the Province with good results, and we think Toronto should not be behind in this matter...Ald. Lamb thinks the reference to stray lambs rather personal and may rise to a question of privilege when the letter comes before his board.” On the right a headline states: “ASKED FOR THE CURFEW” the subheading states that “The WCTU Want the Ancient Custom Revived.” It reports on the same letter described in the *Globe* yet pulls a quote regarding the effectiveness of the bell, how it would “call all stray lambs to seek the parental fold.” In addition to the bell, “the union also called attention to the posting on the walls in various parts of the city of immoral and indecent placards, and asked to have them prohibited.” Beneath is pasted “*NONSENSE, LADIES, NONSENSE*” which begins, “Well meaning, but mistaken, are those ladies who want the curfew to toll the knell of parting day in our midst. Their proposal is absurd. The curfew idea serves a good purpose in small towns where 9 o’clock is close to bed time. In Toronto there are too many boys to violate, and too few policemen to enforce such a law. Those who ask for it go to an extreme that will awaken hostility to future proposals that might be as wise as this proposal is foolish.” Another article describing the WCTU request for a curfew bell in Toronto says: “Late promenading on the streets is the

beginning of the downfall of many a promising boy and girl.” Beneath, an article from *March 21* announces that “Leamington has established the curfew system in a somewhat different form than that in vogue in the time of the Conqueror. As a signal to all children to go in doors at 8:30 p.m. the Waterworks whistle sends forth a warning screech.” The article below also reports that Leamington has established the curfew bell, which leads the *Hamilton Spectator* to remark that “Leamington being the home of those nasty old men, the Mungers, needs something to keep children in the house both day and night.” On *March 5*, from *Mitchell*, it is reported beneath “DEPUTATION OF LADIES” that the WCTU deputation of Mrs. Flagg, Mrs. Dent, Mrs. Cornish, Mrs. H.J. Hurlburt, and Mrs. Baker were successful in agitating for the passing of the curfew by law in the town of Mitchell. An article above confirms the same saying, “They were well received and listened to very attentively, and the asked-for bylaw was passed before they left the chamber.”

In the first rush of curfew bell articles, from mid-February to the ides of March, the lay of the land is immediately established. There are questions, demands, specific space-time considerations alongside references to the Bible, Ancient times, and William the Conqueror. There is a sense of a “curfew bell revival” as Kelso will later call it, a *living again* from another time and place. Early on it is understood that the bell is for the protection of the “promising boy and girl,” and in a similar vein to last chapter, there is an obligatory worry that too many boys – our lads – might be made into criminals. There is a realization that this is about “us,” not “them.” The *Leamington Post* is even sympathetic and apologetic to its readers. The criticism aims squarely at the women working to enact this clause – their proposals are foolish and misguided, although as in *Mitchell*, they are respectfully listened to. The bell, it seems, is location-specific. For instance, 9 o’clock is fine for the rural kids, but not for city kids.

Although the by-law will be debated and passed in many areas of the Province, most of Kelso's inclusions are from the southwest: St. Thomas, Windsor, Amherstburg, and London. And when he chooses to ring in on the issue he chooses the *Citizen and Home Guard* of London as his organ, although I have a hunch, admittedly based only on lexical evidence, that he cannot help himself to write one ghost article to maintain the cool when things get heated.

Division Bell

The "Bohemian" column in the *St. Thomas Journal Mar 17* discusses how "Fifty-one ladies of the WCTU have petitioned city council to take advantage of the powers granted them under the Children's Protection Act." The author agrees that a bylaw should be passed that punishes parents who allow their child to run the streets at night and do not "keep it out of the way of temptation, and, consequently, off the streets at night. If that duty is neglected, the state should step in and punish those who have been negligent." Yet the author says, "The chestnut bell has been rung on the curfew bell long ago, and it should not be revived. Ever since the time of William the Conqueror, who is said to have introduced the curfew bell into England, all sorts and conditions of public readers and reciters... have thundered, screeched, or squeaked out the information: 'Curfew shall not ring tonight'... If the curfew bell is to be revived, why not also the historical town-crier with his bell." The Bohemian continues in a mocking tone suggesting that a bell be rung on Sunday nights "notifying ministers to stop preaching...; at 9 o'clock other nights to notify lecturers to come to a dead stop; at 10 p.m. to notify husbands to slide home from 'the lodge,' and the bell might be kept ringing all the time to notify the wives that if they do not spend nearly all of their time, and all of their energies, in the homes, there will soon be no 'homes' – real true homes – to go to. But, of course, none of these bells should be rung." The author concludes: "I would say that while children should be kept off the streets as much as

possible day time as well as night time, but especially at nights, a great deal of good would be accomplished if the young women who parade up and down Talbot street nights – not a very numerous class, I admit – were made to stay at home, where they would be under a mother’s watchful eye.”

The Bohemian’s plea seems to presage a peculiar effect. Pasted beside from a week and a half later, **March 29th**, St. Thomas Alderman and Chairman McCully “explained the he had forgotten to bring with him the petition of the ladies of the WCTU, asking for the ringing of the curfew bell.” Despite his absent-mindedness, there was a vote, which was a tie, “and the motion was lost.” However by **April 4**, the council of the St. Thomas CAS appointed a deputation of five men to “wait upon the city council to ask that the request of the WCTU...be referred to a special committee.” Pasted on the same page, but without a date, it is announced in the **St. Thomas Journal** that “The curfew bell (the fire hall bell) will toll the knell of parting day for fourteen-year-olds and under in St. Thomas. The city council so decided at its last meeting, granting the petition of the ladies of the WCTU to have the bell rung because of the ‘moral effect’ it would have upon parents and children.” The author changes to an editorial tone reminiscent of the same papers’ Bohemian: “The ‘moral effect’ will, I believe, be demonstrated by experience to be an entirely unknown quantity. A good many old boys I know (I am not referring to aldermen) should feel somewhat relieved that they are not within the curfew age limit. If the ringing of the bell would only keep them in nights, or bring them home at an earlier hour, all will agree that one should be rung.”¹ Below Kelso pastes two small articles. In **Kingston** on **April 8** it is urged

¹ The Bohemian’s sarcastic comments are played out without sarcasm as reported in the *Galt Reformer* on page 163. “An old lady who mistook the intention of the “Curfew Bell,” went to one of our town councillors this week and declared her approval of the idea. “Any man who has not decency enough to go home to his wife at 9 o’clock ought to be sent home,” she said. And the councillor was so amused that he forgot to remind her that the by-law applied only to children under 14 years of age. On page 169 it is reported that the curfew bell rang for the first time in Galt.

by officer Timmerman that a “Curfew Bell [is] Needed” to mitigate the regular nuisance of boys on the streets late at night whom the police are powerless to intervene upon. Meanwhile, below in Sault Ste Marie (the *Soo*) the curfew by-law is defeated. Mayor Plummer “says that he is opposed to statute and municipal law as a substitute for parental authority and duty.”

The many details of the *St. Thomas* meeting are described wherein the curfew bell was passed after aldermen debated back and forth the merits and faults of the by-law: “Ald. McCully...had a conference with Chief Fewings, who told him that the passage of such a law with the present police force would be a farce. There were only three policemen on duty at night. If the by-law were passed all a policeman could do was to take a child home, and the three policemen would be doing nothing but taking children home. It would require the police force to be largely increased...The children who were on the streets late at night were those of parents who themselves were out to dances or to something else, and if the children were taken home by the policemen there would be found there wasno [*sic*] one to take care of them.” Aldermen Doggett, Chant, Hawes, Miner, Meek, Wright, Travers, and Sanders all spoke, debating back and forth. The motion to refer the request to a committee was lost and “The motion to pass the by-law and ring the bell [*sic*] was carried on the same division.”²

² April 1895 in the *St. Thos Journal*. “REPEAL THE BY LAW. A movement is afoot in Port Perry to establish the curfew bell as one of the institutions of the town. In consequence the Port Perry *Observer* explains: “Can it be possible that Port Perry, so fair and prosperous a business centre, is to be disgraced and insulted by the introduction into our midst of that abominable relic of the invader’s tyranny, the curfew bell? We are not a conquered people, under the lash of the invader, who can force us to extinguish our lights at the sound of the accursed bell. The simple proposition that the curfew should be introduced into our midst is an unmitigated insult to the community.” This outburst leads the *Toronto Mail* to remark: “Port Perry, therefore, unlike St. Thomas and other metropolitan centres, where the curfew is regularly sounded, is not a community of mediaeval character, and will stay up and out at night as long as it pleases. St. Thomas needs a vindicator.” How much longer is St. Thomas going to stand idly by, and have fun poked at it in this manner, the while the curfew bell tolls the knell of parting day and reminds us of the silly by-law that pulls the bell-rope.” vol. 11, 157.

Aliberty Bell

The inclusions from Toronto, St. Thomas, Kingston, and The Soo prepare the reader for the debate and uneven application of the curfew bell. These deliberations arouse the philosophical, sentimental, and micro-governmentality differences of localities. The character of specific places emerges unlike the repetitive and indistinguishable CAS meeting articles, where every town reacts in the same compliant, mimetic way. Not so with the curfew bell. Indeed there are common sentiments and concerns: increased police costs, the town is too large, we don't need a bell to tell us what to do, boys and girls are running amok in the night and will rub shoulders with bad characters, etc. But it is by way of the curfew bell that the everyday person, specifically the common literate man, is permitted an opportunity to voice his feelings and sling his arrows. Interestingly, the places from where Kelso includes articles with the most intense and vitriolic sentiments eventually pass the by-law.

In *Amherstburg April 12*, the curfew by-law is passed unanimously. The only details to figure out are the hours at which it will ring. The WCTU is open to a later hour in the summer time, and after much discussion

Mr. Lukes was satisfied that 9 o'clock was early enough for five months. The petition asked for 8.30 the year round. He moved, in amendment, that the hour of 9 o'clock for May, June, July August and September, and the other seven months at 8 o'clock...The Mayor would favor making the hour in winter earlier than Mr. Lukes' motion and making a different hour for spring and fall. He moved, in amendment to the amendment, that in June, July, and August the time be 9 o'clock, in May, September and October, 8.30, and in the other six months, 7.30. Mr. Lukes withdrew his amendment and Mr. Fox seconded Mr. Mullen's amendment. The amendment was put and lost. The motion carried.

The article below confirms the passing of the by-law in Amherstburg at the behest of the WCTU petition, and confirms: "For seven months of the year children must be off the streets by 7 o'clock and during the remaining 5 months, they may stay out until 8 o'clock." The exact contents are printed in a different font from another paper on page 171. Just north of

Amherstburg, pasted above on the same page, it is announced that “Windsor Will Have A Curfew Bell To [sic].” The article opens by quoting “the sentiments of Ald. Ramsay: “All kids should be off the streets by eight o’clock” to which “the majority of aldermen agreed.” In what seems like an anomaly in a council meeting, the article continues: “The front row of seats was taken up by youngsters watching this report on the Curfew bell and when the aldermen referred to them as ‘kids’ they all laughed heartily.” The last line before the article is cut off says “The mayor was opposed to the scheme.” Another article from Windsor states that it was not the WCTU who urged for the “ancient institution” and for “history to repeat itself” but rather to the finance committee “belongs the glory.”

Also on page 154 is an undated letter to the editor of *The (Amherstburg) Echo*. Based on the other articles reporting on the issue, and other articles pasted around it, we can confidently date it around mid-April. It begs to be quoted at length as this tone is observed nowhere else in the scrapbook:

Please permit me to express an opinion of the latest indignity of the WCTU, that of classing young children of our town as criminals after a certain hour, that these women in their questionable wisdom consider lawful for the enjoyment of the open air. Has our Town Council so much to do that they need to place the public morals in the keeping of a few meddling old women, in whom the milk of human kindness has long ago soured, making them distort every joyous action of youth into a crime or sin. I declare it an outrage on the reputation of our town to publish over Canada that it is necessary to call police assistance to manage our children. I am quite sure the *capable* mothers would not wish to deprive the *incapable* from asking such assistance, but certainly deny their right to force the attention on all. Where else within one hundred miles are children so safe, healthy and happy as in Amherstburg, anywhere or any time...And since our churches are degenerating into organized societies of slander and persecution, the pure air is more wholesome than some of the so-called christian homes. And until there is a marked improvement in this respect, I fancy the officer would find many mothers away from their homes planing [sic] some new excuse to gain personal glory, or more likely public contempt. Their egotism would have us believe that by special dispensation of providence they has secured only the good and pure qualities, and cause wonder that they do not burst with their own consequence. If the WCTU are ready for suggestions, I would advise the married members with children to learn how to manage them without police assistance, and those who have none, should get them and learn the sweet music of childhood. And in conclusion, I court an investigation of my management by a call to my private sitting room, every evening after seven o’clock, for seven months in the year and I will show three boys enjoying the unrestricted pleasures of their home...It is high time the council took a stand to protect the freedom of the citizens, and call these meddlers down, for it will soon be in order for the summer crank to request the boys to bathe up the river one night, down the river the next night, across the following night; to wear tights one night, pantaloons the next a whole suit the

next... This summer let us have a by-law to protect our public bath against such cranks and let our boys be boys without fear and trembling. Thanking you for space in your valuable paper.

The author's name is cut off at the bottom.

The most sober and rational editorial article, the one not including the rhetorical devices of sarcasm, mockery and humour, the one not grounded in a specific place says quite clearly that the state has every right to nudge out the responsibility of fathers. It is syndicated between publications. In "The Lakefield News, May 4," the article "The Curfew Bell," is equally long, yet is an anonymous missive that more rationally discusses the other side of the debate. It does not originate from any particular town; it is a bird's eye view that speaks to common, general criticisms and seems intended to calm the reader in the wake of harsh ridicule. Its tone is pedagogical with a statist feel versus a local and partisan editorial impression and functions to map out responsibilities through local roles. It is reprinted from the *Mail*, and it appears again verbatim on June 1, page 170³ (we can't decipher Kelso's handwriting to determine the publication.) Although there is no quantitative evidence in support, I have a qualitative hunch that Kelso may have written this.⁴ It is very much in his structural and tonal style – it is prudent, kind, and "fair," and chooses carefully when to exert firmness and implication: "The curfew bell tolls the knell of parting day, sometimes at eight and sometimes at nine o'clock in several of the towns in this province. It no longer means 'lights out,' but is simply a summons to the little boys and girls to betake themselves off the street to the shelter of their domestic roof, where their sphere of danger, of bad company, and of mischief will be narrowed, while fuller scope will be given to their capacity for rest." It is balanced, sober, and rational in its support of the Act, and is

³ The only difference in the articles is that the *Lakefield News* version has an extended conclusion which reads: "Towns like Collingwood and Amherstburg, in which it (sic) is used, find that it works beneficially, and so far no conflict of parental and municipal jurisdiction has been heard of."

⁴ Kelso re-prints this same article three years later on page 13 under the heading "Not an arbitrary measure" in his paper "Revival of the Curfew Law" which he presented at the 23rd National Conference of Charities and Correction, held at Grand Rapids Michigan, June 4-10, 1896.

in the best interests of the child, whose need for rest becomes a new dynamic. The author continues to address critique from above, focussing upon “the local” realities and tensions of town and parent, the state has left this to them:

The curfew bell might be looked upon as a piece of socialistic presumption on the part of the municipality, as an encroachment on the inalienable private right of the head of the family to order the affairs of his own household. But the moral sense of the town will wink at this elbowing aside of the parent by the municipality. The town which orders all unattended children to their homes at eight or nine o'clock in the evening really usurps none of the functions of the parent. The parent who looks after his little boys and girls puts strict limits on their liberty at night, and is neither benefitted nor inconvenienced by the bell. But if parents are so indifferent to their children's welfare as to let them wander at will after twilight, then the duty of watching over these children is not assumed by, but is thrust on, the town.

The police, as synecdoche of the municipality, are caught in the middle as we learn of the realities of their job: “Its police have to keep an eye on the youngsters, to protect this one, to thwart that one, to heed complaints against them, to catch the horses they scare, and to break up the knots by which they impede traffic.” After the parents, it is the municipality, not the state, who are responsible for the supervision of their young. This echoes the diffused, pastoral intention of the Act. The article briefly moves from general to specific in identifying what it means by “parent,” and who exactly is both threatened and the focus of the by-law: “The parent who is jealous of his prerogative as the ruler of his children fails to exercise that prerogative, and delegates it to the town when he allows them to be such a public nuisance and such a worry to the public.” The article becomes more specific in describing its relations by using the police officer as both a personification of the town and the substitute of the father and mother, urging that police “should be left free to keep adults out of mischief.” The author suggests that the boys running wild at night may even threaten the morale of the entire police force. Akin to the architecture and processes of justice it implies a peculiar power of children: “Nor is there anything that demoralizes a policeman more than that kind of service. He is apt to lose his interest in larger game and sink into a spy on the conduct of urchins, who will make it a point to

fill up his time with larks and escapades that will make life a burden to him.” The curfew is promoted as a technology to allow police “to do their duty fully by full-grown wrong-doers.” The author begins to conclude: “Order would be more easily preserved on the gtreets [*sic*] if the young were kept off them after dark, lax home discipline would be improved by the transfer to it of the care of the children, and the children themselves would be morally and physically much the better. The only thing regrettable about the curfew is the need for its existence.” Below this article, sits the first description of Little Johnnie Conn, the quintessential urchin born of lax home discipline for whom the bell should toll for.

On *May 5* the *London Advertiser* prints an article that is differently pedagogic. In a tone reminiscent of a public service announcement it teaches the readers about the history of the curfew bell in light of the Ontario by-law. It re-prints “a very readable paper in the Interior from the pen of Harriet Knight Smith,” whom we presume is American: ““Now, just what was the Curfew? The word itself came from the old French, *carre-feu* – to cover the fire. A most accurate definition is doubtless this: A regulation in force in mediaeval Europe by which at a fixed hour in the in the evening, indicated by the ringing of a bell, fires were to be covered over or extinguished... There seems to be no good authority for the statement that its introduction into England was by William the Conqueror, as a means of political repression, even though Blavignac in his great study on bells follows this tradition.”” This erudite author continues to describe various curfew laws dating back to 1055 and moves “up” through history to “The Huguenots,” to Strasburg and Paris, and eventually to the United States where the author describes how it is used in various places with great effect.

The bell continues to have general support in Southwestern Ontario where most of the ink is dedicated. The *Woodstock Sentinel Review*, *May 16 94* reports: “A petition to which was

attached hundreds of signatures embracing mothers, heads of families, spinsters, and in fact all classes and conditions of the genus homo was presented, asking that a curfew bell be established in Woodstock... The array of names appended to the petition was almost long enough to encircle the planet Jupiter, and prayed that the curfew bell be rung each night at 9 o'clock." It promoted that the by-law would keep youth from the "the evil effects of bad company." As the petition is entered into the council meeting, "Mr. Cole said he expected to have control of his children until they were sixteen years of age. What did the petition mean? That other parents were incapable of taking charge of their children, and that we would have to put on a special corps of constables to look after those who violated the law." To which the Mayor responds "I didn't know that the state of affairs was so bad." Mr. Cole rings in again: "If people are going to petition the council for a by-law, there is a class which needs looking after more than children under 16 years, represented by those who were over 16. (Laughter) They need looking after, and the by-law should be changed. Mr. Crawford said the by-law was not for everybody's children, but a certain few who roamed about... and the by-law was to assist the constables in helping this certain class and preventing them from becoming bad children. Mr. Cole said that the majority would have to suffer for the sake of the few."

Where it Resonates

The scrapbook pages chronologically continue to include curfew bell inclusions which present its uneven application across the Province. Two slender articles reporting its passing in Galt and Ridgeway, Amherstburg's bell is twice re-announced, and Walkerton is added to the list. In the top right corner an article says: "The Hamilton Times does not favor the Curfew bell. It says: Chatham council has refused to comply with the request of petitioners for a curfew by-law, taking the ground that all such usurpations of the duty of parents by the State were to be

deprecated and discouraged.”⁵ Similarly, it is reported that in Toronto Junction “Curfew Shall Not Ring,” while in The *Kingston British Whig Aug 17*, “A sweet mother writes to the Peterboro press” describing how the demands of her many benevolent society duties could not be met without “the curfew bell which will be a great help in bringing up the six children ‘God has given me.’”

In the *Citizen and Home Guard, London, June 9* beneath the headline “Children’s Act and WCTU” Kelso re-emerges with regards to the curfew bell. He has not said anything since his last inclusion from the same publication on February 12:

Mr. J.J. Kelso...sends the following encouraging words: “I desire to commend, with all my heart, the good work which the WCTU of Ontario is accomplishing in bringing into active and speedy operation the provisions of the Curfew law. During the past few months it has been my practice almost daily to go through the Provincial newspapers, and from all sections I find the report reads something like this: “In view of the large and influential petition presented by the WCTU, the town council has decided to adopt the Curfew law...” The proposition is usually supported warmly by the majority of councilors, but there is always one objector. “The ideal!” he exclaims, indignantly. And then he proceeds to declaim on the interference with parents; anything to make people good by legislation; the great police force that will be needed, and the tremendous expense to the municipality. Not one of the arguments have real value. The law only interferes with those parents in whom the moral sense is dead and who ignore the duty they owe their children and the community in which the defectively-trained child must live; legislation is always essential to restrain the vicious and punish those who defy public opinion in matters of vital importance; no extra police are required; the existence of the law is in itself a strong deterrent, and children who are habitually on the streets after the prescribed hour will be reported by neighbours and mission workers interested in their moral welfare. Then it is not the children but the parents who are punished, and I hold that in every case of youthful wrong-doing it is the father and mother who should be called to account. I am have not touched upon the great aim of the law which is to aid the parents and friends of childhood and innocence in protecting them from defilement and impurity. Surely such a noble object should have the whole-hearted indorsation of every man and woman who has passed from youth to age and knows the dangers to which the young are subject! In the late hours of evening boys and girls have acquired habits and committed sins which as they grow older they regret to their dying day, and much, if not all of this unhappiness is primarily the fault of their parents and guardians. Then a specious argument often used is that the homes of many children are not much better than the streets; if that be true let the aim be to improve the home and insist on its being a fit place in which children may dwell. All honor to the WCTU, for its activity in this matter, and I hope later on to point out other ways in which the cause of neglected and orphan children may be signally aided by the union.

⁵ The curfew debate begins in Hamilton in January 1897 and it becomes a dominate theme in volume 13. Although “In his annual report lately issued, Mr. JJ Kelso...says: “Very little has been heard of the curfew by-law during the past year.” vol. 13, 218.

“The Curfew Bell” from an unnamed and undated publication keeps us up to speed: “Up to the present time twenty towns and villages in Ontario have made it law that the Curfew Bell shall ring every night.” The article lists fourteen of these yet singles out and admonishes Lakefield who “passed such a some time ago, but up to the present time no effort has been made to enforce it. What good is a law like that on our statute books if it is not to be enforced? Something should be done in the matter.”

A Peeling Mirror

As a concern of the WCTU the curfew bell is effectively contiguous with maternal feminist discourse, temperance, and drinking fountains. As an older form from an ancient time and foreign land, it does not have the cultural-historical resonance of the whip and we see how it, and its promoters, are confronted with a rich mix of humour, satire, ridicule, absurdity, acceptance, and support. Arguably the bell inspires the most sarcastic, sardonic, and pointed responses from the readership in the scrapbooks and some of the most absurdly funny vignettes. As a reader the curfew drama plays an important and refreshing function in the collection, contributing a wonderfully rich texture through the stories it incites. It evokes the diversity, humour, and personality of the readership in their everyday and is a welcome break in the seriousness, earnestness, density, and monotony of consensus and repetition. It lives on the lighter side of a world of death, assault, and rape, and anxiously guards the porous divide. The debates provide contour to the edges of the discourse, and interestingly the absurdity with which the curfew bell is often described does not weaken the movement as much as strengthen it.

It seems that the bell is a cultural mirror versus a blank canvas. The problem that the curfew bell endeavors to both incite and address is the lack of control in the private home, the

job of the father in his traditional domain as Mayor Plummer in the Soo suggests. By proposing to peel a “symbol” to make children scatter and be found by the law, as a compensation for poor patriarchal control, is a dire threat that sheds public light onto the male ego of private spaces, creating an anxious lacuna for mothers to occupy. That the WCTU takes on this project deepens the plot. It is as if they are making room for themselves by working to make “better/modern” fathers, often communicated as satire and ego-blow, or perhaps agitating towards that end. They are postured to assume a greater role and voice in the home economy through a philanthropic organization promoting a state initiative. So, when Kelso admits in Winnipeg and then Ottawa a few years later that the curfew bell was a failure, that the public simply would not support it, he was materially correct, however a curfew (minus the bell) remains to this day in Provincial law. It only had to exist to enter into the Archive. The debate itself is the support. It is generative, provides contour, and serves the ultimate ends of the Act. It not only directs a discourse at fatherhood, it engages local councils and works to integrate the WCTU into the child-saving movement, a male-dominated project, where otherwise they do not have an organized role. In fact the role of women in child-management is under threat as they are the front-line leaders of the contemporary and historical forms of orphan homes and the like which are marked for evacuation and extinction. As Gibson will diplomatically announce at the upcoming conference, female participation was to move from the “professional” matron managing a “privately” confined and expensive hoard, to a “private” mother nurturing one “free” and “public” child in the humble rural cottage home: a process of de-professionalizing and re-domestication women. The WCTU is publicly agitating for a stronger attachment and elevated role in the domestic sphere.

The curfew bell offers a portal into class distinctions of child-saving and the limits to freedom based on a plotting in the emotional economy. It is a reminder – a symbol – that child-saving is a whole, catholic project not simply for the classes most formally deemed neglected and dependent, the awkward cultural foils most easily represented. In the pages under discussion we observe how the literarily degraded classes function to provide spectacle while the Act works subtly towards an enclosure of a greater childhood which includes all of “parenthood” and the normalized child, and soon the idealized child. The wholesale heteroglot is pasted side-by-side in Kelso’s carnival and motivates the promotion of particular interventions and technologies. Indeed it seems that a very function of the bell is to foster a taxonomy to better determine whose children *could* be neglected and burden the town with additional policing costs – a threat of classification and public shame of the common class serving to solidify the very same – again, a mirroring function reminding us that the normalized class has the right to represent itself and interpret its own boundaries and limits. And resultantly mock itself. There are numerous jokes and moments of inclusive laughter as to whom the bell should *really* be for: the men in the town who stay out too late, for instance, at the “lodge.” Men participate in subjugating themselves through self-deprecating humour. The woman in Galt does the same but she is not permitted to make direct fun (see footnote 4). The humour is generated through the vignette of her innocent ignorance, yet is still directed at fathers, achieving the same end. When mothers enter the parental duo, there are no jokes and laughter. It is only “the old boys” who are laughed at. Their exposure through humour maintains their “innocence.” As well the bell more subtly divides “us” and “them” internal to the common class whereby a less-acute other is even closer to home. As Mr. Cole suggests there is a phenomenon of “other peoples’ children” who are not represented by the degraded boy we imagine slovenly existing in the slum of St. John’s Ward, but that little

rascal Little Johnnie Conn across the street who may convert our neighbourhood boys into cunning rogues.

Generative Absence

In this concluding discussion it seems fitting that Kelso's name appears only once, and in a future tense when he declares the failure of the bell when he is enlisted to spread child-saving northwestward. He seems more focussed on juvenile courts, separate trials for children, and planning the conference. The curfew task is delegated out, and accordingly he dodges the relatively trifling slings and arrows while reaping its uneven material benefits. He has successfully recruited an organized legion of ready-and-willing boosters whose aims perfectly dovetail with his. In return their governing target gets bigger in two ways when more firmly and officially attached to the demise of children: when drunkenness is promoted by Warden Massie and others as the leading cause of neglect, and through more strict alcohol sales restrictions outlined in the Gibson Act. Kelso does not push or micromanage as he can in CAS matters, he only twice encourages the WCTU in his comments and correspondence in the *Citizen and Home Guard*. Similarly, by largely disappearing and diffusing the discussion Kelso puts localities to work in the absence of his persistent hand and word. If indeed he wrote the anonymous *Lakefield News* article his objective was clear as taught through the experience of police: the curfew bell is concerned with the role of the municipality in taking responsibility for childhood experience in their local realm. Through the decision to make this an optional clause the state escapes the everyday messiness of the curfew bell debate. I read this as a liberal order decision to mitigate common class resistance towards central authority. The ringing of the bell makes readers and councils scramble as much as the child who is supposed to hear it as a means to avoid contamination from their deviant, noctivigant, cigarette-smoking peers in the evil darkness of

night. The bell compels municipalities to engage with the Act and interpret their own philosophies of child-rearing regarding this particular class of child, who are ostensibly their own children.

Without the state immediately present to give direct guidance and persuade a stifling deference and propriety there is a sharper glimpse into the everyday of local life and governance, which arguably leads the bell's proliferation. The personalities of local leaders and residents colour the prosaic proceedings, and we sense quotidian anxieties, uncertainties, curiosities in local vignettes: the seemingly obtuse Mayor of Woodstock who doesn't know things are so bad, luckily he has Messrs. Cole and Crawford jockeying for the position of alpha male in chambers. In the Loyalist town of Amherstburg the Mayor, Mr. Lukes, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Mullen make amendments for motions amending amendments to previous amendments in trying to figure out which amendment is best to decide at what hour the bell will ring, in what season, or month. Something says this isn't going to work. That same town's *Echo* whose editorial boundaries are so broad as to boldly print: "a few meddlesome old women, in whom the milk of human kindness has long ago soured..." This makes the anonymous Toronto headline "*Nonsense, Ladies, Nonsense*" seem tame in comparison. In the quaint Perth County town of Mitchell it seems that things run rather orderly and respectfully. The fine ladies asked kindly for a curfew bell, ergo gents we shalt have a curfew bell. In Windsor Alderman Ramsay and his cronies are unanimously passing the by-law, when suddenly a cartel of "kids" curiously organize into a merry band of young activist-rebels and occupy the first row. Is the dissenting Mayor their sponsor? Hey, isn't it after eight?! Surely these kids should be in their home by now. Clearly we need the moral effect of this bell. And would someone please pass a motion to teach the typesetter the remedial difference between "to, too, and two." Even these meddling kids probably

know *that*. What beef does Hamilton have with Leamington, and who exactly are the nasty old Mungers who threaten kids day and night? In St. Thomas, did Alderman McCully *really* forget that WCTU petition at home? For it seems rather commodious for him and his comrade Chief Fewings who oppose it. Either way, the fifty-one ladies may have failed but the five-man CAS crew pushed it through, all to the dismay of the brusque Bohemian who is sick and tired of bells ringing at all hours for myriad reasons. Did Toronto Alderman Lamb ever bounce back after the vicious personal reference to “stray lambs”? What happened in the Soo?! In early April Mayor Plummer was so honorably clear in his disapproval, but unexpectedly by June it is reported that the bell now rings there. And what’s with the self-righteous people of Chatham? They are surrounded by neighbouring southwestern towns adopting the bell – Ridgetown (35kms), Wallaceburg (27km), Windsor (83km), and Strathroy (90km). Even in autumn 1894 they still don’t feel they have the type of class the Gibson Act is after. Damn it we can take care of our own! It takes Kelso’s prodding, and the recruitment of local Judge Woods to get a CAS chapter established by mid-November. It takes a little over a year for Chatham to lose its innocence and become a hot-bed of press action thanks to their first big case in January 1896 when released convict Isaac Rae boldly forges the name of the CAS president to abduct Rachel Hunter, his alleged stepdaughter, from the care of the CAS.⁶ It seems that they had that class after all.

As both Chen and Gibson suggest, “neglect” lives at the other pole of “cruelty” and is defined as a lack of discipline. This is why the whip is thought not cruel in this rhetorical context – it is prevention not punishment. Imperfectly, the sentiment of the whip is concerned, not with personal pain, but personal and public shame articulated as “prevention.” The bell more perfectly and honestly achieves shame without pain, the soul versus flesh. Despite its ancientness, it

⁶ See volume 12, 66-76.

emerges more modern and Foucauldian as the Windsor paper suggests. This emboldens a reflection on the quantitative fact that “neglected” is aggregately employed much more than “dependent” throughout the movement. The word puts childhood on a broader landscape. Mapping the etymology of “neglect” we arrive at “*nec*” (not, deny) + *legere* (pick-up, select). Following *legere* further back we find “lecture,” “the action of reading, that which is read.” *Neglect: to not read that which is written.* Thus neglect is not a problem beginning at particularized bodies, but a problem originating from the word of law.

A function of the curfew bell is to both formalize/consolidate and include the common family into compliance with the law of the Gibson Act in the context of “governing one’s self.” Whether it actually peals or is appealed or repealed does not matter. It “is” and that is enough to enter into the young historical consciousness of the movement. By the time Kelso declares it a dead letter, it has already lived a productive life in the family of child-saving formations. In “Curfew Law No Good” *Ottawa, Dec. 5 1898*. Mr. J.J. Kelso, superintendent of Children’s Aid societies for Ontario, does not believe in a Curfew law...he said that the theory is all right, but in practice the law has been a failure in the 40 towns in Ontario where it has been tried.”⁷ This is also declared in the *Toronto Mail*, two scrapbook pages later. And most interestingly, despite Kelso’s declaration of failure in 1898, the curfew ostensibly exists to this very day embedded in section 79(5) of the Child and Family Services Act of Ontario, a striking legacy of the Gibson Act. The hours are later but it is no longer optional.⁸ I thank my police officer friend Keith for

⁷ Volume 14, 127

⁸ “**Allowing child to loiter, etc.** (5)No parent of a child less than sixteen years of age shall permit the child to, (a) loiter in a public place between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m.; or (b) be in a place of public entertainment between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m., unless the parent accompanies the child or authorizes a specified individual eighteen years of age or older to accompany the child. **Police may take child home or to place of safety** (6)Where a child who is actually or apparently less than sixteen years of age is in a place to which the public has access between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m. and is not accompanied by a person described in clause (5) (b), a peace officer may apprehend the child without a warrant and proceed as if the child had been apprehended under

cueing me to this contemporary clause which he regularly cites in removing children and youth from the streets after dark.

subsection 42 (1).” R.S.O. 1990, Chapter C.11. Accessed June 14, 2014. http://www.e-laws.gov.on.ca/html/statutes/english/elaws_statutes_90c11_e.htm#BK132.

Chapter 9: Damsels Not in Distress

As early as 1888 Kelso promoted the participation of children in the humane movement through the Bands of Mercy, a youthful organ of the Humane Society which he patterned after the “Bands of Hope” of the WCTU in Middlesex, England as an effort to instill “kindness” in the hearts of children.¹ The mandate of this organization is not a stated concern of the Gibson Act, yet Kelso enfolds it into the discourse of child-saving, fueled by the belief that cruelty to animals is a reliable predictor of criminal behaviour. In the scrapbook space-time he first speaks to children’s participation in this organization in the autumn. At a meeting to enact Guelph’s Humane Society, beneath a secondary headline “BE KIND TO THE HELPLESS” Kelso is paraphrased under “TALKS TO CHILDREN”: “Mr. Kelso spoke of the good work done in Toronto by the appointment of Bands of Mercy to visit the schools and talk to the little ones of their desirability of being kind to their pets and all dumb animals. He himself had experienced much pleasure in this kind of work, the little ones taking a warm interest in the discourses.” The next inclusion of the Bands of Mercy is in the pages under current discussion in *Feb* in *St. Thomas* under the headline “Charity Needs no Apology.” E.B. Gauld, the President of the Band of Mercy, writes a confusing yet endearing letter to the editor regarding the children in her “Myrtle Band of Mercy” who were inspired by a suggestion from Kelso. They discussed “the idea” on a Friday and the children “caught the idea and wished to act upon it at once, and who could wish to restrain children when they desire to do a kind action?” By Monday they had “glowing reports of several families in need, and the desire to do something for all.” It seems that they crossed the path of another organization. As Miss Gauld humbly continues: “The Band of Mercy is, of course, a separate organization, working along the same line as the Ladies’ Benevolent Society,

¹ Jones and Rutman, 37.

but we shall be content with doing the little things, and thankful if we may do something to make the world happier for those who may be overlooked by other workers.”

Around this article is an olio of artifacts. Below, from the *Montreal Gazette Feb 23rd*:
“The Ontario inspector of asylums for the insane and idiots reports the total number in these institutions as 4,240. The percentage of cures to admissions is 26 to 43. The institution contains more unmarried than married persons.² John Kelso...has finished his annual report...He is not one of those who believes the immigration of poor children injures Canada. He claims in the past fifteen years 10,000 children have come to Canada from the old land and the great majority have done very well.” At the bottom left in “FOR THE CHILDREN’S SAKE” it is reported that the “various Children’s Aid Societies in the Dominion are taking steps to secure...such legislation as may be necessary to secure separate places of detention for all juvenile offenders, for the trial of such offenders in private..” Beneath, on *March 5* are the two articles from *Mitchell*, reporting on the success of the “DEPUTATION OF LADIES” in the passing of the curfew by-law. The contiguities

² This article gives some description to a curious inclusion from the previous page (131). It is entitled “Industrial Institutions” and lists the 1891 expenditures for asylums, the deaf and dumb institution, the blind institute, Central prison, Boys’ Reformatory, and the Mercer reformatory. The London asylum is most expensive at \$131,056, followed by the Hamilton asylum \$122,851, Toronto asylum \$99,459, and Kingston asylum \$84,138. The Boys’ reformatory is \$37,244, and at the bottom of the list is The Andrew Mercer Reformatory for Women \$29,244. This artifact inspires an examination of the annual report of asylums in the 1892 Ontario Sessional Papers which provide the data for these numbers. We learn about the world of Ontarian insanity and irrationality by way of Kelso’s inclusion. Certainly the asylum populations reflect these expenditures, in that London has the greatest number at 974 (493 male, 482 female), followed by Hamilton at 894 (447 male, 447, female), Toronto at 679 (331 male, 348 female), Kingston 526 (male 279, female 247), Mimico (new in 1891) 395 (196 male, 199 female), Orillia (for idiots) 420 (male 222, female 198). In all we see the total admission of “lunatics” for the year ending 1891 at 420, bringing to total population to 3468 (and “lunatics and idiots” to 3888. The Orillia asylum accounts for the number of “idiots”). The annual report also breaks down admissions by “occupation.” Some examples: Domestic servants 90 (for a total of 1943), Farmers 135 (2592), Housekeepers 133 (2698), Labourers 121 (3158), Prostitutes 0 (8), Spinsters 12 (163), Wives 67 (128). Wives were included as a new category the previous year, when 61 were admitted. The report also shows that the number of women in asylums is fewer than men (1722 to 1746). This is the only other time since 1885 when male admissions exceeded female. The number of female patient deaths far exceeds that of men. There is a dramatic shift since 1890 where there were 118 deaths (up from 65 the previous year – an 81.5% spike); in 1891 it reduces to 99 (91 for males). In 1891 there was a reduction of female patient “recoveries” down to 19.21% from 24.44% the previous year, with a high of 51.01% in 1885. In 1891 male “recoveries” were 23.21% down from 27.60%, with a high of 40.18% in 1887. All statistics in the sessional papers go back to 1877. (*Ontario Sessional Papers 1892*, Volume XXIV – part 1, no. 7, 28-43).

on page 132 reveal the extreme poles of two separate worlds which co-exist to maintain themselves through the tensions and economies of the rational and irrational, superior and inferior, idealized and insane – Kelso’s imaginative fabrication of the worlds of happiness and woe. Like the quasi-professional adults, the little girls in St. Thomas are listened to attentively and can also generate “glowing reports” of need. And they have someone advocating for them. They will soon feel a stake in the sheltering of *their* destitute other. Their twisted and ghostly doppelgangers whom Kelso pastes all around them, yet do not threaten. Instead, with safe distance these idealized children transform fantasy into reality.

Similarly in revisiting page 138, the Lally sisters breakdown next to the caricature of Rev. Starr, and the Mimico boys “Want It” and eagerly sign a petition participating in their own fate. In the bottom right is the *Globe* article reporting on the “Pansy Society Meeting” **March 27:**

On Saturday last there was held a most successful parlor entertainment of the Toronto Pansy Society, at the residence of Mrs. Fred Walker, 50 Maitland street. There was a good attendance and a large sum was realized. The following programme was admirably rendered:- Chorus, “May God Preserve Thee, Canada,” T.P.S.; recitation, “How a Little Kite Learned to Fly,” Aggie Bain; recitation, “Matrimony,” Gordon Thompson; recitation, “After a Bird,” Fanny Andrews; piano solo, “Study,” Mary Woods; recitation, “Feast of All Nations,” Edna Walker; recitation, “Miss Tabitha Brown,” S.B. Brush; recitation, “A Mortifying Mistake,” Gracie Bain; dialogue, “Three Little Mothers,” Mary Woods, Aggie Bain, Edna Walker; solo and chorus, “The Bogie Man,” Warren Walker and Society...Addresses were given upon child-saving by Messrs. J.K. Macdonald and J.J. Kelso. The meeting was under the Presidency of Mrs. Norman Walker.

“KINDLY CHILDREN” from The *Globe April 2nd* details the various events and actions which illustrate that “Children are beginning to take more practical interest in the rescue work of the Children’s Aid Society than many grown people. The financial result of little Kathleen Snow’s bazaar was \$102.10. At Mrs. W.A. Douglass’ residence, 220 Wellesley street, her little daughter and some friends gave a concert which resulted in \$6.” The article continues by describing how this young benevolent sentiment “deeply” takes hold at the imperially-namesaked Queen Victoria and Victoria Street schools. The school children eagerly donate clothing and Easter baskets of eggs, and busily collect donations for the children’s shelter.

“These little ones have got to feel a proprietorship in the Shelter. But the school has not ended there.” The article continues to describe how schools are organizing and consolidating their efforts to provide beds for the new shelter in light of the fact that the city grant will not cover the cost of the shelter for the year. Additionally, “The Occident Hall Sunday School has sent in \$17 to be divided equally between the general fund and the fresh air fund.” The article concludes: “At present the books of the society contain over 100 application [sic] from the country for children. This speaks well for the applicants, as of course the children sent out by the society have to be trained by them.” These philanthropic actions provide the benevolent children not only with material knowledge of need, but also an imaginative sense of the experience of their other.

A short article from *St. Thomas* entitled “The Bands of Mercy” announces that on “Friday Eve, April 27th” in addition to public addresses by “Mr. J.J. Kelso, ‘the children’s friend’ and Rev. J.H. Courtney, of Port Stanley “on Humane Topics in Centre Street Baptist church” there will also be “recitations and songs by Band of Mercy children, under the auspices of the WCTU Silver collection taken to offer prizes to the city and country children for best essays on ‘Kindness to God’s Living Creatures.’ Come and bring your children.” Again, the two worlds are pasted in contiguity as this article is pasted beside the description of “NUMEROUS TOUCHING STORIES,” and the sketch of “How She Looked Afterward” where beneath Kelso writes *Truth patent inside series april 19. 1894.*

The meeting in St. Thomas is discussed in two articles separated by a lengthy commentary entitled “Aiding Destitute Children” from the *Dom. Odd Fellow apr 19, 1894*,³

³ The Independent Order of Odd Fellows was established in Canada in 1843, twenty-four years after its birth in Baltimore, Maryland. Beginning in Montreal, Ontario (Canada West) established its first lodge at Belleville in 1854. The Order is still alive and well today, proudly stating: “From the early decision to retain an Odd Fellow presence in

which is authored by “Harmony.” This editorial embeds page 2 of Kelso’s “NEGLECTED!” circular from November, sharing Kelso’s description of the destinies of “two worlds.” The *St. Thomas Times*, *apr 28*, headlines “The Band of Mercy”: “The public meeting in the Baptist Church was presided over by Mr. Spencer, and was well attended. A programme consisting of well selected recitations and songs under the direction of Miss Gauld, president of the Golden Rule Band of Mercy,⁴ was well rendered. A song was given, after which a paper was read by Dr. Way on the ‘Plan of Kindness’; Miss Sanders, of Alma College, recited ‘Flash the Fireman’s Horse,’ which was encored.” The article continues:

The audience was requested to stand and received Mr. Kelso, the children’s friend, who commenced by asking a vote of the audience as to whether he should direct his attention to the children or the older people. The unanimous vote for the children soon set him at ease, as he always is, especially with such a subject. He started out with an amusing little incident of how he killed a gosling, and his punishment, which was not a whipping, but a studied lesson by his teacher, which, no doubt, had a great influence in determining his career. He endeavored to show that the secret of happiness consists not in striving to make ourselves happy, but others around us. By doing so we bring not happiness to ourselves along, but to everything about us.

The *St. Thomas Journal*, *apr 28*, headlines “INSTILLING KINDNESS” with the subheading: “A Language Which the Dumb can Speak and the Deaf can Understand,” which reports upon the same meeting, which we learn “was held under the auspices of the WCTU...to consider the question of Band of Mercy and Huimane [*sic*] Society work, not only to dumb animals, but also

Canada West, numerous people over the years were able to obtain many social values garnered in the lodge halls. This knowledge made them better citizens in their respective communities and everyday life.” The Odd Fellows which today includes female members as “Rebekhas” describes itself and its mission: “The name itself signifies something different or out of the ordinary. It is ODD, because it endeavours to enlighten the mind without taking privileges. It conforms to Law, Religion and sound Morality without usurping the rights of the church or that of the courts. It creates a brotherhood and sisterhood and not a division among men and women. It presents life in all its fullness, through degrees, so linked together that each one receiving the degrees may broaden his or her mind and elevate his or her character.” It describes how “Odd Fellowship encompasses the whole family. Men and women meet in Odd Fellow and/or Rebekah Lodges. For the youth 8 - 12 years of age - Junior Lodges for the boys and Theta Rho Girls Clubs for the girls. Odd Fellowship is truly a family oriented Fraternity, finding an interest for all members of the family.” Today the Odd Fellows dedicate millions of dollars each year to medical research, education, and environmental causes. In addition “they maintain more than 80 facilities for the aged and youth.” In 2008 they donated \$1,000,000 to Camp Trillium in order that they could own Garratt’s Island Camp which provides camp experiences for children with cancer. Accessed June 15, 2014. <http://grandlodgeofontario.ioof.net/index.htm>.

⁴ In her earlier letter to the editor she identified as the president of the “Myrtle Band of Mercy.”

to mankind.” Rev. D. Spencer takes the stage “after song and prayer.” “The sphere of the work, he said, was a wide one, embracing the work of life-saving, the performing of heroic acts and deeds by boys and girls, which enabled them to be instrumental in saving life and property, and for which many boys were now wearing gold and silver medals in appreciation of their conduct, much of the outcome of which was due to their being members of the Bands of Mercy. He concluded his remarks by referring to a motto on a streamer suspended over [sic] the platform, which read, ‘We speak for those who cannot speak for themselves.’” Afterwards there was a presentation of a programme “admirably rendered” which included:

‘The marching song,’ by members of the band of mercy, to the number of about twenty; recitation, ‘The bird’s nest,’ Alta Dixon; recitation ‘Good Queen Bess,’ Emily Heard; chorus ‘Be Kind,’ by the band’s recitation, ‘Our Band,’ George Waterhouse; recitation, ‘Killing birds for fun,’ Jenny McKellar; recitation ‘Dead Bird Brigade,’ Ida Haws; vocal solo, ‘If I were an immortal voice,’ Miss Cameron; a paper was then ready by Dr. H.H. Way on ‘The Law of Kindness,’ in which was shown the rapid progress being made by kindness over the brute physical nature, and the influences urged on the masses by the noble characters who were noted by their lives of kindness; recitation, ‘Flash,’ Miss Sanders, and in response to an encore, ‘Kiss me sweet.’

The description of this event is reminiscent of The Toronto Pansy Society meeting. Although Kelso is mentioned as attending and speaking at that meeting, it does not report upon what he said. This St. Thomas article, however, includes the contents of Kelso’s speech:

The chairman then called on the speaker of the evening, Mr. J.J. Kelso, of Toronto. Mr. Kelso said he was pleased to be here on this occasion, and that he was going to talk for a little while to the boys and girls, because it was the boys and girls of to-day that were to make the men and women of the future. Some, he said, would be in professional and business life, and others would have to do with horses and other animals, others would be school teachers, and have children under their control, and many would be engaged in other occupations in which mercy and kindness [illegible]⁵ or might not be shown, and it was the work of this society to teach them now the lessons they would require when grown up. He dwelt at some length on the striving for happiness, and said that the chief cause of unhappiness was selfishness, and urged his young hearers to think less of self, to be more liberal, to cast around them more sunshine, and seek to be more friendly and harmonious, and not to seek for vengeance on those who have wronged us, or thoughtlessly throw mean epithets to hunchbacks, cripples, etc. He said they were a band of “mercy,” and as such it was only possible for them show mercy to one particular class, viz., to dumb animals, or to those persons who were smaller or weaker than themselves. He illustrated his remarks by incidents showing that dumb creatures cannot show their extreme sufferings only by death.

⁵ The text is not rendered illegible from original text, but due to some type of “blot” perhaps either in Kelso’s arranging or during the archival transposition process from paper to film.

Little Birds of a Feather

The bell does not toll for these. There is no need. These damsels are not in distress. The artifacts pertaining to the kindly children of the Bands of Mercy and their kin describe children who are not running the streets wild at night or who are at risk of same. Most likely they are rehearsing a recitation or a callisthenic entertainment, counting change from their benevolent bazaar, or drafting a glorified list of families in need. Their freedoms do not require legislative boundaries as they are always-already perfectly articulated towards the whole spirit of the Act, indeed they pre-date the Act. They are not bound by law but by a particular culture. As Miss Gauld rhetorically asks: "...and who could wish to restrain children when they desire to do a kind action?" Under the auspices of benevolence they are free to entertain and sing without their parents or promoters being questioned like "The Black Crook" intervention back in the fall. In their roles these idealized young people of the movement are free to perform to harvest money for the cause. The articles paint a perfect picture of a child who is organized, aware, motivated, and kind. The *Globe* gently shames adults by stating in the first line of the article that their children are exhibiting greater "practical interest" in the CAS than they. The children are *most-effectively* applying their Christianity; they are novel post-millennials working beyond the memory of the traditional and in the current of the Social Gospel. Miss Gauld is even surprised at how quickly her zealous band of children acted, so quick in fact that they stepped on the toes of their matriarchs of the Benevolent Ladies, a group, among others, that they are ostensibly in training to fill the shoes one day. It must have caused quite a stir to necessitate a letter to the editor to proffer a public *mea culpa*, which can also be read as a very subtle and passive aggressive "back off!" to the older ladies in the movement who are trying to restrain the up-and-comers, and who missed identifying need in the community. Despite the odd fellow in the mix,

like Percy Baxter among the sixty girls in Toronto, these children are often nicknamed “Little Mothers” and “Little Maids.” It’s not that Percy, Warren Walker, and Willie Woods are anomalies, it simply seems that the performative part is described as a girl’s role. Although it is the boys who receive the medals in St. Thomas and it is George Waterhouse who is given the responsibility of singing “Our Band.” Like the other world of woe that Kelso pastes all around, it is the girls who are delineated as dramatic object lessons. Little Kathleen Snow, Mrs. Douglass’ little daughter and her friends, Aggie & Gracie Bain, Fanny Andrews, Mary Woods, Edna Walker, Gladys Thomson, and Edna Andrews are under the tutelage of able “society” women. These are not the type of women who are expected to provide foster homes, but rather to stitch threads in the greater fabric and help stimulate sentiment within the benevolent economy of consensually inter-connected societies. Accordingly, these girls will not have foster brothers or sisters in their homes, yet perhaps only their “domestic” form as Kelso did as a child. Their role in this economy is to dramatize idealized sentiment through recitations of songs and verses, entertainments, and charitable actions: to mimic their mothers, yet with greater dramatic performativity and promise. They assist in broadening and deepening the project of sentimental education which Kelso declares clearly in his November “NEGLECTED!” circular, “is about true training for all children.”

Paradise and the Pen

The kindly children do this work from the paradise of Kelso’s world of happiness while Ada, Isabella, the Lally Sisters, Mary Ellen, Nellie, and Selina dramatically teach what is “ideal” in the world of woe. This is the pedagogic-narrative-rhetorical contrast of the private parlor and the public courtroom, of protected and vulnerable, snow and soot, domesticated and wild. Both realities require heuristic totems. In a lengthy and comprehensive article entitled “TORONTO

LETTER” published in the *British Whig, St. Thos Journal, and Chatham Banner in May*, G.H. de B. begins with an otherworldly report of a CAS benefit. Through his description I observe that despite the contrasts of woe and happiness, a gaze remains. In this world it is not the acute predatory male gaze of the Hamilton or Toronto courtrooms. It is a different type of “show.” As he describes, in Association Hall men are not vicariously “there” to dramatize a gaze that can be observed and described. We are not observing a gaze at Mrs. Somers’ spectacle. We are not watching men watching females. *We* are gazing and watching. This is a direct, *con-sensual*, naturalized, generative gaze. We are directly watching *the way it should be*, not through ironic othering but through a “pure” gaze. Similarly G.H. de B describes the girls far from contagious processes and places, there is no “night or street” and attendant noctivigant threats; everything happens within the certain protection of community architecture. This band of sixty girls is a pure and natural collective which elevates an otherwise “damp and disagreeable” evening of the outside, who repays the large audience “for all discomforts experienced.” Their performance has an otherworldly quality that can cure the malaise wrought from inclement weather. Yet they are still “presented” as they make an “appearance on the platform.” In this world it is a decent and refined spectacle which provides enough time and the proper lighting for G.H. de B. to intimately describe “the beauty of the scene.” He begins with their “sweet happy faces, surrounded with a halo of flowing hair, clad in simple white frocks, decorated with silver stars, [which were] greeted with hearty expressions of delight and approval.” Despite the cloudy night outside we see stars and angels within. He continues to their bodies: “The unaffected ease and grace of their movements as they marched, swung clubs, and performed difficult musical dumb bell and skipping rope exercises.” He describes how they “completely charmed the audience.” Then from the group of sixty, he selects specific girls for description: “Miss Annie Melville, a

sparkling brunette of twelve, astonished her audience with her recitations and powers of mimicry, and Miss Madge McKendry, a vivacious damsel of the same age, recited in a bright, childish manner. Miss Winifred Skeath-Smith, another lassie, gave a sweet violin solo.” These “happy world” sacrificials are described at once as both children and young women – they are pre-debutants, “female beginners” on the cusp of “coming out” as matrimonially available. This public display is not-yet for marriage, but to exhibit the formation of their cultural sentiment and social position. They promise a sexuality that is not uninhibited and carnal. It is not threatening but inviting. They are not easily accessed like the Home Girls, or “sloppy” like the Lally sisters. They are not space-time deficient whose mothers put them in beds with men, nor do their step fathers indecently assault them. They are under the watchful eye of their Mothers. These girls animate a domesticated sexuality of grace, charm, and beauty that garners delightful and approving attention and responses, and a direct, adoring cultured gaze. Although it is patriarchal, it is not exclusively “male.” Their bodies are “unaffected” and described as healthy, flexible, and agile. They can march, swing clubs, and perform difficult dumb bell and skipping rope exercises. They are in perfect preparation for the cultured rigors of their adult female lives.

The girls continue to perform, practice, and mimic the simultaneity of their cultural supremacy and “whiteness” through “the singing of the ‘four curly headed coons,’” wherein “fairy-like children, in the background caused much merriment.”⁶ They are learning the processes of superiority through humor and mockery, by way of an American cultural form. All the while Mrs. Somers gives direction and G.H. de B describes a cultural paradise with his pen,

⁶ “Four Little Curly Headed Coons” was from a genre of “coon songs” which were popular from the 1890s onwards... The sheet music-covers of coon songs were aggressively racist, showing blacks with lips like watermelons, eyes like saucers, wild curly hair and elongated bodies. The refrain of ‘Four Little Curly Headed Coons’ went: Four little curly headed coons, Four little crazy headed coons, Their little hearts were broke, They’d like to take and choke, This smart curly headed coon.” Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 135.

barely containing astonishment, concluding: “It was really the most delightful children’s entertainment I have ever witnessed.” While this spectacle-benefit is described, on the next page Selina is on trial in The Rescue Home and Miss Rye is advertising for girls.

Immersion Program

A different side of Kelso emerges through these artifacts. It is not a surprising disposition, yet it still attracts attention. For the first time he interacts directly with children and although it is brief it is telling of his skills as a teacher and presenter. There is a sense that Kelso is highly adept in addressing these children and comfortable in their presence; he physically and oratorically postures himself as “the children’s friend.”⁷ These children are him before the fire at his father’s starch mill and the loss of the family’s wealth and status. They are the promise of his Irish childhood and the promise of Ontario child-saving. The *St. Thomas Times* article describes how he takes a vote whether he should speak to the adults or the kids. He is willing to go off-script, to improvise, to keep things exciting and interesting for his audience. This does not make him anxious or nervous, rather it “set him at ease, as he always is.” We take note how Kelso is rarely described as this relaxed and confident in Toronto. He starts out with a funny, personal story of a moment from his childhood, when he killed a gosling, and was punished, not with a whipping,

⁷ There is a compelling vignette where Kelso has less success in facilitating public events for “the poorer classes.” In the winter of 1897, as described in article from Volume 13, page 37, Kelso hosts a “Humane Society Exhibition” on a Saturday evening. “The entertainment had for its object, of course, the inculcating of those principles of humanity which the society is formed for the special purpose of promoting.” Unfortunately “boys got obstreperous” while Kelso presented and after “[making] as much noise as a seven-gun battery...the proceedings were brought to an abrupt conclusion about half-past nine o’clock.” The article lauds “the idea of giving free lantern exhibitions of animals and their ways to children of the poorer classes,” and concludes: “Students of criminology state that there is almost no discoverable instance of a hardened criminal who is fond of animals. One of the chief marks of the criminal nature is absolute indifference to pets of any kind, children, birds or beasts. The boy who begins with cruelty towards brutes is quite likely to end in savagery toward men.” We are curious if it was courage or hubris that Kelso invited “up to 2,000 children” to assemble at the Pavilion. As well we are curious why so many children would be encouraged to be out of their homes after 9 p.m. I note that both decisions ostensibly prepared these children for potential failure.

but with a lesson. Similar to his interview in “Our Boys” he presents as honest with young people; in this scenario he admits his delinquent complicity in hurting animals. He is neither the abstract statesman, nor harsh, nor judgemental – he does not use the corporeal whip but rather the contemplative pen to illustrate his point. The *St. Thomas Journal* rendition shows how Kelso appeals to the children as “men and women of the future.” He paints a picture of their potential vocations, and reminds them that despite the path they take they will need to exhibit mercy and kindness. I almost imagine him proffering a knowing “insider” wink at these kids, a friendly reminder that “we are all in this together, don’t worry.” These kids are not isolated but are very much banded together in a liberalized “community.” Both articles describe how Kelso encourages selflessness as the royal road to “global” happiness, and “to be more liberal, to cast around them more sunshine, and seek to be more friendly and harmonious...” These are similar instructions that he will soon give to adult conference delegates.

As described in the *Journal* his speech moves from broad to strangely specific. It continues in today’s parlance of “anti-bullying” discourse, instructing the children “not to seek for vengeance on those who have wronged us, or thoughtlessly throw mean epithets to hunchbacks, cripples, etc.” As he moves this language into the specific container of the Band of Mercy, it aligns with the performative discourse of Mrs. Somers’ direction – a sketch of what it means to be superior, to culturally own and exhibit the peculiar power of “mercy.” A White liberal Protestant power and burden. Kelso continues by first defining the class-object of mercy, and then its specific members beyond the rubric of human sentience: “...and as such it was only possible for them to show mercy to one particular class, viz., to dumb animals, or to those persons who were smaller or weaker than themselves.” At this point I am curious if he will continue to descend on the Great Chain of Being. He does: “He illustrated his remarks by

incidents showing that dumb creatures cannot show their extreme sufferings only by death.”

Kelso effectively teaches about mercy, which is squarely in the province of superiority, an emotional, physical, and cultural ontology. This meeting began by Rev. Spencer gesturing to the streamer which read “We speak for those who cannot speak for themselves.” By the end of the meeting, Kelso effectively defines who cannot only not speak, but cannot express suffering; he is promoting the pre-evolutionary “missing link” thesis. Thus mercy becomes a way of speaking *and* feeling for the other whereby the dumb beast or weak human must die to show evidence that there *was* sentience. What Kelso seems to be defining is an immature and “proto-empathy.”

“Proto” because the psycho-social term “empathy” did not yet exist in the Modern West; its progenitor was “mercy” expressed as “a kindness over the brute physical nature.” The common, contemporary understanding of empathy – literally “*in-feeling* with” – is based upon an ethical human encounter with another who we imagine is able to feel, and perhaps speak. It is defined as a pro-social ability to understand and share the feelings of another. There is the intention of dialogue. Kelso’s mercy is more akin to “*insert-feeling* about,” repairing the missing link. There is an epistemological and emotional need by distance, both through human and species difference. The other has no opportunity to participate in knowing, it only exists passively in being known and described. The hunchbacks, cripples and their kin, so many as to necessitate a shared “etc.” are not close enough to just say mean epithets at them, the words need to be “thrown.” Kelso’s mercy is not concerned with “walking in someone else’s shoes” or feeling what they are feeling, or sharing for understanding towards some type of unified or common inclusive end. The anthropological and eschatological distance does not make this possible. This is not a dialogue or encounter, but a one-way discourse of making self through the canvas of the other. The other is muted and stripped of emotion in order to render the canvas blank, one-

dimensional, and primed for ethnographic representation.⁸ This is mercy as taught through the Bands of Mercy.

Worlds Conspiring

In the collective artifacts of idealized children there is a sense of “distance.” In the consciousness of the scrapbook, their contiguity with the “rest” enables them stand out as symbols of Kelso’s world of liberal sunshine, unmolested birds in flight, and selflessness. They are Ontario girls and boys who “perform heroic acts and deeds” to “save life and property” and who are awarded for their conduct. It is a gallant world of fantasy made real through imaginative proximity with the other. There is a distance from the messy and complicated realities of governance, courtrooms, official authority, judicial processes, petitions, debates and rants, council meetings etc., yet their deeds have the power, not to change those realities, but make those realities real. These young heroic subjects are reminiscent of contemporary “We Day” participants. These kindly children personify another texture in the greater fabric of child-saving. A safe, secure, and pure reality made such from a distance from want, destitution, and degradation. The words “neglect” and “dependence” do not appear anywhere, there is no ambivalence or ambiguity. Their conduct is ideally conducted and their actions need not be acted upon. They are above the law, but not “high” culture. The worst thing you can do, as Miss Gauld says, is restrain them. They are fully self-governing subjects, who the *Globe* suggests are more effective than their parents in performing the sacred-secular expectations of the day. They are in preparation to govern others. The only anxiety emerges internally, when Miss Gauld’s girls jumped the gun and precociously

⁸ Accordingly, empathy is also a term from a theory of art appreciation that maintains appreciation depends on the viewer’s ability to project their personality into the viewed object.

identified need in their immediate world. This is the harmonious world that Kelso dreams of when he writes and speaks. A world that he pastes alongside its generative other.

The 3-H Club

This is also a reality where uncomplicated teaching and learning happens. In addition to witnessing Kelso in a new pedagogic light, there is a glimpse into how idealized children are both taught and “experience” child-saving discourse, and the architectures where they are permitted to practice it. It is a holistic education reminiscent of McKillop discussion of Ontario’s strong link between education and culture to influence particular dispositions, and to ensure “the continuity of an inherited cultural experience.”⁹ These children are immersed physically, emotionally, culturally, and intellectually, both day and night, in homes, in school, in church, and in the likes of Association Hall. It is “a way of life.” They organize, facilitate, administer, write essays, sing, perform calisthenics, and recite parable-stories. This is the perfected liberal education of head, hand, and heart – the ultimate panacea – that which Kelso and Dr. Stowe-Gullen describe and is longed for at the upcoming conference five months hence. Along with Miss Annie Melville these children are honing their astonishing powers of mimicry, which extend beyond their recitations and entertainments, and into the marrow of their everyday rote actions. These girls are members of a mimetic cultural feeder system in the broader benevolent economy buttressed by sensations of superiority. They are being groomed and cultured to one day fill the shoes of their mothers and female leaders whom they perform for, validate, and guarantee a generational continuance. They are the future Mrs. Fred Walker, Mrs. Norman

⁹ 3.

Walker, Mrs. W.A. Douglass, Miss Gauld, and Mrs. H.B. Somers, the next generation's "able" directors and leaders. One day soon they will form "a large deputation of ladies."

The reader also learns something new about child-saving through these inclusions. The small, intimate, and safe community that is evoked through the artifacts surprisingly works to reveal a broader discursive appetite. We learn about a different cultural reality that finds a home in Provincial language and practice, one distanced from a domestic, transatlantic, or imperial world of governance, law, authority, religion, and "officialdom." It comes from the same places, travels the same networks, and tells the same stories yet functions from a different pedagogical plane. This is the "popular" culture of songs, stories, verse, and entertainment. Despite distance and difference these function as accessible and sublimated forms that permit children to learn and practice hegemonic discourses. The children are presumably assigned these songs and stories by their adult leaders which align with various tenets of the movement. There are titles which relate strictly to birds: "The bird's nest," "Killing birds for fun," "Dead Bird Brigade," "After a Bird,"; a sense of unity and organization: "The marching song," "Our Band,"; playing grown-up: "Three Little Mothers," "Matrimony"; strong female leads: "Good Queen Bess," Miss Tabitha Brown"; school: "The Arithmetic Lesson," "A Mortifying Mistake," "Study"; religious/psalmist: "If I were an immortal voice," "Feast of all Nations"; mocking the other: "I D'un Know," "Four Curly Headed Coons"; instructive: "Be Kind"; and warning/threat: "the Bogie Man." Under the auspices and in the spaces of the WCTU, Bands of Mercy, the CAS, The Pansy Society, these popular songs and verses serve to engage children in child-saving and introduce them, at a different level, about American and Imperial – civilized – culture and sentiment in forms that they can both understand and participate in.

Conclusion: A Time Capsule of the Everyday

Exploring what Kelso is serving and what is in service to him does not promise a tidy, delineated summation. Rather it invites reflection upon the productivity of their constitutive implications, investments, and relations, their collective “said” emergent from the tensions of their centripetal and centrifugal oscillations. Kelso’s scrapbook is a material phenomenon of a historical moment, born of the enunciative-possibility admixture of his imperial space-time, subjective experience, and psychical ersatz. Kelso’s collection is *sui generis*, yet not unimaginable within the era of the liberal abstraction of the individual, anthropological practice of describing and ascribing the other, emergence of children in the novel, applied Christianity of the Third Great Awakening, museological pathology of acquiring and exhibiting artifacts, and the popularity of scrapbooking. That I came to envision Kelso’s worlds of woe and happiness as fabulous and heuristic arrangements of skin presented through layered dioramic panes seems historically apt. What is compelling is how he is being and working in this culture as an agent of government while engaging and arranging these ideas and practices into a personal epistolary. This is a form that defies genre while accepting disparate genres into an imaginary unity that develops a private technology of rule and educates public sentiment in the same moment – a form that takes pieces of the everyday to add realism to stories of real life: an archival fiction.

Stoler and Cooper assist in reflecting upon the dialectic of what Kelso was serving and what was in service to him. These two questions are part of a whole that cannot be neatly pulled apart. Even if we try and isolate his personal experiences as unique motivators we quickly realize how they can be discussed within the greater Western experience of the mid to late 1800s: migration and transplantation, hierarchies of culture, liberal and evangelical sensibilities, colonialism, capitalist ambition, state building, literature, and technology. Kelso doggedly

worked to participate in a transnational information order that promised to maintain and glorify an occidental supremacy.

The productive metaphor of the Kingdom of God on Earth was both a sacred and secular aspiration governed by a constructed notion of time whereby the press, the pulpit, Queen's Park, localities, and the railways all function similarly through "forms of imagining" to break down the binary of church and state. Language ordering remains consistent between them. The secular was imagined as a moment to aid the sacred in ultimately reigning through post-millennial time which merged both phenomena as a means to ground life in the everyday. Protestants were empowered beyond the epic traditions of the Bible and cast as actors in the novelistic, open-ended present of the Social Gospel.

Children were particularly delineated as they did not have a history or a "lasting memory" as Kelso declared in his interview with the *Citizen and Home Guard*. Their novel innocence was politically recognized while their future was unwritten. Their description promised a fantasy of future history. An Arminian worldview inspired the written word as a means to make a future and keep it alive – it was Man's Word inspired by God's that forged destiny. And the archive was built to house this. Through this lens we appreciate how Kelso worked to fabricate the future of Ontario with scissors, arranging the things that could be said in service to his project.

It is important to note that Kelso's is not a "historical" project but as MacKenzie might say a "form of imagining." He is in service to a story which is more ideal than real. It is an ideality: a mix of awareness, artistry, imagery, inspiration, ingenuity, and fabrication. I admit that I may be guilty for leaning too much on the imaginative, however it seems that the

scrapbook encouraged this. Much of child-saving language was only a fictional promise in 1893 and 1894, living in words, hearts, minds, abstractions, and re-formed Golden Age sentiments. As discussed its material formation was hesitant and uneven as the law matured and learned how to describe and motivate subjects to action. It took time for Kelso to teach the grammar of a novel intelligibility. The later scrapbooks tell a different, more complicated story of a more diversified heteroglot, when we witness Kelso's moderated and contested hold on the narrative and where the subaltern, like Mrs. Woods, begins to speak. However through the portal of his collection in the time under discussion we witness a young man earnestly working to fulfill the expectations and possibilities of his day which was first received with consentuality. He worked to serve a sense of security which at once compelled service to one's own ambitions in the world. Altruism and solipsism directed to the reasons of self, state, empire, and God.

What we learn through the scrapbook examined through a Foucauldian incitement to discourse, inflected by Frye, is that identified "things" are delineated and cloaked in concern in order to be "saved." At the behest of power and law, as Foucault and Echevarria suggest, things become particularly "spoken about" through the development of a langue and its transfiguration to forms, practices, and architecture; to everyday moments of seeing, hearing, and smelling that legitimize their truth and reality. There is the evocation of moments captured with a literary description that is a simultaneous blend of interpretive motifs, anthropological representation, epistemological authority, and theological exegeses – enunciations circumscribing the limits of freedom and concern. What I observe in the scrapbook is how journalistic reportage unifies these fields through an ethnographic sensibility into prosaic understanding for common, literate people in the everyday form of the newspaper. Rooke and Schell suggest Kelso's appointment was cynical, yet I also suggest that it was deemed as critical to the success of educating public

sentiment about child-saving. Kelso was a newspaper man with experience in how headlines and articles could move and “teach” a particular readership; as Frye would suggest by way of his definition of education, how a journalistic skill-set presents a rhetorical analogue to concerned truth.

A genealogical encounter reveals how these ways of speaking rightly about a thing, although incited by an event, are long and uneven in their development. The Gibson Act is a nervous temporal condensation point within irregular historical processes whereby things have been lost, found, recovered, and reformed over centuries and across cultures. The very notions of governance, power, God, culture, and being-in-the-world have shifted, emerged, died, and resurrected differently; yet as Foucault says, towards the same ends of rule and security. Frye and Barthes remind us that “truth” is a space-time myth that enables intelligibility of cultural stories and hegemonic discourse. Bakhtin obliges us to appreciate that “truth” is imaginative and an effect of epochal interpretation. The October child-saving conference challenges scrapbook inclusions of truth.

The conference artifacts dominate the last forty pages of Volume 10 and the first twenty-one pages of Volume 11, nothing else matters as the experts and their ethnographic authority travel to the metropole. The whip re-emerges with magisterial force as a leading symbol and the curfew bell is not once uttered, reinforcing its optional existence and attachment to a less threatening class of child, those who are not physically restrained by architecture. Kelso’s pre-conference and conference inclusions (totalling 54) do not teach us anything new. They confirm, consolidate, and heighten everything we have read in the last year. The scrapbooks become myopic as Kelso effectively shuts out the everyday, urging me to adventure beyond their margins

to an alternative interpretation of the same event. My ethnographic authority, growing tired of repetitious monotony revealed schisms in historical truth.

By comparing Kelso's thirty-five conference scrapbook inclusions with the "official" transcript that he includes as an appendix to his 1895 annual report, "truth" becomes slippery in the gaps of interpretation. Placing these in contiguity with the scrapbooks reveals interesting inclusions – or exclusions – it becomes hard to tell who said what, when, and if it was even actually said, but only interpreted and written. Moments reported in the press are not included in the official record, or differently interpreted, and vice versa. Delegates who were reported as "there" are not listed in the official delegate list – Kelso himself being the most glaring omission in his own roll call.

It seems that when the scrapbooks lose their diversity and refuse to appreciate other daily happenings in their own world they become inorganic and autistic. When they ignore the vicissitudes of their everyday they reveal a suspicious or uneven truth and become less effective in telling their own story. I came to sense that it is in the confinement of an indistinguishable everyday, where there is no respite from routine and repetition that we become most bored and frustrated, when I indulgently tangent to exploited transatlantic circus elephants. It is only when we break out of this internment and are oddly duty-bound to interpret through a corresponding reality – to reckon with dissonance and difference – that interesting things happen and a richer story can be told. It seems that the new guard of child-saving was reflecting upon the very same thing.

In his address to the conference Gibson explains the reason for de-institutionalizing children:

...children placed out early have the advantage of becoming familiar with a diversity of matters and phases of every-day life which can be gradually taken in, whereas children who are confined in one particular institution, where they see nothing from day to day or week to week or year to year but the particular room and routine they have become accustomed to, are deprived of the advantages of the experience of family life and outside of every-day life, none the less beneficial perhaps because of its difficulties and hardships.¹

Gibson is describing the ontological effects of liberty which is not possible within the stonewalls of incarceration but only in the novel, open-ended spaces of the everyday, where Superintendent Hassard of the Victoria Industrial School ratifies that error is educative and the entire delegation agrees that the whip is a “tonic.” Gibson’s clear description, domiciled in the thick appendix of Kelso’s annual report is the most unaffected articulation of child-saving. It reads as sincere and honest, bereft of evangelical dialect, treacle, whips, bells, and parental blame. In the reflexive function of the liberal order, we sense a statesman ruminating on effects of past decisions of statecraft, and perhaps his own childhood hardships. We sense a grounded, experiential understanding that leads to a fresh rationality that we do not read anywhere in the historiography under review. It is otherwise to the progressivist and critical assessments of the movement; it neither lands in the lauding of a bourgeois humanitarianism nor blasts classist and capitalist implications. It reads more like a proto-scientific assessment presaging the social service ethic of the *fin de siècle* which witnessed the growth of CAS, the Juvenile Delinquent Act, probation officers, and the attrition of institutions. Gibson’s comments seem to be evoking a more ethnographic understanding of childhood experience – the ontological vitality and possibility of the everyday. Kelso’s mission was to embed this sentiment in common sensibility.

After fifteen months the Act had gained enough confidence to announce a truth directly to the gathered faces of concern, and Gibson fittingly declared it. This new philosophy of the everyday of childhood required a changing of the guard – from the matrons of aggregated

¹ *Ontario Sessional Papers 1895*, vol. VI, no. 29, 768.

institutions of mid-century to the child-savers and the CAS of the next. The shifting of children to a more forensic status necessitated not only a revision of language, but also changes in private, public, and quotidian roles, and the revival of de-centralized architectures of reformation.

Gibson's comments are bereft of fear and threat however Hon. G.W. Allan's comment that the Province's problem was a lack of authority originates the anxiety with the state. Centripetal feelings of fear and threat were to be centrifuged through operational fear and threat.

Accordingly, through these shifts I observe how practices do not change as much as move with the children. Revised language assists this with this passage. Practices of confinement are not abolished, but are encouraged to become re-formed and embedded in localities and homes through a discourse of the everyday. The whip, removal from family, shame, punishment, pecuniary costs, and isolation are alive and well in child-saving and its concurrent rationality of preventing future criminal classes. The idea of forensic children incites a particular way of speaking that aligns with the cultural ontology and weaves "prevention," "rescue," "community," "mother heart," and God. This grammar works to teach and motivate the movement. In synchronicity, Gibson's rationalization serves the child and Allan's the state; degeneration and regeneration mingle in a holistic reflexivity through greater authorial contact with the bodies of children and parents. Frye and Bakhtin might suggest that children were now poised and sublimated for rhetorical "saving" by becoming enfranchised within the dialectic of freedom and concern. The forms and practices of this holistic mission however were not universal or consistent. They were responsive to anxieties and fantasies based upon notions of race, class, and gender. Particular children were imagined as having particular destinies against a pedagogical hierarchy which moved between "being governed," "governing one's being," and "governing beings." These ontological roles were consistent with colonial taxonomies of subjection and rule.

The Children's Aid Society is a motivating metaphor which guides this tale of governance and subjectivity of the everyday wherein childhood confinement is deemed as the anti-life and end of knowledge. Despite its archaic origins the CAS is a brilliant figuration of time and place: a hybrid of the sacred and the secular, and a formation that assumes less state involvement and cost while maintaining a centralized gaze. It is a form that instrumentalizes the family in governance and mother as minister, individualizing everyday and emotional experience towards internalized discipline, and intimate personal contact with authorized figures. Interestingly the CAS confirms and validates Ontario's pastoral ontology which was concurrently being "written" through a diffused territorial competence which generated commerce in ethnographic representation. Stoler might suggest that the CAS was a technology that served to generate affective knowledge and epistemological understanding to inform statecraft in a manner that confinement could not; it permitted the freedom for people to move and act, and accordingly to be observed in everyday moments. The anxiety wrought from de-institutionalisation was a side-effect of its value to the arts of governance.

The whip, the curfew bell, Bands of Mercy, council rooms, and the courtroom are plots which support the story in the scrapbook and broaden Kelso's "true training of all childhood." These narratives evoke the rules and boundaries of child-saving according to ideas of race, class, and gender. Reading the diverse stories draw us into the everyday of different realities: boys getting "slipper tattoos" in police yards, councillors awkwardly debating the bell, unaffected damsels swinging clubs to raise money, rascals brought before the local magistrate for stealing from deaf mutes at the fair. Without the motivation of the comprehensive Act we wonder if these stories would even exist. If they did, they would remain disembodied orphans without their contiguous arrangement in the unity of the law-inspired scrapbooks. In the age of irony in which

Kelso was working, he gathers and detains everyday tales to make his story intelligible in the manner that Echeverria puts Bakhtin and Foucault together in the making of cultural narratives. While Gibson speaks of physically de-confining the future, Kelso broadens the cast of future players and incarcerates their stories in his margins.

The Home Children are the quintessential ironic antiheroes who motivate the possibility of Kelso's archival fiction and pedagogic project. The promise of the British evangelical child-savers is not for the children, but for the future of the homeland and Canada, of Empire. The illiberal bodies of Home Children have negative value at home yet as they cross the Atlantic they magically transform into valuable, insatiable commodities who buttress fiscal and emotional economies as labor and docile subjects in relations of colonial power. They serve as the boilerplate of depravity yet ironically by 1893 become political-economic trailblazers, making Kelso's Provincial project possible. They give reason to the discourses of nation and patriotism – they are aptly and ironically named “Home” children. Nellie and Selina have no home, yet make home possible for others.

It was difficult to end in October 1894 as there remains a gold mine for exploration: eighteen more volumes (approximately 4000 pages of artifacts). I wish that I would have been able to dedicate more time to the British Home Children as Kelso begins their dedicated scrapbook in June 1895. The story of George Everett Green,² a Barnardo Boy with a wandering eye described as “repulsive” who died near Owen Sound in November 1895 is the most gripping. This sensational story puts a name and face to the disputed practice of juvenile immigration and gathers and contrasts sentiments that existed since the 1870s. His lifeless body becomes an

² In the online Dictionary of Canadian Biography, George Everett Green and his photo are included, but Kelso is not. Accessed July 23, 2014. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/green_george_everitt_12E.html.

anxious, valuable, and contested epistemological figure in Provincial and Imperial consciousness. So much so that his queried corpse is exhumed and re-examined to determine if he died of natural causes or due to ill-treatment at the hands of Helen R. Findlay on whose farm he was placed. The acute medical descriptions of his viscera remind us of the dead baby from Gladstone Avenue. George is dramatic evidence which contributes to the incitement of the 1897 Juvenile Immigration Act, which moves Home Children to Kelso's portfolio, and sends federal inspector Alfred F. Jury to Liverpool to keep degeneration from embarking across the Atlantic. I have only touched upon the role of the Home Children in the idea of Canadian childhood and greater culture and it begs further and deeper examination. I argue that there is an unwritten history of bondage and sexual exploitation in Ontario.

Circumscribing this project to fifteen months and approximately 251 pages had many other consequences. I was not able to describe the eventual resistances to child-saving. The moments when practices fulfilled their rhetoric and parents and children resisted; when the will to appreciate children's rights over parental rights became real, and when some children countered what it meant for those rights to be enacted. These stories are often terribly confusing and it becomes difficult to ascertain the realities of their plots. There are more investments, slips in consentuality, Protestants and Catholics vehemently vie for children, and there is a broader influence upon what the press prints. Newspapers exhibit greater personality in their assessments of child-saving based upon their political underwriting, and we observe Kelso being challenged in poignant and diverse ways.

In February 1895 we meet a mysterious child-saver whose work is described in 1896: "A remarkably philanthropic work is being carried on quietly, by the Rev. Mr. Watch, Methodist Minister of Brighton, who takes care of the needy children from any part of the country...It is a

work entirely in the interest of Canadian children, and not in any way antagonistic to the CAS, but is rather auxiliary to it.”³ The wonderfully named Rev. Watch, superintendent of the Ontario White Cross disposes of almost as many children as the Toronto CAS. Kelso lauds his program, donates money in support, and seemly transfers children to his care. Rev. Watch is a leading character in Volumes 12 and 13 mainly through numerous inclusions of his “Templar” social purity columns. He is mentioned only once in Volume 14 and re-appears one last time in Volume 15 when it is reported in the *World* that his work is transferred to Kelso. He then disappears completely from the scrapbooks, and evidently from history. There is an important untold story that may live in a church basement in Brighton.

I was eager to make it to 1896 when Kelso begins using a “Magic Lantern” in his public presentations which deepened the effects of his ethnographic representations of his worlds of woe and happiness: “With the aid of a magic lantern he showed the wonderful change that cleanliness, good clothing and wholesome food would effect in a very short time in children who had been strangers to these things.”⁴ This pedagogic tool, also referred to as a “limelight” was a key technology in popularizing child-saving and emboldening its discourse. Its effects, within and beyond child-saving, are a worthy study within the context of image and representation in late-Victorian colonial life. This technology also deepens an understanding of the contemporary use of images in charitable fund raising. This I feel is a practice which begs examination.

As mentioned Kelso’s status as a leading child-saver eventually waned in the early twentieth century against the rise of a consolidation of children’s services into the Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW) in the 1920s under the leadership of Charlotte Whitton,

³ Letter to the editor, *Orillia Packet*, (circa July 1896), vol. 12, 158.

⁴ *Orillia*, Volume 13, 93.

“Canada’s foremost figure in scientific child welfare.”⁵ As Jones and Rutman describe, in Kelso’s unfinished memoirs “he attacked the views of some of the younger social workers. He stressed that the child should be the focus of all social reform efforts.”⁶ An examination of the scrapbooks during this era would be a worthy project to consider his historically diminished role and how his earlier work influenced changes in child welfare policy.

Kelso kept a personal diary for most of his adolescent and adult life and produced many personal papers which were donated by his son Martin to the Archives of Canada in 1974.⁷ A comparative analysis between these and his scrapbooks would be a worthy project and would deepen the subjective considerations of his archontic practice. As well it might serve in solving some scrapbook riddles: Who scrapbooked portions of volume 13 (1896-99)? The handwriting is different and has less detail. Who continued the scrapbook to 1940 after his death in 1935? And one of the most nagging questions: when did Kelso compile the scrapbook under discussion?

As promised in the introduction I am not arguing for Kelso’s inclusion as a Great Man of Canadian History. Yet I am curious about how he would have historically fared if he did not seem as isolated and alone as Jones and Rutman and many notations and clues in the scrapbooks lead us to consider; if he had held the status he was promised at birth; if his father had re-established the family in Toronto and they had regained their Irish prominence; if he was schooled not as a part-time student at Jarvis Collegiate between working to support his family, but in the hallowed halls of Upper Canada College and The University of Toronto amongst the ascendant class. We met many members of this historical cadre. It is when he is alone, either traveling or writing, that he seems to receive the most respect and feel most confident. In the

⁵ Rooke and Schnell, 247.

⁶ Jones and Rutman, 175.

⁷ *Ibid.*, viii.

metropole, when away from his solitary bureau and amongst his colleagues he appears anxious and reserved.⁸ The scrapbooks exist as a cipher of his productive loneliness.

We imagine a solitary and thoughtful Kelso not only in the time under discussion, but also years later as he revisited the scrapbooks to reflect and make comments. These notations, the uncanny ingredient that gives this collection its attraction and personality work to connect us with Kelso and the past in a manner that mere documents cannot. His active pen animates his project and speaks to us. That his ink imprinted the scrapbooks at various times over forty two years compels us to imagine how he engaged with his own creation. It conjures an image of a young man determined in motivating a movement, a middle-aged man reckoning with its growth, and an aged man thoughtfully reflecting on a long, embattled career that many of his contemporaries dismissed. His pen embeds ambition, devotion, loneliness, longing, and sadness. I am not sure if the historiography and his biography affect this affect. Nevertheless I appreciate that Kelso was making a time capsule, a thoughtful selection of present things intended to speak to the future about the past in order that it is re-membered. This medley of time is superimposed in the same moment on the same pulp.

This intensive compilation of the everyday has much more life to live and is always-ready and able to contribute more to the imagination and history of childhood in Ontario. Little Johnny Conn is only the beginning. Like the incorrigible boys at the Victoria Industrial School and the eager children of the Bands of Mercy in St. Thomas, I found Kelso to be a kind and

⁸ A wonderful example of this is found on page 227: A sketch of Kelso appears in Toronto's *Evening Star* under the heading "At the Child Rescue Conference." He is one among four other men, Judge McDonald, J.K. Macdonald, Thos. R. Parker, and Rev. Starr. They are all seated in profile in a descending row, one behind another. All the other men are seated comfortably and are looking forward (to our extreme left). Kelso, the second in line, looks not ahead but directly right at us – nervously – and appears uncomfortable as he leans forward in his seat. This artifact does not appear to be pasted into the scrapbook yet sits vulnerably atop another article.

attentive teacher whose work was open to my interventions. It did not resist for the sake of resisting; yes, it was often sentimental but did not obstruct. With kindness and respect it welcomed a trip along its grain. At the very least I think this is what Kelso would have wanted for his collection – to nudge it out of the institutional shadow of the archive and into a limelight.

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