

The Production and History of Daisy Turner's *Moose Factory Cree*

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“Later on, I will come to help you.”

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- Daisy Turner, “Let’s Practice,” *Moose Factory Cree*, Second Edition

In her book *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, Cree scholar Margaret Kovach suggests that researching and writing about Indigenous culture—specifically, in the case of this article, print cultures and languages—ought to begin with “critically reflective self-location” (112). She argues that, “[r]egardless of the origin of the research question, it ought to respond to a need. Furthermore, the researcher should be able to show that there is a gap in the knowledge that the proposed research can assist in filling” (114). I found such a gap when I was researching Cree syllabic fonts and came upon an obituary for Daisy Turner on *Kepin’s Cree Language Blog*.¹ In this post, Dr. Kevin Brousseau (Cree) recalled visiting with her and described her contributions to her community, including her 1974 Cree syllabic primer *Moose Factory Cree* (Brousseau, “Moose Factory Cree”). Brousseau² has been working on several projects to revitalize Cree, including an online and print editions of the *Dictionary of Moose Cree*, which is set in Cree syllabic orthography. While Brousseau’s tribute to Turner prompted me to order her book, I found there was otherwise very little else written about Turner or her book. This is the gap I seek to help fill.

One question that arose while I researched about *Moose Factory Cree* was how its original publication date in 1974 intersected with the efflorescence of Indigenous publishing that occurred in Canada around that epoch, including the release of Cree author Harold Cardinal’s Red Paper, “Citizens Plus” in 1970 and Cree-Métis author Maria Campbell’s *Halfbreed* in 1973.³ I wondered what was happening in Cree children’s publishing in the 1970s, which is closer to my professional background. More generally, I was also curious about the emergence of independent publishing in the 1970s, which was partly facilitated by newly accessible print reproduction technologies, and the impact it might have had on *Moose Factory Cree*’s publication. Finally, and most importantly, I wondered about Daisy Turner, the book’s author, and her credited collaborators: translators Nellie Faries,⁴ Clara Moore,⁵ and Dot Watt, the latter also being credited with compiling the material for the book. In the course of my work on this project, I learned about some of the extraordinary achievements of Indigenous educators, language keepers, parents, students, and communities in establishing Indigenous language curricula in elementary school programs in the 1970s, a small portion of which I have incorporated into this text.

Returning to Kovach’s injunctions, I must consider how I might assist in the project of learning and heightening awareness about Turner’s book. I do not speak or read Cree. My maternal grandmother was born to Irish-Canadian parents in Québec and my paternal

grandmother to Ukrainian parents in Alberta. Both grandmothers eventually moved to Vancouver, where I was born and now live. It was actually in part through my work in children’s book design—specifically through typesetting—that I first began to learn about Cree syllabics. In 2013, I designed the book *Wild Berries* by Julie Flett, which was written in two dialects of nêhinawewin or Swampy Cree, one of which was written in syllabics.⁶ Seeing the labour that went into *Wild Berries* and learning how to set syllabics, I began to learn more about Cree and Cree publishing. Both linguist Arden Ogg, director of the Cree Literacy Network, and Dorothy Thunder (Nêhiyawiskwêw), a Cree instructor at the University of Alberta, advised me as part of my work on *Wild Berries* and made me aware of the multiple Cree dialects. An Appendix to this paper, which includes information from Ogg and Thunder, provides more information about Cree languages, dialects, orthographies, and territories. This paper uses both the terms “ililîmowin” and “Moose Cree” to describe Turner’s dialect (Table 1). Cree dialect communities are illustrated in Figure 1.

“Western” Cree Dialects	Noun used for CREE LANGUAGE	Noun used for PERSON	Noun used for CREE PERSON	Noun used for SYLLABICS
PLAINS CREE y-dialect	nêhiyawêwin ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	iyiniw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	nêhiyaw ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦ	cahkipêhwêw ᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ
SWAMPY CREE n-dialect	nêhinawêwin ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ ininîmowin ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	ininiw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	ininiw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	cahkipêhwêw ᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ
WOODLANDS CREE th-dialect	nîhithowiwîn ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	ithiniw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	nîhithaw ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	cahkipîhwîw ᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ
MOOSE CREE l-dialect	ililîmowin ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	ililiw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	ililîw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	no word cited
NORTHERN PLAINS CREE northern y-dialect	nîhiyawiwîn ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	iyiniw ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	nîhiyaw ᑎ"ᐃᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ	cahkipîhwîw ᑭᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦᐅᑦ

Table 1. Nouns for language and persons in Western Cree dialects, adapted from a table provided by Arden Ogg of the Cree Literacy Network.

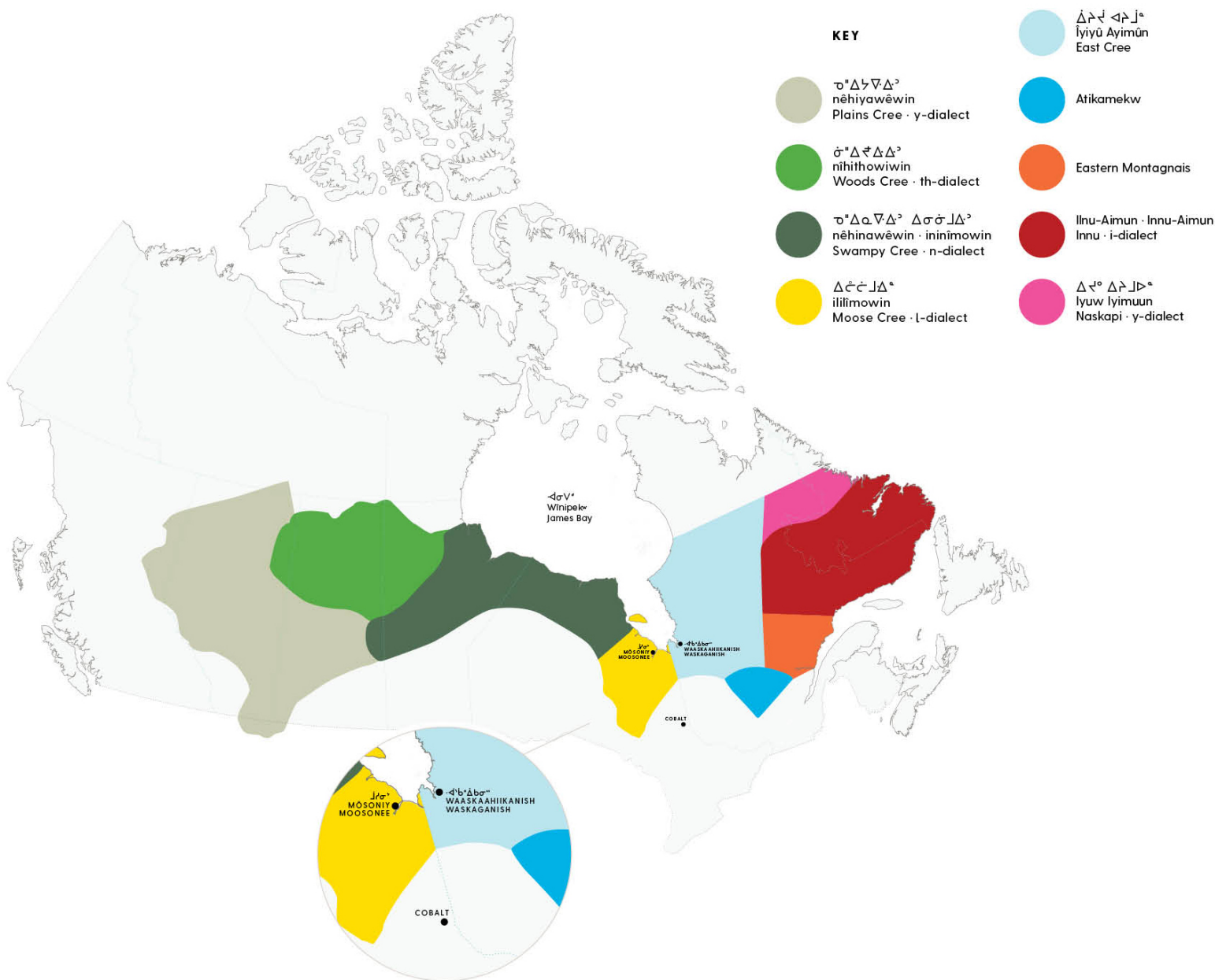


Fig. 1. Map of dialects by region and of towns described in this essay, modified from a resource provided by the Cree Literacy Network. <https://creeliteracy.org/2017/08/15/cree-language-facts-for-editors-of-english-and-french-the-cree-language-family/>

I have attempted to use some of my time learning about Print Culture at Simon Fraser University to fill in some of the gaps in my own knowledge about typesetting Cree. By doing that work, I may also include more information about Cree syllabics in my classes at Emily Carr University, where I teach typography. I therefore examine *Moose Factory Cree* in my capacity partly as a print culture student, partly as a typography teacher, and partly as a children’s book designer. What initially sparked my interest in Turner and her collaborators’ achievements was the recognition that, while all books require effort, collaboration, and problem solving, a primer in Cree would have posed additional, unique challenges. I suspected that learning more about these challenges might be a helpful way toward learning about Cree and syllabics, while also revealing new insights about Turner’s contribution. As Turner’s daughter, Trudy Tourville wrote to me when we met on Facebook, “[My mother] was a Cree teacher for many years in the Public School system in Moose Factory and, as there were no resources when she began teaching, she made her own dictionary. Isn’t that something?” (Tourville, Facebook).

Yes, I agreed. *Moose Factory Cree* really *is* something to be celebrated.

Moose Factory Cree

The back cover of *Moose Factory Cree* tells us that “Daisy Margaret Turner was born at Fort

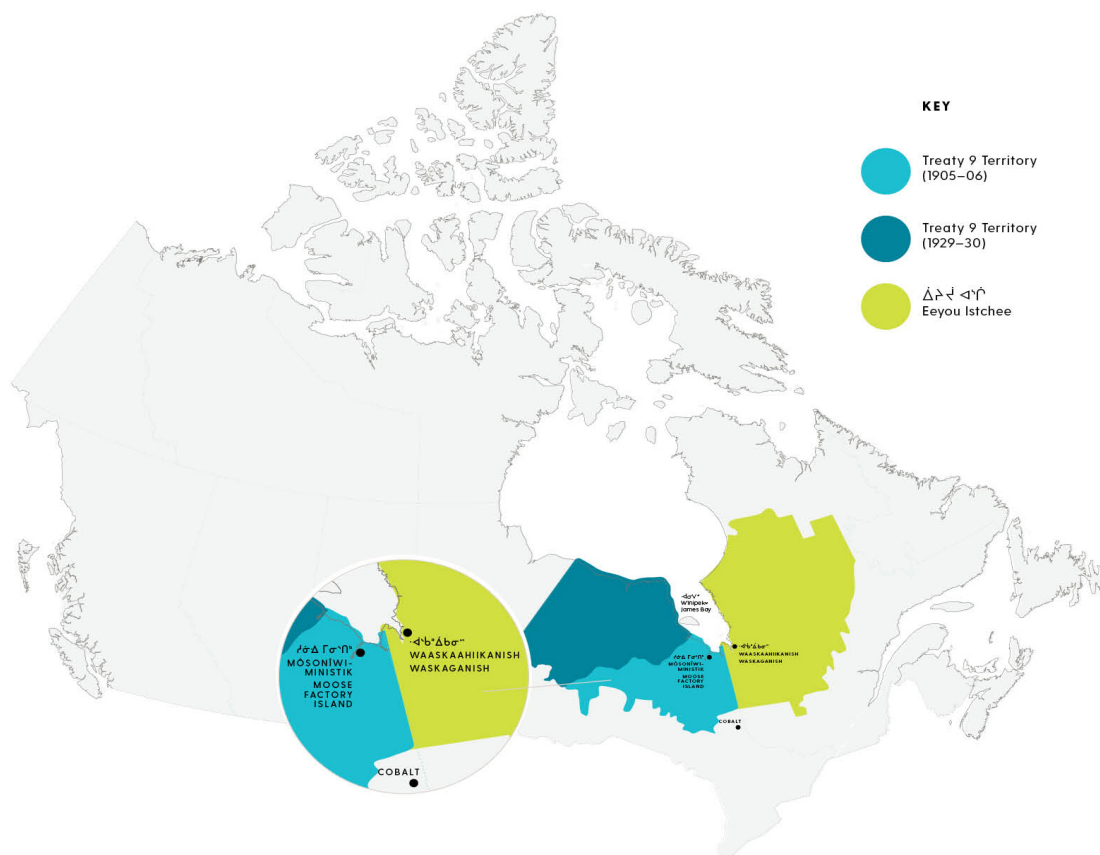


Fig. 2. Map of Eeyou Istchee and Treaty 9 territories.

Albany in 1918 and was educated at the Moose Fort Residential School,” that she “worked as a teacher’s aide at the Moose Factory School,” and that she “now lives in Moose Factory where

she wrote this book” (Turner).⁷ Fort Albany and Moose Factory are both located in a territory covered by Treaty 9 (Fig. 2). The town of Moose Factory was founded “in 1673 on traditional Mōsonīw Ililiw (Cree) lands and is the second oldest Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) post” (“Moose Factory Buildings”), established after the first post in what is now Waskaganish.⁸ Moose Factory and Waskaganish are both located to the south of James Bay, but on opposite sides of the Ontario-Québec border. Moose Factory is on the Ontario side, and, along with nearby Moosonee, is governed by the Moose Factory Island District School Area Board. Waskaganish is in Eeyou Istchee (see Fig. 2) and governed by the Cree School Board.⁹

The back cover of *Moose Factory Cree* also tells us that the book aims to help children “remain familiar with the written form of the Cree language, which they now use for much of their schooling.” There are a variety of reasons a Cree language teacher might prefer teaching Cree in syllabics rather than using Standard Roman Orthography (SRO), which I discuss briefly in the Appendix. Without having direct information from Turner about the specific reasons for her decision, this article will not speculate about why she used syllabics in her book. However, given the technical challenges she faced in typesetting syllabics in both the mechanically and digitally typeset editions of *Moose Factory Cree*, her choice to privilege them over SRO may be seen as a reflection of their importance to her.

Turner’s book was first published in 1974 by Highway Book Shop (HBS) in Cobalt, Ontario (Fig. 1, Maps of Dialects by Region). The second edition, which remains in print, was published in 2001 by White Mountain Publications, now also located in Cobalt. My reprinted copies of the first (1974) and second (2001) editions were printed in 1975 and 2013, respectively. (Fig. 3) The illustrations in *Moose Factory Cree* are credited to the students in Mr. Dunn’s art class at Moose Factory Ministik (Elementary) School (Fig. 4). These illustrations invite us into the classrooms and homes of Moose Factory residents to see what life was like in 1974. The first edition of the book has a brief introduction to Cree and a syllabics table (Fig. 5), followed by a vocabulary set in Cree syllabics. A pronunciation guide in roman lettering, with diacritics to indicate lengthened vowels, is also included. The vocabulary is divided into sections, such as “Home,” “Body,” and “Weather.”¹⁰

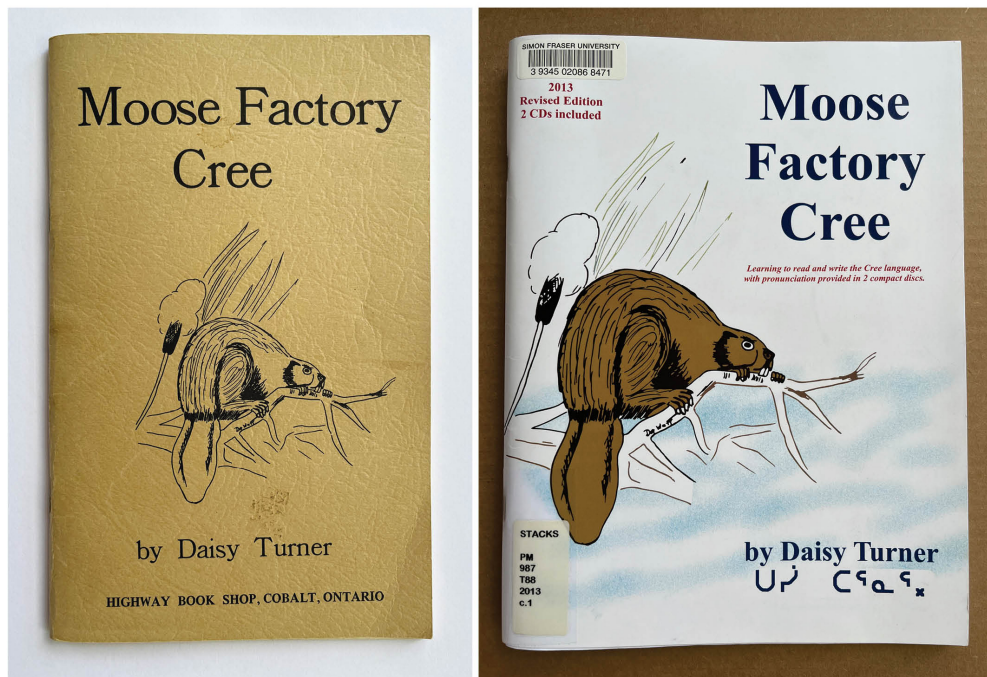


Fig. 3 (Left). Reprint of the 1974 edition of *Moose Factory Cree* (1975) published by Highway Book Shop (author’s copy) and a reprint of the 2001 edition. (2013), published by White Mountain Publications (SFU library copy).

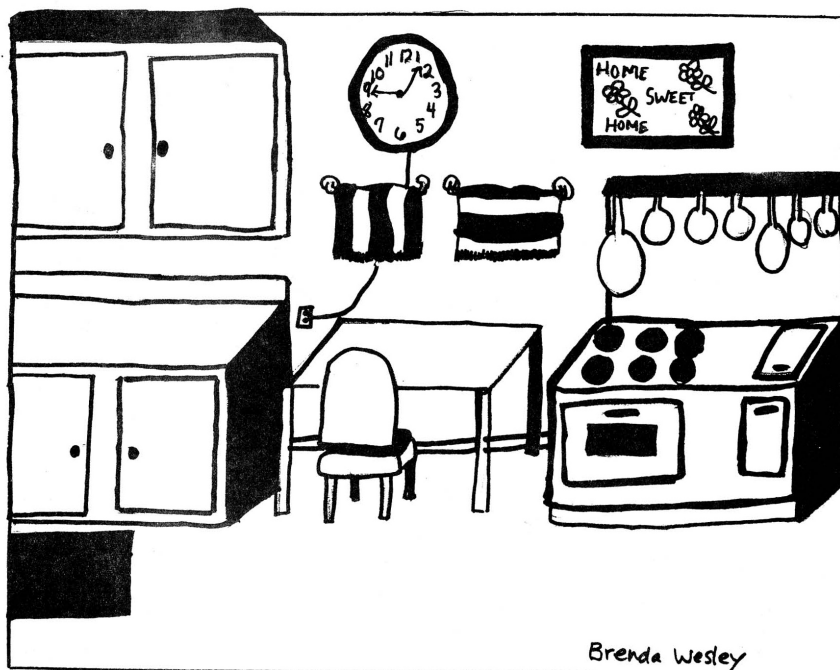


Fig. 4. Illustration for the “Home” Vocabulary section of 1975 *Moose Factory Cree* by Brenda Wesley (12).

CREE SYLLABICS

	ay	ei	e	o	oo	u	ah	
A	▽	△	△	▷	◁	◁	◁	•
	pay	pei	pe	po	poo	pu	pah	
P	∨	∧	∧	>	>	<	<	<
	tay	tei	te	to	too	tu	tah	
T	U	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩	∩
	kay	kei	ke	ko	koo	ku	kah	
K	q	p	p	d	d	b	b	b
	chay	chei	che	cho	choo	chu	chah	
CH	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
	may	mei	me	mo	moo	mu	mah	
M	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
	nay	nei	ne	no	noo	nu	nah	
N	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	say	sei	se	so	soo	su	sah	
S	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ	ʅ
	shay	shei	she	sho	shoo	shu	shah	
SH	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ
	yay	yei	ye	yo	yoo	yu	yah	
Y	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ
	ray	rei	re	ro	roo	ru	rah	
R	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ
	lay	lei	le	lo	loo	lu	lah	
L	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ	ʎ
	vay	vei	ve	vo	voo	vu	vah	
V	ʎ	∧	∧	>	>	<	<	ʎ
	way	wei	we	wo	woo	wu	wah	
W	▽	△	△	▷	▷	◁	◁	
X	THE CHARACTER FOR CHRIST							

Fig. 5. Chart of syllabics from 1975 *Moose Factory Cree* (1)

The vocabulary in “ʃʃʌ / Mē Chim / Food” encompasses flora, fauna, and dishes common to Turner’s region, including cranberries, turnips, flour soup, wavey (or blue goose), and snow goose. Geese are significant on this list, which may be correlated to the fact that young children in Turner’s region take time off in the spring for “Goose Break.” The rite of a young hunter’s first goose and the sharing of the story of the hunt over meals was included in the Cree language program that Cree Way began running in Waskaganish in 1973. This land-based approach to Cree-immersion may also be seen in other Indigenous language curricula.¹¹ Turner’s emphasis on goose hunting in the text of both editions of *Moose Factory Cree* highlights the importance of the relationship between the land and the language. Although the educational institution where she taught, now called the Moose Factory Ministik School, is not a Cree immersion program, it allows for Goose Break as well, and considers land-based learning to be part of its Cree language learning initiatives (Knight-Blackned).¹²

The second edition of *Moose Factory Cree* is expanded, with phrases describing everyday

activities—including reading, hunting, praying, singing (lullabies), boating, baking, visiting, and snacking—perhaps providing additional insight into Turner’s aims and perspective. What engages me most about *Moose Factory Cree* is its straightforward and warm pragmatism. Turner makes ililimowin feel accessible. The situations embodied in her vocabulary section are not only practical, they are also adept at portraying small vignettes of everyday life that are both appealing and reassuring, especially for children. Take, for example, this exchange in the book:

Ī °ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ Listen, a child is crying.
 ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ I wonder what’s wrong with him.
 ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ What’s wrong with you?
 ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ I lost my money.
 ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Don’t cry. I’ll help you look for it.
 ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Is this your money?
 ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ. ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Yes, Mama gave it to me.
 ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ I have to buy cookies.
 ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ Thank-you for helping me. (58)

This scenario invokes a common fear of many children related to bad memory and associations with feelings of loneliness, anxiety, and guilt. Caregivers who remember losing their temper might feel regret about a similar situation. Through this brief language lesson, Turner soothes these feelings, partly by situating it as an everyday incident (it is “no big deal”) and partly by providing the opportunity for each learner to inhabit both roles: we repeat the words of the crying child and the child’s helper, as these two figures then work together to solve the problem. This brief story models observing, caring, co-operation, gratitude, honesty, relief, and pleasure—important components of a worldview and an ethics. Turner’s observations about the world and the brief portraits she creates of everyday life through her choice of phrasing are smart, engaging, accessible, and fun.

The 1974 edition was printed by simple means. My copy, which is a 1975 reprint of this version, is a half-letter-sized book with a black-and-white cover and interior, running fifty-two pages long. The cover is printed on a textured, tan card-stock, and the binding is saddle-stitched.¹³ HBS printed this book on their Roto-Werke 601—from the larger end of a German line of “Office Offset” equipment that allowed offices to produce in-house pamphlets and other small jobs—an efficient little press that handled 3,000 sheets per hour (Blessing).¹⁴ The years between 1969 and 1975 were a peak period for these machines; photocopying technology took over the market in the 1980s (Office Offset). Colour printing would have been expensive and slow on this press.¹⁵ For this likely reason, *Moose Factory Cree* is in black-and-white, including the cover: it would have required only a modest investment by HBS, even if they paid Turner their standard 10% royalty advance (Pollard 66).

A letter from Turner’s workplace shows that her book was initially sent to the Ministry of Education in North Bay, Ontario. On 9 January 1974, Warren West, the Co-ordinating Principal of Moose Factory Public Schools, wrote to Mr. E.A. Dayman (Fig. 6), explaining,

I am enclosing the Turner Cree manuscript without changes. As you can see, the syllabics are complex, in that endings and their sounds can be changed by adding dots or small raised characters at the end of the figure. Also the shape and positioning of the characters are important. Thus any attempt at editing would be

very difficult for anyone other than a person familiar with the language.
(Laurentian Correspondence Moose)

In this same letter, West indicates that he sees value in the manuscript and that he financially backs its printing, with the promise of an order of 100 copies. He also indicates that, troublingly, other previous similar manuscripts have been stolen. He does not provide any specifics about these thefts, simply writing that “we have sent materials of this sort out before and six months later they have shown up under another title and another author” (Highway Bookshop Fonds, a). The publishing implications implied in West’s letter require elaboration. Before considering them further, however, I will first introduce Cree syllabics and then examine the complexity to which West alludes.

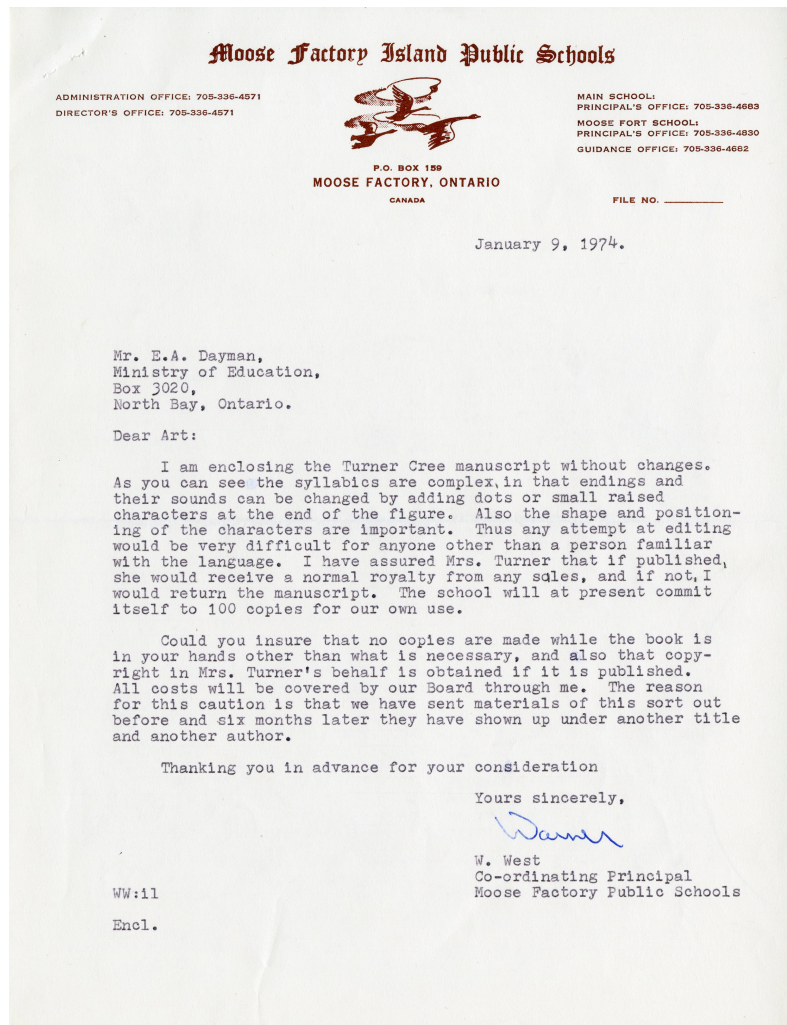


Fig. 6. Highway Book Shop Fonds, Moose Factory Public School Letter from School Principal, Laurentian Archives.

Cree Syllabics in *Moose Factory Cree*

West’s description of dots and small raised characters refers to the structure of Cree syllabics that Turner chose to use in her primer of her dialect of ililimowin (Appendix). Dots placed to the

left of characters can change the associated consonant sound.¹⁶ But also, significantly, the style of syllabics she used are “pointed,” meaning they also have dots placed *over* syllables with long vowels to help guide new readers. Some of these over-dots (Fig. 7) are added by hand, indicating a technical challenge posed to the typesetter(s) in having made the syllabics “pointed.”¹⁷ Community choice often determines whether SRO or Cree syllabics are used for texts in the first place. There are some other differences between syllabic sets, described in Appendix.¹⁸

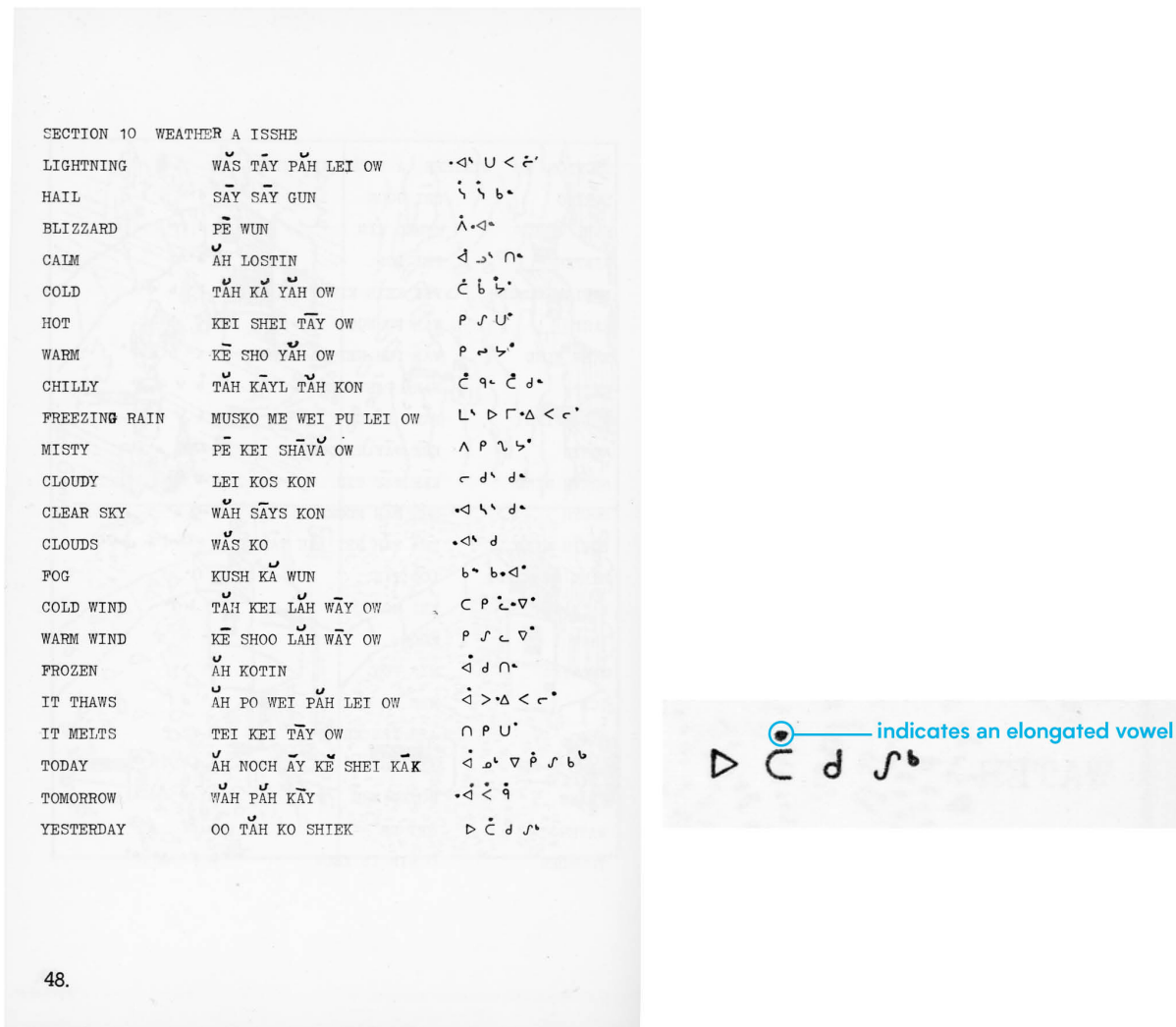


Fig. 7. Page 48 from 1975 Moose Factory Cree, with magnified view of syllabics with over-dots on the word “ᐅᐅᐅᐅᐅ” or “today.”

The possible origins of the Cree syllabic writing system is currently under discussion. It has commonly been attributed to James Evans, a Wesleyan Methodist missionary who lived in Norway House, where some people believe he developed the Cree syllabary. A detailed version of this particular history of Cree syllabics may be found in the unpublished 1981 Master of

Education thesis, “Syllabics: A Successful Educational Innovation,” by John Murdoch, a co-founder of the Cree Way program at Waskaganish in 1973. The thesis argues that Cree ought to be taught in syllabics rather than in SRO. By Murdoch’s account, Evans was directed to come up with syllabics by his mission society (3).

However, accounts of syllabics as gifted by the Creator—a writing system that was developed within Cree communities centuries ago—may be found in the 2000 article “Calling Badger and the Symbols of the Spirit Language: The Cree Origins of the Syllabic System,” by Cree scholar Winona (Wheeler) Stevenson. Stevenson suggests that, at the time of her account of the Cree syllabary, “only a handful of Cree speakers still kn[ew] and use[d] it” (19). Patricia Demers also observes in her introduction to the 2010 book, *The Beginnings of Print in Athabasca Country*, that syllabics usage might be much more common among Elders than younger generations (x). However, Stevenson also notes a resurgence had begun to occur in the late 1990s with Cree syllabics gaining attention and use, and, as the publications being currently produced by the Cree School Board and Moose Factory’s Community Language Project¹⁹ suggest, younger generations continue to learn some Cree dialects in syllabics.²⁰ Turner’s choice to use syllabics in *Moose Factory Cree*, therefore, may be seen in the context of community choice, her age and her era, and the larger ongoing discussion about the past and future of syllabics and their meaning.

Highway Book Shop

Highway Book Shop (HBS), an unusual institution in Cobalt, Ontario, published Turner’s *Moose Factory Cree*. Its original owners, Douglas and Mary Pollard—and later Lois Pollard, who married Douglas after Mary passed away—traded in new and used books and also ran a small in-house print shop before opening a bookstore in 1961.²¹ The print shop shifted from job printing to publishing reprints of local historical documents (Pollard 55). In 1970, they began accepting original manuscripts for publication as well (Pollard 53). By 1973, the publishing side was given a dedicated work area, and, by 1977, HBS had acquired additional equipment and a staff of seven people (Pollard 55). Turner’s original work was published during this initial period of growth.

Children’s books, which were generally printed in runs of 1,000, were good sellers for HBS. Additionally, Lois Pollard also recalls that, “any manuscripts having to do with First Nations people, especially if written by someone of Native heritage, were almost certain to sell well” (59). HBS published other books by Indigenous writers,²² sometimes in Indigenous languages, such as Mary Lou Fox and Susan Enosse’s²³ English and Ojibwe *Why the Beaver Has a Broad Tail*. As another example, *Traditional Indian Recipes from Fort George, Quebec* (1971),²⁴ written in English and Cree, contains recipes from “Seven First Nations Women” (Pollard 242). Investigating the latter title revealed that it was a reprint of a book originally compiled by the Diocese of Moosonee (near Moose Factory). The drawings in the cookbook were rendered by students at St. Philip’s Residential School at Fort George, Quebec.²⁵ Like *Moose Factory Cree*, this latter book was clearly popular, with eight reprintings. This book is credited to the editor, Charles Canon Locke, and the contributors, Juliette Iserhoff, Maryann Sam, Martha Pachano, Sally Matthew, Minnie Shem, Lily Pepabino, and Edna Matthew,²⁶ raising questions about the copyright and circumstances surrounding its publication.²⁷ Such questions may be harder to answer now that both the Pollards have passed away.

Upon closing in 2010, HBS was shuttered with its remaining contents unsold; it is a kind of sealed archive, although unfortunately not well-tended and difficult to access. An unauthorized

YouTube video of a man breaking into the shop to look around was posted to “freaktography.com” in September of 2021, showing thousands of books still on the shelves (“Abandoned Highway Book Shop”).²⁸ While watching this video, I recalled a note from Lois Pollard’s book addressing the shop’s brief foray into rubber stamp sales. She wrote, “the imprints of these stamps [are] historical in that they reveal names of dignitaries and businesses, but they also reveal the type of telephone in the area” (39). The YouTube video reveals similar sundry incidental archival items, including old Mac computers, Amazon delivery boxes, a preserved index card system, 100-year-old books, and much more. I am left wondering what else is held in the shop at the moment, and I am grateful that, however it happened, HBS accepted Turner’s manuscript and included some of her papers in *their* archives.²⁹ Based on the scant information I have, Turner likely did not receive the editorial and layout support in the book’s production from the publisher³⁰ that a roman orthographic (or English-language) text would have received, although I cannot be sure of this. In addition, although Turner conceived of the project as a textbook, HBS was ultimately a commercial publisher, however small, and not a better-resourced scholastic or governmental agency, a fact that perhaps led to Turner’s decision to publish an ililimowin primer in the first place.

At the moment, Deborah Ranchuk currently runs White Mountain Publications, a Bahá’í bookshop in Cobalt, which handles orders for HBS’ back catalogue and currently sells *Moose Factory Cree*. Ranchuk recalled meeting Turner when the latter was about ninety years old. She observed that Turner had not spoken much about herself at their meeting, but that “[h]er main concern was that the book stay in print as long as possible, and preferably after her passing” (Ranchuk). I asked one of Daisy Turner’s daughters, Trudy Tourville, if this recollection matched her impressions of her mother’s sentiments about her book, and she replied, “Absolutely ... my mom was a great believer of keeping the Cree language alive.” She added that, “I always liked hearing my parents speak Cree to each other” and that “[m]y mother was a very soft spoken woman, quite shy... so her accomplishments were pretty amazing” (Tourville).

That accomplishment might be appreciated further when one considers how *Moose Factory Cree*’s syllabic material was typeset in the first place. Turner’s manuscript was initially written in longhand, in which she makes notes about her desired layout (Fig. 8). I am unsure if these notes were directed to her publisher or another collaborator (or simply herself), but they suggest that, in fact, HBS was a small community-oriented publisher that did not regularly publish syllabic material. Although HBS sometimes received federal and provincial grants, it was ultimately a commercial publisher. *Moose Factory Cree* was reprinted ten times between 1974 and 2001 (Pollard 255). In comparison to Muriel E. White’s *Happy and Hoppy’s Christmas Gift to You*—a series considered popular at HBS, which was also printed in 1974 and reprinted “at least five times”³¹ (Pollard 246)—it is clear that *Moose Factory Cree* sold very well for HBS.

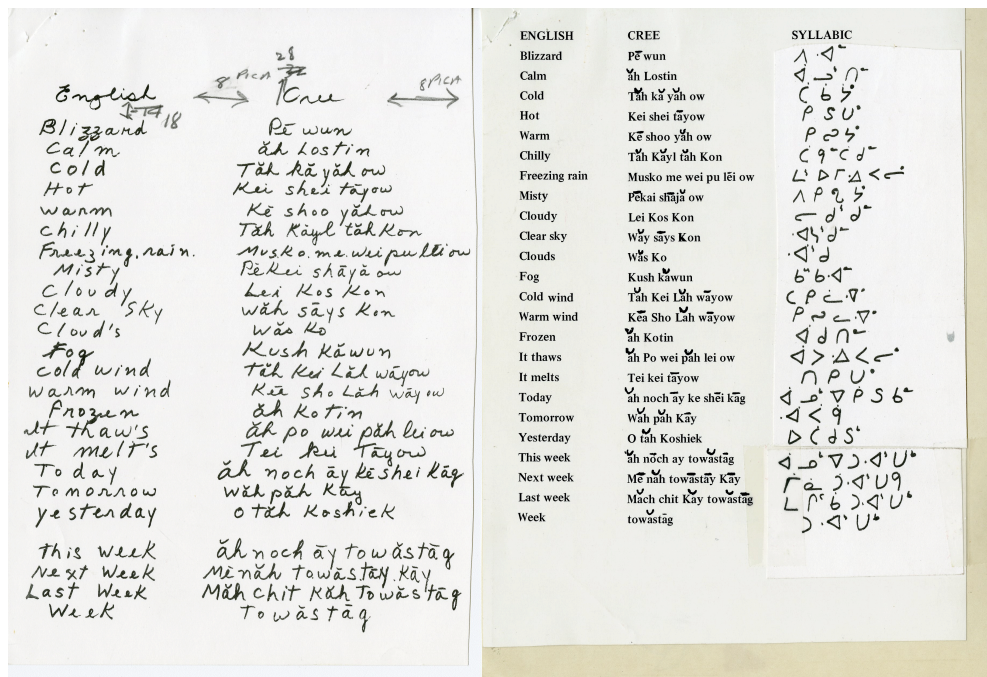


Fig. 8. Highway Bookshop Fonds, Moose Factory Public School, 1974, test for formatting Laurentian Archives.

The 2001 edition of *Moose Factory Cree*, however, was released by a different publisher: White Mountain Publications. This edition is larger in its dimensions, expanded in content, and has a colour cover. This latter change might reflect the increasingly accessible four-colour printing provided by digital technology, but also an issue that some of the earlier children’s titles published by HBS in the 1970s faced, according to former co-owner Lois Pollard: black-and-white children’s books were increasingly unable to compete with more brightly coloured books. In assessing why children’s book sales began to fall after the 1970s, she observed, “children seemed to want to read only stories [that] they also followed on television” (59).

Since brightly coloured printing was also a key feature of the boom in Victorian era children’s book marketing—made possible with the advent of chromolithography in the 1830s—I wonder about her analysis of black-and-white printing as losing its appeal by the 1970s. I suspect, instead, that she is conflating colour printing for children with colour television for children, since the early 1970s is the moment when colour television sets began to outsell monochrome ones. Significantly, *Sesame Street* began airing on PBS in 1970, ushering in an era of educational and socially-conscious language and literacy programming on TV. A *New York Times* editorial from 1970 explains that *Sesame Street*’s “new material [will next year be] designed to better reach key ethnic groups, specifically the teaching of English vocabulary to Spanish-speaking children” (Culhane). Later, *Sesame Street* began developing content in other languages, particularly Spanish in the USA and French in Canada. Cree singer-songwriter Buffy Sainte-Marie became a regular guest on the show between 1975 and 1980, even teaching “the Count”³² how to count in Cree (Warner).³³ Canada’s National Film Board also sought to reflect back to children and families either their own lives or respectful but unglamorized portraits of children and families. *Cree Way* by filmmaker Tony Ianzanelo was released in 1977, showing

life at the elementary school in Waskaganish when Murdoch was the principal. To me, the portraits of daily life provided by Mr. Dunn's art students in *Moose Factory Cree* also have the unmediated quality that early *Sesame Street* and *Cree Way* had, suggesting a shared vernacular in educational children's content belonging to that time. As Sainte-Marie points out, these depictions also challenged the myths that Indigenous cultures were relegated to the past and that Indigenous people did not "have language or numbers" (Warner).

TV and film have a practical advantage over print for teaching and depicting language in their capacity to include recorded examples of pronunciation. Advancements in digital desktop publishing and digital audio technologies allowed *Moose Factory Cree* to include two CDs of recordings of Turner reading the book aloud. Yet, as with the 1974 edition, Turner still had to modify by hand some of the characters, even with the use of digital type technology.³⁴ In a note by Turner in 2000 to the publisher, she writes, "Enclosed is one page, showing one of the syllabics that does not go through the machine: It is the symbol $\forall \Delta \triangleright \ominus$. I had to make the circle on each one... Making the circle on the \forall makes a different sound.³⁵ If it does not work, we will leave it the way it is. That symbol is really not used very often"³⁶ (Highway Bookshop Fonds, b) (Fig. 9). Despite the utility of these new digital print technologies, Turner's hand-rendered loops —added to the \forall series of characters to produce \forall characters—indicates that she still did not have access to a full set of syllabic characters in 2000.

From
Daisy Turner
Moose Factory
Box 138, Ont.
April 19, 2000.

Dear Sir—

The book is now complete and satisfactory I hope. Enclosed is one page, showing one of the syllabics that does not go through the machine. It is the symbol $\forall \Delta \triangleright \ominus$. I had to make the circle's on each one, like the same as symbol P-V. Making the circle on the \forall makes a different sound. If it does not work, we will leave it the way it is. That symbol is really not used very often.

Thank you for your help.
Best wishes to you all.
Happy Easter.

Sincerely,
Daisy Turner

Fig. 9. Highway Book Fonds, Letter from Daisy Turner About Syllabics, 2000, Laurentian Archives.

In the 1974 edition, the over-dots—added to achieve pointed syllabics—appear at times to be typed, and, at other times, to be added by hand. Ogg suggested that adding the over-dots might have “involved back-spacing and re-striking for each long vowel... [since a] complete set of pointed characters would require a keyboard with a lot more keys” (Ogg). Therefore, some over-dots might have been added by hand later, since, while adding them was technically possible, the process was awkward and hard to correct. It is notable that the typewriter used in the 1974 edition actually contained a full set of characters and appears to have required less modification by hand than with the digital font available in 2000.

A potential clue to this latter change may be found in the 2010 publication about HBS, *Highway Book Shop: Northern Ontario's Unexpected Treasure* by former co-owner Lois Pollard, in which typesetter Carol Carriere is pictured at HBS sitting at an IBM Selectric Composer in the 1970s (Pollard 68). A syllabic type ball for IBM may have been available, or available via customization.³⁷ Still, Moose Factory Cree was likely not set on Carriere's IBM and possibly not set at HBS at all. Rather, Turner's 1974 edition matches the Olivetti's syllabic typewriter, which was released in the summer of 1973³⁸ (See Fig. 10). Who typeset the manuscript remains unknown. I am further unsure what HBS's relationship with Turner was like or to what degree they were involved in editing her book. The book's credits and acknowledgments do not mention HBS staff. In the first edition, Turner only acknowledges her own family members (Faries) and Moose Factory Public School staff (that is, West, Watt, and Moore).

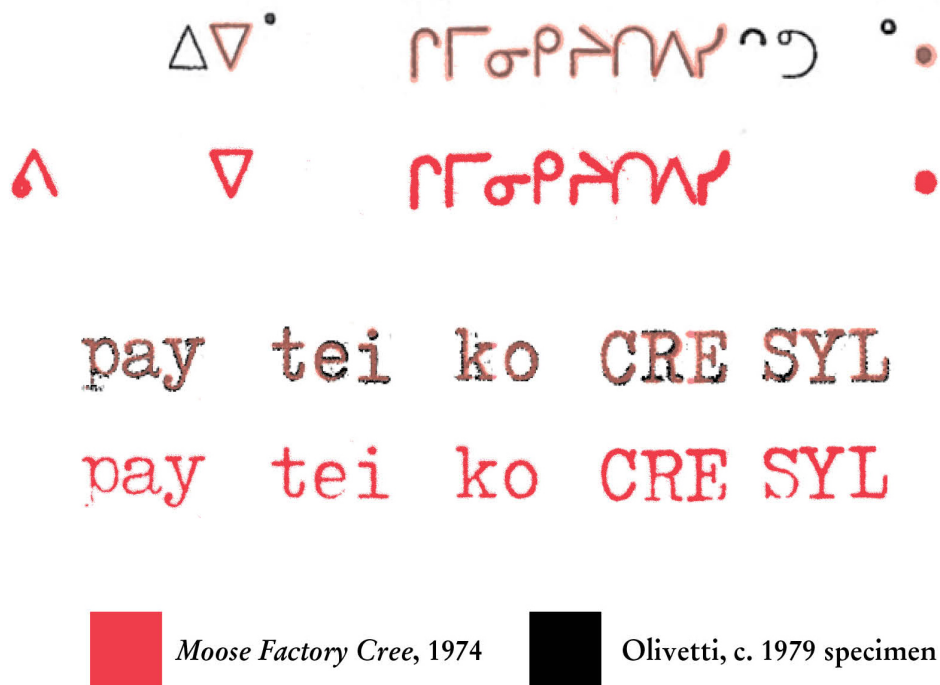


Fig. 10. Overlay of specimens from *Moose Factory Cree* and an Olivetti specimen, c. 1979.
 Source: Associazione Archivio Storico Olivetti, Ivrea, Italy.

Still, the Highway Book Shop Fonds at Laurentian University, which holds Daisy Turner’s archives, was enormously helpful for this project. Pollard’s book also provided me with insight into the circumstances of *Moose Factory Cree*’s publication. Unfortunately, the family member who likely wrote the notes on Turner’s behalf to her publisher in 2000 has since passed away, and so has Carrière³⁹ (Tourville). This has rendered some typesetting questions difficult to answer. Furthermore, Pollard’s book makes very little mention of its Indigenous catalogue, and there is no mention of Turner herself in her book, other than *Moose Factory Cree*’s presence in the HBS catalogue. Therefore, much of what I know about Turner’s relationship with HBS remains speculative.

Schools

The significance of Turner’s book and her contributions are best understood in the context of the educational systems in place in the period. The “Native Studies—Native Languages” section in the “Curriculum Development: Schools Program Report,” distributed by the now-dissolved Department of Indian⁴⁰ and Northern Affairs,⁴¹ shows that, in the 1974-1975 school year, 208 Indigenous language programs were offered in 174 federal schools and 34 provincial schools. The first of these programs was offered during the 1969-1970 school year, the same year in which residential schools began to close (Hanson).⁴² This year marked a turning point in Indigenous educational initiatives. Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau released the Canadian government’s infamous 1969 White Paper proposing to dismantle the Indian Act, which sparked rebuttals such as Harold Cardinal’s *The Unjust Society* along with renewed efforts by Indigenous

people to protect and revitalize Indigenous cultures and languages. In 1970, the National Indian Brotherhood was incorporated, presenting the “Indian Control of Indian Education” policy paper to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development—with an emphasis on language instruction—in 1972.

Two other items in the 1974 curriculum report provide revealing snapshots of the year of *Moose Factory Cree*’s publication. One is an advisory that “Syllabic Typewriters are now available... [at] Olivetti Canada Ltd” (Canada 19). The other item is the announcement that “the Cree Way Project at Rupert’s House [now Waskaganish], Que.... was successful in obtaining a grant of \$70,000” (Canada 2). The Cree Way inaugurated the beginnings of its publishing program at Waskaganish in 1973 and, by 1975, the Cree School Board had formed in Waskaganish’s district of Eeyou Istchee. Some sense of its import is conveyed by the fact that the Cree Way is referenced in a 1985 paper on the school board in Mt. Currie, British Columbia, which was published in the *Canadian Journal of Education*. This paper considers Mt. Currie in its early 1970s historical context, describing the 1970s as a “period of renaissance in Native Canadian Indian language and culture ... closely linked to the transformation of the school into a locally controlled Native institution” in some communities (Wyatt 250). The paper cites Waskaganish⁴³ as such a community, which had “chose[n] to reject schools completely in favour of a return to traditional education” (Wyatt 250). Cree Way was operated as a school in Waskaganish and was federally sponsored to publish material supporting its curriculum, so this characterization appears to me to be inaccurate, but it does perhaps capture how radical Cree Way’s goals and mission were perceived by Canada’s educational community. Moose Factory did not see such significant changes at their local elementary school as those that occurred at Waskaganish, but Turner’s book marks a similar effort to develop Cree literacy through publishing syllabic educational material for her own classroom at the Moose Factory Ministik School.⁴⁴

Significantly, the 1974 curriculum report also states, “[t]eachers too are changing. Indian and Inuit teachers now make up almost 20 per cent of the teaching force” and that “approximately 1300 native para-professionals work as teachers-assistants, social counsellors, counsellor technicians, home and school coordinators, child-care workers, and native language instructors” (Canada 16). According to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), 1974 was marked by a period of increase in Indigenous staff, with “over 34 per cent having Indian status” (“A Timeline of Residential Schools”). Turner was therefore developing a Cree textbook during this significant time when Band councils and newly formed Indigenous school boards began to take control of educational programming across the country (“A Timeline of Residential Schools”). Waskaganish and Mt. Currie offered two of the earliest Indigenous-led school boards formed at this time. These communities continue to offer Cree and Lílwat language programs, respectively.

One of the co-producers of Mt. Currie’s language program, Dr. Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams (Lílwat), appeared as a guest on the podcast *Ahkameyimok* in 2021. Her host, Perry Bellegarde, responded to her stories of language teachers who retained their languages in the face of residential school abuse. Bellegarde remarked that “residential schools: I say that was a genocide of our people. They never allowed our people to speak their languages and in fact you gave the example of how people were punished [for speaking their languages]... that really hurt” (Bellegarde and Williams). Between the 1860s and the 1990s, these notorious facilities claimed over 150,000 Indigenous children into their custody, often by force and coercion (Restoule 2). Speaking and writing in English or French was enforced, and all syllabic writing was forbidden. The damage to individuals, families, communities, and languages caused by residential schools,

which were emotionally and physically abusive—and, as Bellegarde argues, ultimately genocidal—is still being meaningfully recognized in Canada, and significant work and redress remains.

It is difficult to understand Turner's work and historical context without addressing the barriers to ililimowin fluency and literacy that were created by the state of Canada. Appreciating this context entails acknowledging residential schools' impact on Indigenous languages, and their role in Turner's life, as well as the lives of many of her peers. Williams, like Turner, is a residential school survivor. In her conversation with Bellegarde, she pointed out that day schools, either run by religious or state authorities, also caused hurt and damage. Maria Campbell's book *Halfbreed*, provides an example of this in her description of the terrible treatment she and her siblings received at their day school, partly as a result of the mixture of Cree and English that they spoke at home (203).

Williams, in turn, relates how she felt when she first began working with Indigenous languages fifty years ago, describing “what it felt like... when I heard about First Nations languages being ‘extinct.’ It was so painful to me... that some of our languages were no longer being spoken” (Bellegarde and Williams). She recalls how, at that time, she encountered a man who spoke Ktunaxa—a language that she had been told was extinct. The man had spent many hours in his childhood scrubbing the steps of his residential school as punishment for speaking Ktunaxa. When he left his community to work as a dockworker in Seattle, he developed a practice of sitting on his bed after supper, facing the wall and speaking his language to retain his fluency. At the end of his life, he had returned home and was teaching his language to the next generation and documenting it. Williams explains that, in her experience, “his was not an unusual story” (Bellegarde and Williams).⁴⁵

Williams' story provides a glimpse of the efforts, often hidden or obscured from institutional oversight and reports, of the many people who were working to preserve and revitalize Indigenous languages at this time. Like Turner, Annie Whiskeychan, for example, was enrolled at the Bishop Horden Memorial School, the Moose Factory Residential School.⁴⁶ Whiskeychan's experience of this school was very negative (German), and, like the Ktunaxa student, Cree students were punished for speaking their languages. According to *The Survivors Speak*, a summary of statements by residential school survivors in which Northern Ontario was singled out for its abusive treatment of children, “rules [prohibiting speaking in Indigenous languages] and the anxiety they caused remain among the most commonly cited elements of residential school experiences” (qtd. in Helwig). At Fort Albany, where Turner was born, a student recalled being physically punished for writing his name in syllabics on his school items (Helwig). Outside of school, Whiskeychan “taught herself Cree so that she could communicate with her grandmother” (German). Similarly, “while her friends were busy playing,” Turner would often “sit with [her] monolingual Cree elders and revel in their stories as she gradually acquired the language” (Brousseau, “Moose Factory Cree”). The Bishop Horden Memorial School, Moose Factory Residential School, which Whiskeychan and Turner attended, was closed in 1976, shortly after Turner released *Moose Factory Cree*, and just before Whiskeychan was featured teaching Cree and syllabics to her class in Waskaganish in the 1977 NFB documentary, *Cree Way*. Today, this school is named in her honour: the École Annie Whiskeychan Memorial Elementary School.

Both Whiskeychan and Turner provided language instruction to their communities' children and translation support within their communities generally. Whiskeychan “developed various readers on Cree culture and worked extensively with linguists to develop the Cree lexicon of the

Eastern James Bay dialects” (German), as well as interpreting legal documents. Turner, who wrote *Moose Factory Cree* for classroom use, also translated historical oral accounts for academic and archival purposes. Former Moose Factory Cree public school principal John S. Long’s paper, “In Search of Mr. Bundin: Henley House 1759 Revisited”—a paper about the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post on Albany River—has an appendix titled, “Willie Wesley’s Narratives, 28 March 1994, translated by Daisy Turner, summarized by John S. Long” (Long, “In Search of Bundin” 215). In his examination of the state and the Hudson’s Bay Company’s archives in Treaty 9 territory (Fig. 2), Long uses a strategy of incorporating oral accounts into the official records, thereby disrupting them. His larger project was investigating Treaty 9 itself, which eventually culminated in his book *Treaty No. 9*, published in 2010. Some of Long’s early writing criticizing the Canadian government’s mistreatment of Métis people in Treaty 9 territory were published by HBS in 1978 (Pollard 242).

Willie Wesley’s recorded oral account includes the mistreatment he experienced at the residential school in Moose Factory, and his memories of people and names from his childhood. According to the citation in Long’s paper, Wesley’s account was translated by Daisy Turner (Long, Bundin 225).⁴⁷ Turner is thus acting in multiple capacities, preserving and correcting different archives for different audiences, and in different languages and orthographies. “Bundin” includes notes about dialect and vocabulary, which likely come from the translators with whom Long collaborated. Because Turner is acting in a collaborative capacity, it is difficult to say which part of the following passage reflects her voice. Nevertheless, it does include her:⁴⁸

In his youth, Willie vividly recalls that in the spring the waxies (snow and blue geese) would fly steadily for three days, although the Canada geese were scarce. (“It looked as if they were lines floating around in the sky. My, my, they were so many. Especially when they turned against the wind.”). (217)

Another of Long’s essays, “Race, Place, Marriage, Gender, and Status in Western James Bay,” tells the story of a fight at a New Year’s Dance held for HBC’s employees in Moose Factory in 1859.⁴⁹ This essay includes some of Turner’s family history and even her wedding photo (Fig. 11). In an interview in *Le Devoir*, Brousseau explains how Iyiniw, including his own family, adopted European terms to describe themselves (Sioui) and recalls his visit with Turner in 2015, while preparing the second edition of the *Dictionary of Moose Cree*. Brousseau writes, “As she related during our conversation, Daisy had not acquired the Cree language in her own home. Speaking Cree, she told me, was not encouraged by her parents, both of whom were Cree-speakers, but who were also wemištikôšihkân. This word, which literally means “made European,” is how “people of biracial parenting (and their children) are referred to in Cree” (Brousseau, “Moose Factory Cree”). As Deanna Reder explains in her book *Autobiography as Indigenous Intellectual Tradition*, divisions between family members resulted from “state-imposed legal identities on members of the same family and community” (12). Reder refers here to labels including “status and non-status,” which “serve to alienate us from each other and from

our land and all our relations” (12).



Fig. 11. “Marriage of Bill Turner and Daisy Faries at Moose Factory in 1938.” From “Race, Place, Marriage, Gender and Status in Western James Bay” (Long 307).

Treaty 9 commissioners directly imposed on Turner’s family’s identities and rights in such a way, by rejecting, for example, some of their petitions for “Indian status and ... half-breed scrip” (Long, “The 1859 New Year’s Day Fight” 233). Turner’s parents, as another example, were granted “Indian status” but this did not extend to all of Turner’s relations. Some of these state interventions are especially egregious, but harder to document. Turner’s uncle, Willie Faries, was enfranchised after two of his three children died from neglect in residential school, thereby surrendering his own status to obtain full Canadian citizenship at the time (Long, “The 1859 New Year’s Day Fight” 306). As Brousseau explained in his tribute, and perhaps reflecting Reder’s analysis, “wemištikôšihkân typically occupied a higher social status in the world of the fur trade, partly the result of their ability to act as intermediaries between our people and Europeans” (Brousseau, “Memory”). He added that, “while a man of biracial parenting might reasonably be expected to work at the trading post, speaking both Cree and English, and potentially marrying a Cree woman, a woman of similar parenting was often expected to approximate the European woman, speaking English, and marrying White, so to speak, if possible” (Brousseau, “Memory”).

As Brousseau and others have also discussed elsewhere, other Cree Language educators working at the same time as Turner, such as the justly celebrated Whiskeychan, were not

wemištikôšihkân. Additionally and importantly, Turner lost her own status upon marrying. Nevertheless, both Whiskeychan and Turner share a history of maintaining Cree through their relations with elders, despite being forced to attend residential school. As Whiskeychan helped her community with legal documents, Turner translated medical information for hers. Brousseau describes how residential school ruptured his own mother's use of Cree in her family home and how his relationship with his monolingual grandmother played a significant role in his relationship with both syllabics and Cree dialects (Sioui). These experiences provide context for his tribute to Daisy Turner as a grandmother, a writer, and an educator.

Another thing that Turner, Whiskeychan, and Brousseau share is a history of publishing in syllabics. Doing this has required initiative and self-funding. As I have detailed above, Turner's book may have been published by a commercial publisher, but the concept, the editorial work, the artwork, and likely even the typesetting were produced outside of her publishing house. Whiskeychan's relationship to publishing was through the Cree Way program at Waskaganish, through which Whiskeychan, her sister Gertie, and her brother-in-law Murdoch used some grant money to set up an in-house printing press using Office Offset technology. Incredibly, each week they produced books relating personal and community stories illustrated by students and their relations. Some of these books were used in school, some were sent home, and some were available for mail order by communities "from as far away as Alaska and Arizona" (Ianzello).⁵⁰ The Cree School Board, which expanded and developed from this initial publishing operation, continues to produce syllabic children's books relating local stories. In a 2009 documentary, Bobbish-Salt explained that, "we use our own Cree people to do the illustrations so it shows the language and the culture and with that the values of the people" (Rickard, "Find Our Talk"). Salt's point echoes Turner's earlier choice to include contemporary illustrations by the students at the school. Brousseau's books are community-funded with illustrations by Indigenous illustrators, such as Hawlii Pichette (Mushkego Cree, Treaty 9) and Christi Belcourt (Métis). Brousseau's dictionaries are likewise used in classrooms and homes and the project has also produced illustrated children's books.

Conclusion

Although Turner's carefully composed, clear, and inviting book may look like a simple language primer, understanding some of the details of her history and context—as a residential school survivor, as a teacher—and its production highlights the complexity and commitment to the living work behind its publication. Brousseau's affectionate tribute to Daisy Turner on his blog not only opened up for me her wonderful book, *Moose Factory Cree*, but also led me to learn about the Cree Way project, the initiatives of Cree language programs in Moose Factory, and Eeyou Istchee. As Brousseau also wrote, Turner's book helped to mark the 1970s not only as a time of an efflorescence of Indigenous literature in the English-language commercial publishing market, but also "as the beginning of our locally driven efforts to publish in our own language" (Brousseau, "Moose Factory Cree").

Brousseau is currently working on the fourth edition of the *Dictionary of Moose Cree*, and it continues to grow in both vocabulary and tools for learners.⁵¹ Daisy Turner is listed on the website among its contributors, reflecting her important work towards ililîmowin fluency and literacy. I have immense gratitude to Kevin Brousseau for sharing his memories of Daisy Turner on his blog and for providing context for her accomplishments, and to Trudy Tourville, Turner's daughter, who shared her memories of her mother. I am especially grateful to Daisy Turner for her beautiful book. I leave the last word in this essay to Turner, as she wrote at the closing of her

character makes rhymes with “day,” so the variation has to do with how that sound is described in roman orthography.

Cree syllabics are made up of nine geometric characters representing syllables (Demers), whose sound is altered by their rotation, making ninety characters in total. Syllabics are not limited to Cree; some other Algonquian languages also use them. Inuit is commonly set in Inuktitut syllabics, which were modified from the Cree, and they share some common glyphs or characters. Syllabics are organized and learned by rhyme—e, i, u, a / we, wi, wu, wa / etc.—rather than alphabetically. Some charts, as in Turner’s book, are laid out in a table (Fig. 5). Another way to arrange syllabics is in an eight-rayed star-shape (Fig. 12). The star organization is credited to Rosanna Houle, who developed it in the 1970s to teach nêhiyawewin (Seesequasis). Syllabics use dots as well as shapes. Some characters are marked with a dot on the left-hand side, which indicates a different sound. For example, Δ indicates an “I” sound, while $\dot{\Delta}$ indicates a “wi” sound. Additionally, sometimes dots are placed over a character to indicate that it has a longer vowel. For example, C is “li,” while $\dot{\text{C}}$ is “lii” or “îi,” pronounced with a longer vowel. When these dots—the “over-dots”—are used to indicate vowel length, the syllabics are “pointed.” Older, more seasoned Cree speakers may not need the assistance of pointed characters, and will just use “plain” syllabics (Ogg, “Re: question”). Similarly, spoken Cree has an aspirate “h” sound—other ways of describing this are a “huh” and “h,” or a breath sound—which is sometimes marked with the glyph “ h .” Because this mark is especially helpful to less experienced readers, I wondered why it was not used in Turner’s *Moose Factory Cree*. Norm

Wesley, who taught at the same school as Turner, explained, however, that it is simply not used in Moose Cree (Tourville).

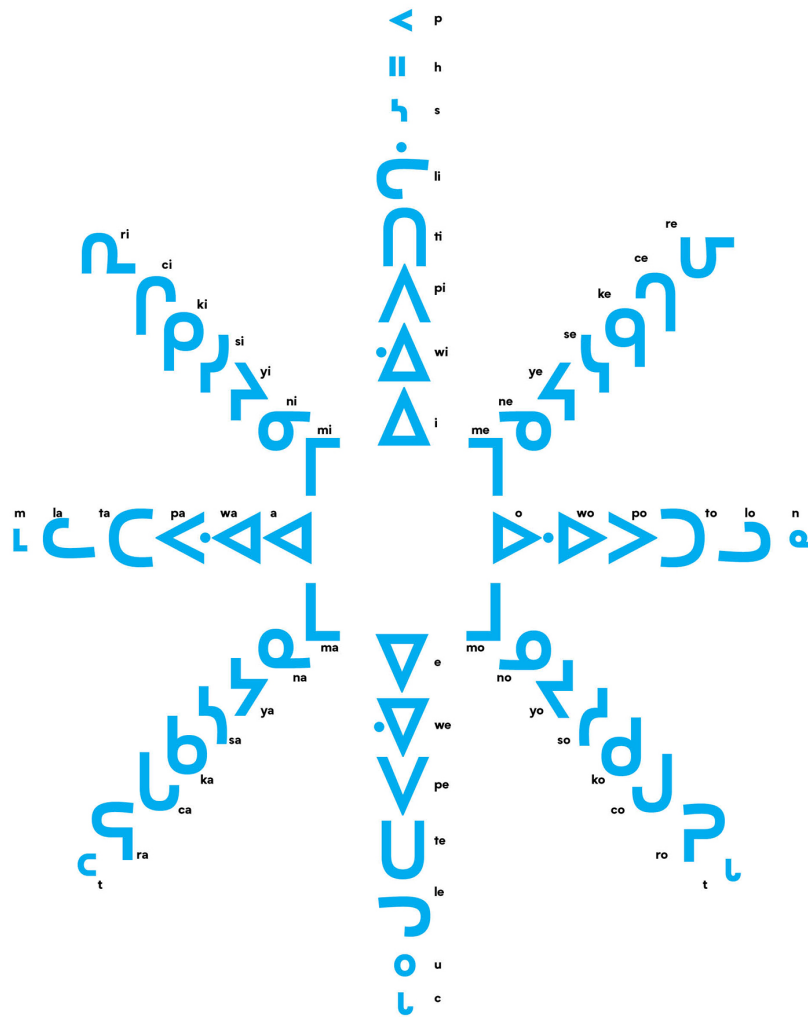


Fig. 12. Syllabics arranged in a star pattern, based on Rosanna Houle’s system.

Some syllabic glyphs are final sounds, or “finals.” These are probably the “raised” characters that Principal West refers to in his letter in Daisy Turner’s archive (Fig. 6). As Turner explains, “Syllabics also use ‘small finals’ or endings. In Cree they are ᓚᓖᓗᓘᓙᓚ” (v). For example, an “n” final in ililîmowin is represented by the syllabic “ᓚ.” In her book, Turner groups finals as “East Coast” and “West Coast,” which refers to larger groupings of eastern and western dialects.

Here is an example of the word “ililîmowin” set in syllabics in a pointed style (with an over-dot indicating an extended vowel on “lî”) and a final indicated the “n” sound at the end of the word:

Δ ς ḱ J Δ °
 i li lî mo wi n
 lîi

There are varieties of reasons why people who choose to use syllabics prefer them. For some communities, communicating in syllabics is reported to foster more productive conversations than SRO, which can carry negative, controlling, or rigid associations. Speaking in her capacity of preparing textbook materials for the Cree School Board at Eeyou Istchee, Luci Bobbish-Salt explained one reason for her community’s preference: “We’re sticking to syllabics. We did try using the roman orthography in writing the language but the words were like...”—here she gestured comically wide, making the women around her laugh—“that long” (Rickard). Her comment refers to the length to which Cree words can grow, given Cree’s agglutinative structure.

Endnotes

¹ creelanguage.wordpress.com.

² Brousseau is a trained linguist who works primarily as a lexicographer, but is also a full-time medical doctor who works in Cree community. His own dialect is iyiniw-ayamiwin. The online edition of his *Dictionary of Moose Cree* is at moosecree.ca.

³ I am indebted to Dr. Deanna Reder for this insight.

⁴ Mrs. Turner’s sister-in-law and also the first female chief of Moose Cree First nation.

⁵ Née Butterfly (Tourville).

⁶ Cree editions of this book were tailored toward two different communities and the translations were provided by two different translators.

⁷ Brousseau indicates that Turner’s home was Moosonee and that she spent the last years of her life in Timmins (Brousseau, “Memory”).

⁸ Formerly Fort Rupert, Waskaganish or ᓂᓕᓄᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ is in the Eeyou Istchee territory.

⁹ The Cree School Board, or ᓂᓕᓄᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ ᓂᓕᓄᓐᓂᓐᓂᓐ, oversees schools in nine communities in Eeyou Istchee, including Waskaganish. As well as providing language and literacy support for adults, they also publish Cree books for children. It was formed in 1975 as part of the first modern land treaty agreement in Canada (“Our Story”).

¹⁰ The “Outdoors” section (“Wala”), my favourite section, explains that “Sunrise” and “Moonrise” in ililimowin are the same word: “ᓂᓕᓄᓐ ᓂᓕᓄᓐ” or sā kāś tāh wāy ow” (19).

¹¹ The relationship between land and language may be seen in other language programs, such as the Mt. Currie Lilwat curriculum, for which “fish camp” is an important part of the language program there (Bellegarde and Williams).

¹² According to Principal Jennifer Knight-Blackned, Moose Factory elementary currently has Cree language instruction for 40 minutes a day as well as an Enhancing Cree Language & Culture program with “with the Cree Teacher and classroom teacher co-teaching each week, ideally on the land” (Knight-Blackned). At the time of this paper, those classes were interrupted by COVID-19 and related staff shortages. Cree instruction at Moose Factory uses a combination of syllabics and roman orthography.

¹³ Stapled.

¹⁴ However, the sheet size was small—10 × 15 inches—so that not many pages could be printed in a single run.

¹⁵ This machine could only print one colour at a time. Full-colour printing would require four passes through the

press (for CMYK process colour), quadrupling the time required on press, and thus substantially increasing the cost of printing.

¹⁶ For example, ∇ indicates an “ay” or “e” sound, while the addition of a dot to the left—∇—indicates a “way” or “we” sound. The chart in my 1975 edition, as seen in Fig. 5, is lacking dots in the syllabic table (see the second-to-last line), but appear in the rest of the book. In the second edition’s syllabic table, these dots are restored, so this was likely an error.

¹⁷ Thanks to Arden Ogg for her patient explanations of this style of syllabics.

¹⁸ Other examples of variations include “plain” versus “pointed.” A “breath” sound is indicated in some variations of Cree syllabics with the glyph ‘ll’, but not in Turner’s dialect. See the Appendix for more information.

¹⁹ The *Dictionary of Moose Cree* is one of the published books in ililimowin produced through this community-funded project, which began in 2012. More may be learned at moosecree.ca.

²⁰ This seems to be largely true in the Eeyou Istchee territory: Brousseau uses syllabics in the *Dictionary of Moose Cree* and the Cree School Board publishes children’s literature in syllabics. However, at the school where Turner taught, SRO is often used in the classroom.

²¹ The Pollards’ book trade began when they were offered used books in trade for a print job.

²² One of these writers was acclaimed Odawa-Potawatomi artist Daphne Odjig. In 1989, HBS printed editions of her *Nanabush* series. This series was originally published by the Manitoba Department of Education in 1971 in English. Odjig’s books are an additional example of published work by an Indigenous woman designed to reach students in the Canadian school system at that time. Odjig is credited as Daphne Odjig Beavon in the HBS catalogue.

²³ This story was told by Susan Enosse and Fox wrote it down in English. The translation is credited to Melvina Corbiere. Thunder Bay Library holds a book credited to perhaps the same author, “Elder Mary Lou Fox,” titled *Building Aboriginal language skills through family literacy*.

²⁴ Along with children’s books, HBS published locally produced, family-oriented material, including cookbooks and family-friendly joke books. Douglas Pollard’s own books include *How to Lose Weight by One Who Did* from 1972, and *Jokes. Book 1* and *Jokes. Book 2*, both from 1976.

²⁵ Cree author Jane Willis (now Pachano), author of *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood* (1973), attended this school. Hers is the first residential school memoir set in Québec (but published in English in Ontario). Thank you to this article’s peer reviewer, who shared this information during the review process. I have retained the reviewer’s wording for this note.

²⁶ Algoma University archives state, “The recipes were contributed and collected in Cree and English by seven local Indigenous women living in Fort George. The names recorded for these women were: Juliette Iserhoff, Maryann Sam, Martha Pachano, Sally Matthew, Minnie Shem, Lily Pepabino, and Edna Matthew.”

²⁷ The Nancy Minchin Fonds at Algoma University hold this book. These Fonds mention a Reverend Minchin who learned Cree and taught syllabics to students at MacKay School, a residential school in The Pas, Manitoba. Perhaps the connection has to do with residential school teachers who taught in Cree—was Locke such a teacher?—but this remains completely unclear to me. Regardless, the connection between residential schools and publishing is troubling and presents another archival challenge, indicating more work to be done to understand the legacy and impact of residential schools on Indigenous print cultures and written language, as well as on these students.

²⁸ freaktography.com/abandoned-highway-book-shop/

²⁹ Currently held at Laurentian University.

³⁰ As HB typesetter, Carol Carriere recently passed away, I was unable to ask for her recollections. In searching for her, I came across a news article from 1981 about an emergency landing she had successfully performed while flying her children home in a floatplane. By this account and her funeral notice, she appeared to be a capable and well-loved member of Cobalt. I wish I had been able to speak with her and learn from her account.

³¹ I do not know the number of books per reprint for either book, but my 1975 copy of *Moose Factory Cree* notes “3500 copies in print 1975.” This suggests *Moose Factory Cree* was a good and consistent seller. The number of reprinted editions (not including the expanded 2001 edition) is higher than almost any other book in the back catalogue published by HBS in 2010.

³² The Count is a friendly Dracula-like character who greatly enjoys counting.

³³ Sainte-Marie is not fluent in Cree, but sometimes sings songs in Cree. Her subsequent work in Cree curriculum material, and in children’s publishing, speak to the wider network of children’s literacy programming, which she helped to form.

³⁴ Access to a full and accurate set of glyphs remains an issue for ililimowin, even in 2022.

³⁵ In *Moose Factory Cree*, “ᖃ ᖃ ᖃ ᖃ” are romanized as “vay, vei, vo, vuh,” and, without the loop, “ᖃᖃᖃᖃ” are romanized as “pay, pei, po, and puh.”

³⁶ A contemporary chart patterned after Kevin Brousseau’s organizational system shows that these characters are “supplemental” characters. Brousseau’s blog’s name, “Kepin’s Cree Language Blog,” is an affectionate nod to his Cree-speaking grandmother’s pronunciation of his name.

³⁷ IBM produced interchangeable units for different orthographies. When an orthography was not mass-produced by IBM, it could still be customized, as explained by Dr. Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams in an interview: “We found somebody in Hawaii who could modify this electric IBM ball and put characters on that ball that we needed” (Burgess and Ferrel). Williams may have been referring in this instance to her language of Lilwat.

³⁸ The Olivetti model, which appears to have been used to typeset *Moose Factory Cree*, was released about a year before it was published. Its comprehensive design and easy availability seem significant in its timing, but I have been unable to find out to whom the Olivetti on which *Moose Factory Cree* was typeset belonged.

³⁹ Tourville believes the “daughter” the Laurentian Archives refers to who transcribed Turner’s requests might have been Tourville’s sister-in-law, who also worked in the same language program as Turner (Tourville).

⁴⁰ This term for First Nations and Métis people, still common in the 1970s, is now considered historical. Use of this term by a person who is not Indigenous is considered offensive.

⁴¹ This agency was renamed Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) and was dissolved in 2017, replaced by the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC) and Indigenous Services Canada (ISC).

⁴² 1969 is the date provided by the University of British Columbia’s Indigenous Foundation’s timeline of residential schools (Hanson). According to the Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre Collections, the first school was closed by the federal government in June of the following year with the last students leaving in 1971 (IRSHDC). The first school closed was the Mohawk Institute Residential School. The first Indigenous language curriculum—also Mohawk—was begun at exactly the same time (between 1969 and 1970) and was offered on the Caughnawaga reserve near Montreal (Canadian, Indian and Northern Affairs). The last residential school closed in 1996 (Hanson).

⁴³ Waskaganish is referred to in this article as “Mistassini Cree, Northern Québec” (Wyatt, 251), another name for the Cree people of Eeyou Istchee where Waskaganish is located. The essay makes explicit reference to the Cree Way program in its footnote.

⁴⁴ The Cree Way program was significant in that it was not only a language immersion program, but also a book publishing program. As in *Moose Factory Cree*, students and local community members contributed artwork and stories, which the program published for school and community use, as well as sending out copies by mail order, thus circulating syllabic texts “as far as Arizona and Alaska,” according to Cree Way principal Murdoch (Ianzelo).

⁴⁵ Ktunaxa speaker Elizabeth Gravelle released the *Kootenay Language Project Manuscript Dictionary* in 1979, which she had produced with linguist Lawrence Morgan, again pointing both to the linguistic and publishing efforts taking place at that time, and the key role of women Elders in these efforts.

⁴⁶ They would have attended at different times, as Turner was born in 1918 and Whiskeychan in 1937.

⁴⁷ This account was taped on 28 March 1990, and later given to the Ojibway-Cree Cultural Centre in Timmins, Ontario. Long’s citation elaborates that a “syllabic version [is] available from JSL” (Long, “In Search of Mr. Bundin,” 225). A syllabic version was produced for archival purposes. Arden Ogg suggests that “JSL” refers here to John S. Long, which I agree is likely.

⁴⁸ Note the animals named here that also appear on her *Moose Factory Cree* vocabulary list.

⁴⁹ The story is based on a 1978 retelling of the incident by Willie Faries (based on his paternal grandfather Pat Faries’s original telling) and by Willie Moore (based on his maternal grandmother Mary Turner’s telling). This essay provides a high definition picture of life in Moose Factory’s Hudson’s Bay Company trading post in the nineteenth century, as well as of Turner’s family, and the role of language and status at that time and place, which helps a contemporary reader better understand the historical context. Wesley’s vivid recollections in “Searching for Mr. Bundin” have a similar quality.

⁵⁰ Upon hearing this, I recalled that my 1975 copy of *Moose Factory Cree* was purchased from an eBay seller in Ohio, hinting at the potential for inexpensive circulation of light publications by mail in the pre-internet era.

⁵¹ For example, in word formation and verb conjugation.

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