Views in Hudson's Bay (1825) and Peter Rindisbacher: Constructions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Culture in the Red River Settlement

by

Julie-Ann Mercer

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Department of Art and Design
University of Alberta

ABSTRACT

Within the *Views in Hudson's Bay* (1825) print series are six hand-tinted lithographs depicting indigenous and non-indigenous culture in the Red River Settlement. The images engage with visual language from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print series and travel books that construct North American national identity in connection to indigeneity. The lithographs are similar to watercolours by Peter Rindisbacher, a nineteenth-century settler-colonial artist who lived in the Red River Settlement from 1821 to 1826. Both the lithographs and the watercolours are social and cultural products of colonialism; the images convey narratives about colonialist and settler-colonialist perceptions of race and land ownership. The *Views in Hudson's Bay* are simplified variations of Rindisbacher's imagery; they construct narratives about British control in the Red River Settlement, whereas Rindisbacher's watercolours interpret distinct individuals from the Red River Settlement and their attributes. Through a comparative analysis of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* with Rindisbacher's watercolours, I study how the imagery complexly negotiates colonialist ideology.

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INTRODUCTION

> The woman next to me carefully turned a page in the old, brown-coloured book. As she moved her hand, I could faintly hear the page crackle. "Here you go." His words broke the peaceful, muffled sounds in the archive. Placed on the table before me was a long, cream-coloured box. I pulled off its smooth lid and smelt stale, aging paper. Inside was a stack of hand-coloured lithographs. Separating the prints were thin layers of white, acid-free tissue paper that delicately covered the images, allowing a blur of colour to show through.

Illustrated in the print series *Views in Hudson's Bay* are six scenes depicting indigenous[1] and settler-colonial[2] people in the Red River Settlement, an area that is now known as Saskatchewan, Manitoba, North and South Dakota, and Minnesota. The early nineteenth-century lithographs are not numbered and have no particular order, but include the following pages: title page (figure 1), *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe* (figure 2), *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide* (figure 3), *A Souteaux Indian Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg* (figure 4), *The Governor of Red River, driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* (figure 5), *The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor* (figure 6), and *The Red Lake Chief making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825* (figure 7). The

[1] I choose not to capitalize the term 'indigenous' since it is an umbrella term that is used to describe First Nations, Inuit, and Metis people of Canada. In contrast, I capitalize names of indigenous groups, such as Cree, since the term denotes a specific culture. I capitalize the terms Aboriginal and Native American since they refer to site-specific indigenous nationalities – Aboriginal in Canada and Native American in the United States. I use the term indigenous since it encompasses both Aboriginal and Native American groups, whose territories are not limited by the Canadian and the United States borders.

[2] The term settler colonialism is from settler-colonialist studies, which is a branch of post-colonial theory. The historian Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialists as those who replace indigenous culture with their own through the means of aggressive removal policies, sanctions, cultural restrictions, and genocide. For more information, see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research.* 8, no. 4, (2006): 387-409.

series was lithographed by H. Jones and published by William Day at 59 Queen Street in London, England.

It is unclear how many sets of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* were created in England, as there is little primary information about the print series' publication, its publisher, or its lithographer. Through this thesis research, I located thirteen versions of the print series in the United States and Canada.[3] After visiting each of the Canadian institutions, I determined that the Archives of Manitoba's *Views in Hudson's Bay* series has the best image quality, and therefore is the focus of my thesis research.[4] By closely analyzing each print series in Canada, I was able to confirm that the lithographs were created in or after 1825, since a number of the sheets of paper are watermarked with this date.[5]

Creating the *Views in Hudson's Bay*

The most comprehensive study on the V*iews in Hudson's Bay* is by Clifford Wilson in his article "Pelly's Picture Books," which was published in 1945 by *The Beaver*.[6] Wilson connects the print series to Peter Rindisbacher, a nineteenth-century Swiss artist who immigrated to the Red River Settlement in 1821. According to Wilson, Rindisbacher produced six

[3] The Royal British Columbia Museum has one leather-bound series, the Archives of Manitoba has one unbound series, the Toronto Public Library has one leather-bound series (but the lithograph *A Souteaux Indian Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg* is not included in the series), the Royal Ontario Museum has three unbound series, Library and Archives Canada has four unbound series, the University of Minnesota has one unbound series, Yale Center for British Art has one unbound series, and the Amon Carter Museum of American Art has one unbound series. There are several cultural institutions that have individual prints from the *Views in Hudson's Bay*, but this thesis research focuses on the print series.

[4] Although I found two of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series in the United States, I was not able to see them in person.

[5] Richard Godfrey explains "watermarks are a crucial means of identifying the age of paper, and thus the probable date of printing." Richard Godfrey, "Prints," *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, accessed August 25, 2015.

[6] Clifford Wilson, "Pelly's Picture Books," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* (December 1945), 34-36. *The Beaver*, or *Canada's History*, is a Canadian magazine founded in 1820 by the Hudson's Bay Company.

watercolours for Andrew Bulger, the Red River Governor from 1822 to 1823. The watercolours depicted scenes of Bulger in the Red River Settlement.[7] Robert Parker Pelly, who replaced Bulger as Governor of the settlement in 1823, became interested in the watercolours and commissioned Rindisbacher to produce variations[8] for his own use. When Pelly left the Red River Settlement in 1825 and returned to England, he took his watercolours with him and had them lithographed in England by Jones and Day.

Susan Jane Hopkins Stewart expands on Wilson's research by examining the print series' connection with Pelly and the Hudson's Bay Company. According to Stewart, the Hudson's Bay Company received a "series of images" from Pelly that depicted the customs and "tribes of Indians" in the Hudson's Bay.[9] This description is similar to the title page of *Views in Hudson's Bay*, which describes the print series as "Illustrative of the Customs, Manners and Costumes, of those Tribes of North American Indians." Stewart states that the Hudson's Bay Company sold prints from the *Views in Hudson's Bay* in 1829 to buyers living in Upper Canada and issued payment to Pelly for this sale.[10]

Both Wilson and Stewart reference the Hudson's Bay Company archives as evidence that Pelly commissioned the *Views in Hudson's Bay* and that the Hudson's Bay Company assisted

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[7] Wilson, "Pelly's Picture Books," 34.

[8] The term 'variation' comes from the idea that an artist is making work based on a previous artwork with the same theme, but the variation is slightly different from the first. Patricia Mainardi explains that when an artist makes copies of their own work, we classify the copy by its resemblance to the original work. If the copy is identical to the original work, it is considered a repetition. If the copy changes certain aspects of the original but the theme stays the same, it is a variation. Patricia Mainardi, "Copies, Variations, Replicas: Nineteenth-Century Studio Practice," *Visual Resources* 15 no. 2 (1999), 130.

[9] Susan Jane Hopkins Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Contribution to the Work of Three Important Artists in their Territory," (MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1979), 34.

[10] Stewart, "The Hudson's Bay Company's Contribution to the Work of Three Important Artists in their Territory," 34.

Pelly in selling the prints in Canada. However, Stewart admits that she was unable to locate all of the Hudson's Bay Company archival sources referenced by Wilson. Like Stewart, I searched the Hudson's Bay Company archives, located at the Archives of Manitoba, for Wilson's references, and I too was unable to locate all of his sources.[11] Without this primary information, the number of watercolours created by Rindisbacher is unclear. It is also unclear which of Rindisbacher's watercolours were used for the print series, as no known Rindisbacher watercolours related to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs have been traced to Pelly.

Connections to Peter Rindisbacher

Despite the lack of primary sources connecting Rindisbacher with the *Views in Hudson's Bay*, it is visually evident that a selection of the artist's watercolours depicting the Red River Settlement were used to create the print series. Rindisbacher was born in 1806 in Switzerland and immigrated to the Red River Settlement with his family in 1821.[12] The region had functioned as a major intersection for the migration of people and resources for thousands of years, specifically in the area of the Forks, which is the area where the Red River and Assiniboine River meets (figure 8).[13] The Hudson's Bay Company granted the area to Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, an owner of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1811.[14] Even though Selkirk had never visited the area himself,[15] he intended to create the settlement for Scottish Highlanders who were persecuted and dispossessed from their homeland, giving them an opportunity to make

[11] Wilson's article does not include citations.

[12] Rindisbacher died in 1834 at the age of twenty-eight in St. Louis, Missouri, United States. Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1970), 3.

[13] Robert Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine: A Thematic History, 1734-1850* (Environment Canada, 1988), 69.

[14] Jack M. Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations: The Red River Settlement and the Emergence of Manitoba 1821-1870* (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publishing, 2003), 11.

[15] R. D. Francis, *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies* (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 8.

a new way of life.[16] It was already home to several indigenous groups, including the Assiniboine in the area southwest of Lake Winnipeg, the Cree to the north of Lake Winnipeg, and the Ojibwe[17] to the west of Lake Superior.[18] The region was also a key part of the fur trade network, which led to a large population of Metis[19] communities from unions between indigenous and European people.

Selkirk hoped to make the Red River Settlement a prosperous farming community and advertised the area in Europe with the hopes of increasing its population with additional European immigrants.[20] Rudolph de May, a Swiss agent working for Selkirk, negotiated the immigration of over two hundred Swiss families to the Red River Settlement in 1821.[21] Margaret Arnett MacLeod states that Selkirk promised each Swiss family "a house and one hundred acres of land."[22] Instead, the Swiss were destitute when they arrived at the Red River Settlement since no housing or supplies had been arranged.[23] The Swiss families were also without the majority of their belongings; they were forced to leave their baggage at York Factory, the first Hudson's Bay

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[16] Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland to Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of the Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 9.

[17] Ojibwe are also referred to as Saulteaux or Chippewa, which are terms used by Rindisbacher, Jones and Day. For more information on the history of the names, see Laura L. Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994).

[18] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine,* 69.

[19] The term Metis, without an accent, refers to people who identify as having indigenous and settler-colonial ancestry. The term Métis, with an accent, refers to people with indigenous and settler-colonial ancestry that identify as a specific cultural group. I choose to use the term Metis since I refer to people with indigenous and settler-colonial ancestry, rather than people who identify as Métis. This is further explained in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

[20] Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations*, 36.

[21] Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations*, 43-44.

[22] Margaret Arnett MacLeod, "His Work at Red River," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* 276 (December 1945), 31.

[23] Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations*, 47.

Company post they visited after disembarking from their sea voyage. The men guiding the Swiss to the Red River Settlement were ill equipped to transport their luggage for the long journey.[24]

While Rindisbacher lived in the Red River Settlement, from 1821 to 1826, he worked as a clerk in Fort Gary, a Hudson's Bay Company post, and received commissions for paintings from such Hudson's Bay Company officers as Bulger and Pelly.[25] Three major publications that discuss Rindisbacher's work depicting the Red River Settlement are Emile Henri Bovay's *Le Canada et les Suisses, 1604-1974*, Alvin M. Josephy Jr.'s *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher,* and Laura Peers' "Almost True: Peter Rindisbacher's Early Images of Rupert's Land, 1821-1826." Bovay outlines Rindisbacher's oeuvre and lists 137 works by the artist, including the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs. He places Rindisbacher into Swiss-Canadian history, which outlines the continued impact of Swiss settlement and culture in Canada. This resource is useful for tracing Rindisbacher watercolours that are similar to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs as it is the only resource with a comprehensive list of Rindisbacher's work. Josephy gives an extensive biographical account of Rindisbacher, explaining that he was taught art at the age of 12 from Jacob S. Weibel, a "Bernese miniature painter who specialized in small, carefully detailed landscapes and idyllic rural scenes."[26] Weibel's artistic guidance accounts for the meticulous details in Rindisbacher's drawings and watercolours.[27]

Peers expands on Josephy's account of Rindisbacher's painting practice, explaining that the artist "was a good judge of his patrons' desires" and created multiple variations of the same

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[24] Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations,* 47.
[25] Josephy, *The Artist was a Young Man*, 41.
[26] Josephy, *The Artist was a Young Man*, 5.
[27] Anne Morand explains that Rindisbacher "painstakingly records his subjects with very fine pen lines" in his sketches. The same attention to detail is present in his watercolours. Anne Morand, "Oh Canada!," *Gilcrease Magazine of American History and Art* 12 (2004), 32.

watercolours that he knew would sell.[28] Peers argues that Rindisbacher mediated his interpretations of individuals and settings for non-indigenous markets interested in images depicting indigeneity.[29] According to Karen McCoskey Goering, the series of watercolours that Rindisbacher created for Bulger were "his first major commission" and were "based on events from Bulger's career."[30] It is likely that the commission served as Rindisbacher's template for future clients; Rindisbacher sold multiple variations of the Bulger series, which includes images of the Governor meeting with an indigenous group outside of Fort Douglas, a Hudson's Bay Company post. Due to Rindisbacher's practice of creating more than one variation of a watercolour scene, it is difficult to connect any single Rindisbacher watercolours to the lithographs in *Views in Hudson's Bay*. Therefore, this thesis considers all of Rindisbacher's watercolours that are similar to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series.

In addition to creating multiple variations of the same thematic scenes, Rindisbacher also copied work by colonial artists to create some of his watercolours of the Red River Settlement. Peers argues that Rindisbacher copied images from two travel books, Jonathan Carver's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America* (1778)[31] and John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (1823).[32] From Carver's travel book, Peers suggests Rindisbacher copied *A Man and Woman of the Ottigaumies*

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[28] Laura Peers, "Almost True: Peter Rindisbacher's Early Images of Rupert's Land, 1821-26," *Art History* 3 (2009), 527.

[29] Peers, "Almost True," 517.

[30] Karen McCoskey Goering, "Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834): First Artist of the North American Frontier," *Gateway Heritage: The Magazine of the Missouri Historical Society* 6, no. 1 (1985), 44.

[31] Laura Peers, "On Missionaries, Artists, Bears, and 'Grandfathers': Peter Rindisbacher's Paintings, John White's Collection, and the Red River Ojibwa," in *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art: A Collection of Essays,* edited by J.C.H. King and Christian F. Feest (Germany: ZKF Publishers, 2007), 110.

[32] Laura Peers, "Almost True," 521.

(1778) for his watercolour *Indian Family* (1821-26) and copied *A Man and Woman of the Naudowessie* (1778) for his watercolour *Indian* (1823-1825).[33] Peers also suggests that Rindisbacher copied *Portrait of Akaitcho and his Son* (1823), from Franklin's travel book, for his watercolour *An Eskimo and child [Untitled]* (1822-1823).[34] In order to connect Rindisbacher's watercolours to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs, this investigation also traces images from travel books that Rindisbacher may have used to inform his paintings, and by extension, the print series.

British Print Culture & the Production of *Views in Hudson's Bay*

Once Rindisbacher's watercolours were translated into lithographs for the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series, they contributed to nineteenth-century colonial printmaking traditions. The *Views in Hudson's Bay* is part of the printmaking genre of topographical views and its subgenre travel imagery.[35] Topographical views depict images of landscapes, people, and scenes of everyday life.[36] The images are picturesque,[37] an aesthetic that was popular in England and became part of colonialist ideology.[38] Ian McLean asserts that the picturesque "was a language system that effectively colonized all types of landscape into a discourse of Englishness."[39]

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[33] Both Rindisbacher watercolours are located at the Archives of Manitoba.

[34] According to Josephy, *An Eskimo and child [Untitled]* is located in a private collection. Josephy, *The Artist was a Young Man*, 19.

[35] Michael Twyman, *Lithography, 1800-1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and their Application in Works of Topography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 5-6.

[36] Twyman, *Lithography, 1800-1850*, 5-6.

[37] The eighteenth-century British artist William Gilpin defines picturesque as "[expressive] of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture." William Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints* (London: Printed for R. Blamire in the Strand, 1792), 19.

[38] Ian McLean, "The Expanded Field of the Picturesque: Contested Identities and Empire in Sydney-Cover 1794," in *Art and the British Empire,* edited by T.J. Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 26.

[39] McLean, "The Expanded Field of the Picturesque," 27.

Topographical views were first popularized during the eighteenth century through the aquatint printmaking process, which is a form of etching and looks similar to watercolour painting.[40] Lithography became the preferred printing method for topographical views in the nineteenth century as lithographs also look similar to watercolour paintings, but are less expensive to produce.[41] Unlike aquatints, lithography is a planographic printing process on stone. It uses the repulsion of water and grease to cause the ink applied to the stone to imprint an image onto the paper that is pressed to the stone.[42] The process was developed by Alois Senefelder, a German playwright, in 1796. Printmakers identified the printing process by using a Latin abbreviation at the bottom of the print. For lithography, the prints are marked at the bottom of the image with the text "del," which is an abbreviation for the Latin word *delineavit*, meaning drawn – or drawn on stone.[43] For aquatints, the prints are marked with the abbreviation "inc" for the Latin word *incidit*, meaning engraved.[44]

The popularity of topographical views reached its peak in England from 1820 to 1850.[45] When Jones and Day published the *Views in Hudson's Bay*, the lithographs appealed to audiences because of the established market for topographical views. Michael Twyman explains that topographical views were published as a series, which grouped prints together by theme, and were either sold in "wrappers, in a portfolio, or bound in volume form."[46] Lithographic series were similar to aquatint series since they were published by subscription and later bound or kept

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[40] A. Hyatt Mayer, *Prints & People: A Social History of Printed Pictures* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; distributed by New York Graphic Society, 1971), 614.

[41] Mayer, *Prints & People,* 614.

[42] Godfrey, "Prints."

[43] Katharina Mayer Haunton, et al, "Prints," *Grove Art Online*, accessed August 25, 2015.

[44] Haunton, "Prints."

[45] A. Aylwin Sampson, "Nineteenth Century Topographical Lithographs," *Printing Review* 20, no. 74 (1957), 9.

[46] Twyman, *Lithography, 1800-1850*, 167.

unbound at the subscriber's request.[47] It is unclear how the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs were first produced; according to Wilson, the print series sold as a bound print portfolio – a collector's item – for one pound each.[48] The series acquired by libraries, museums, galleries and archives across Canada and the United States show evidence that the prints were sold as unbound series and in wrappers. One edition of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* located at the Yale Center for British Art has its original publisher's wrappers.[49] This series has a line of holes on the left side of the prints, suggesting it was once "stab-sewn" with thread.[50]

While the majority of the print series in Canada and the United States were unbound, two institutions have bound series. The British Columbia Archives' *Views in Hudson's Bay* is leather-bound, as is the series in the Toronto Public Library. However, the Toronto Public Library's series is missing one of the prints, *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg*. It is unclear whether this print was sold separately or if the owner decided not to include the print in the bound portfolio. After comparing the sheet and image sizes from each *Views in Hudson's Bay* series, I determined that the paper size differs from series to series, and sometimes from print to print within the same print series. The inconsistencies with the different *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series suggests that the lithographs were printed on a standard sheet size and later cut to size. The owner likely had the option to keep the prints individually wrapped or have them stab sewn together and bound with a leather cover.

[47] Twyman, *Lithography, 1800-1850,* 168.
[48] Wilson, "Pelly's Picture Books," 34-35.
[49] Francis Lapka (Catalogue Librarian, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Yale Center for British Art), e-mail message to the author, February 19, 2016.
[50] Lapka, e-mail message to the author, February 19, 2016.

Methodology and Theoretical Perspectives

This thesis contributes to discussions about the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series and Rindisbacher's watercolours by using a visual culture methodology to guide its analysis. Gillian Rose argues that "images are never transparent windows onto the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways."[51] Studying the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs with this lens suggests that the images are not reduced to the stereotypes they may communicate about indigenous and settler-colonial people; instead, the images contain multi-layered narratives. The *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series is a product of collective thinking from nineteenth-century British printmaking and travel book traditions. The prints are also multi-layered. Jones and Day modified Rindisbacher's imagery to create the *Views in Hudson's Bay*, altering Rindisbacher's conception of the scenes. By comparing the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs with watercolours by Rindisbacher related to the prints, the study examines the multi-layered narratives that are created, modified, and omitted by the watercolours and the prints.

Rindisbacher occupies a unique position in relation to indigenous and settler-colonial scenes as he is neither British nor indigenous. Anne Morand differentiates Rindisbacher from other nineteenth-century settler-colonial artists, such as the American artist George Catlin, by claiming that Rindisbacher was a product of colonization and lived on the frontier, whereas Catlin and other nineteenth-century artists purposefully visited the frontier to record indigenous life.[52] However, as a settler-colonialist, Rindisbacher is part of the dominant, colonial system in the Red River Settlement. Like the British, Rindisbacher and the Swiss families did not

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[51] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: SAGE, 2007), 2.

[52] Anne Morand, "Peter Rindisbacher: Colonist and Earlier Painter of North American West," *Gilcrease Magazine of American History and Art* 11 (1989), 22.

immigrate to the Red River Settlement to assimilate into indigenous societies. They immigrated to form their own separate communities within a colonialist framework that displaced and replaced indigenous communities. Rindisbacher's viewpoint is therefore complex as he is not British or part of the dominant imperial power that colonized the area, but he is also not indigenous or outside the colonial system. Terry Goldie describes a perspective similar to what Rindisbacher's must have been in *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures*:

> The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?[53]

In Gillian Poulter's study of the nineteenth-century French-Canadian artist Joseph Légaré, a contemporary of Rindisbacher, Poulter argues that "Légaré's work may be considered as a counter-narrative which attempts to preserve the particular history and character of the French-Canadian people."[54] Rindisbacher's viewpoint is closer to Légaré as both artists are neither British or indigenous. Légaré constructs representations of his own French-Canadian culture, however, Rindisbacher does not construct representations of his own Swiss culture. As a non-British and non-indigenous observer, is it possible for Rindisbacher to communicate narratives counter to British ideology in his watercolours? If a counter narrative is present, is it reiterated in the *Views in Hudson's Bay*?

Settler colonialism is a theoretical perspective that helps to answer these questions by framing Rindisbacher's narratives, and in turn, the narratives communicated in the *Views in*

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[53] Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 12.

[54] Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: The Image of 'the Native' and 'the inhabitant' in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada," *Journal of Canadian Art History* vol. 16, no. 1 (1994), 16.

Hudson's Bay, through the historical context. Settler colonialism is a transnational form of study that is a subgenre of postcolonial theory and closely tied with decolonization theory. Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialism as that which "destroys to replace."[55] Wolfe contends that imperial society uses aggressive policies to restrict and ultimately eliminate indigeneity in order to create a new national identity linked to the colonized lands. At the same time, settler-colonialist society requires the indigeneity that it attempts to destroy "to express its difference – and, accordingly, its independence – from the mother country."[56] The process of creating a national identity that is both different from and connected to indigeneity is present in Rindisbacher's watercolours and the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series. The images communicate narratives about indigenous and settler-colonial relationships in connection to the Red River Settlement and British North America, which differentiates the Red River Settlement from Britain. Damian Skinner asserts that settler-colonial art histories need to closely examine the "role of the object - how it operates in a variety of ways, the lives it has had and thus the roles it has played in social and cultural processes."[57] By using this theoretical viewpoint, I consider the *Views in Hudson's Bay* and Rindisbacher's watercolours in terms of the role the images play as a social and cultural product of colonialism, but also as objects with visual language and perspectives that complexly negotiate colonialist ideology.

Chapter Outline

As the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series does not have a uniform order, I have organized the chapters to consider the lithographs thematically. The first chapter studies three of

[55] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, Number 4 (2006), 388.

[56] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 389.

[57] Damian Skinner, "Settler-colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 1 (January 2014), 158-159.

the prints – *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page, *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe*, and *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide* – in the context of similar travel scenes by Rindisbacher. It examines how Jones and Day simplify the visual language in Rindisbacher's watercolours to conform with nineteenth-century travel imagery and printmaking traditions. The second chapter compares Jones and Day's colonialist perspective with Rindisbacher's settler-colonialist perspective to suggest that Jones and Day added an image to the print series that is not based on a Rindisbacher watercolour. I argue that the lithograph *The Governor of Red River, driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* was added to the print series to create a colonialist narrative about indigenous and settler-colonial divisions. The images studied in chapter two are Jones and Day's *The Governor of Red River, driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* and *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg* as well as Rindisbacher works related to the latter scene. The third chapter examines how the images contribute to, but also stray from, colonial ideology. It analyses the prints *The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor* and *The Red Lake Chief, making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825*, in relation to Rindisbacher's watercolours of both scenes. The epilogue to the thesis considers how we can continue to critically examine the function of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs and Rindisbacher's artwork in contemporary society.

CHAPTER ONE: Seasonal Travel Tropes

Jones and Day firmly ground the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series within eighteenth- and nineteenth-century printmaking and travel imagery traditions by including the *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page (figure 1), *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe* (figure 2), and *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide* (figure 3). All three lithographs contribute to visual language used by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers to record their adventures in North America. This chapter draws on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print series and travel books to place the prints within the context of colonial travel imagery. It also compares the two hand-coloured lithographs to Rindisbacher's watercolours to examine their distinct narratives. Shown through this comparative analysis is how the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs and Rindisbacher's watercolours negotiate colonial ideology. I argue that the lithographs emphasize the setting and construct a narrative about colonial land ownership, whereas the watercolours focus on figures and their attributes to form a narrative about the people living in the settlement.

Scenes "Taken by a Gentleman"

> Views in Hudson's Bay. Taken by a Gentleman on the Spot in the years, 1823 and 1824. Illustrative of the Customs, Manners and Costumes, of those Tribes of North American Indians Amongst whom Capt. Franklin has passed in his present and former arduous undertaking. To be continued in numbers.

The text "Taken by a Gentleman on the Spot" from the *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page communicates to the reader that the images in the print series were created in the moment and on location, suggesting the artist drew the scenes as they took place in front of him. This type of statement is common in print series from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For instance, the title page of *Views in Wales* (figure 9), a series of twelve topographical views, states that the aquatints are "Drawings taken on the Spot." By reiterating the standard language used in travel

imagery, the statement on the title page of *Views in Hudson's Bay* suggests that a sense of immediacy was important to the British public.

Views in Wales is dedicated to the "Honourable Charles Greville and Ioseph Banks Esquire," whereas the *Views in Hudson's Bay* refers to "Capt. Franklin." Michael Twyman explains that print series were commonly dedicated to significant public figures to increase sales.[58] "Capt. Franklin" on the print series title page likely references Sir John Franklin, the early nineteenth-century British explorer who attempted to find the Northwest Passage. Franklin's expeditions were popular with the British public and well documented by the press.[59] As Franklin's travels and his publications about his explorations made him a notable figure in British society, the reference to his name on the print series likely helped to market and sell the lithographs.

Another marketing tactic in the *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page is its claim to document the "Customs, Manners and Costumes, of those Tribes of North American Indians." This description is misleading since the majority of images in the print series depict settler-colonial rather than indigenous people. The text engages with a market interested in visual constructions of indigenous people and fails to explain that settler-colonialists and colonialists are also portrayed in the print series. A description similar to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page is used in nineteenth-century print series from the United States and England that were produced for

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[58] Michael Twyman*, Lithography, 1800-1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and their Application in Works of Topography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 227.

[59] For instance, London's *Morning Post* reported on December 29, 1825 that Franklin had painted "two large eyes" at the "bows of the canoe" to comply with an indigenous "superstitious prejudice," which believed the eyes helped keep the boat travelling in a straight direction. Similar news stories were reported in both England and the United States during Franklin's travels. "North American Expedition," *The Morning Post*, Wednesday, December 29, 1825, issue 17169.

European and North American markets. For example, the *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (1836), a three-volume print portfolio published by Thomas McKenney and James Hall, advertises images of "principal chiefs" from indigenous communities on its title page (figure 10). Similarly, *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio* (1844), a series of hand-coloured lithographs by George Catlin, describes images of the "wildest and most remote tribes of savages in North America" (figure 11). Although these print portfolios were published after the *Views in Hudson's Bay*, the similar wording on the title pages suggests there was a colonial market for indigenous imagery. Unlike the *Views in Hudson's Bay,* however, McKenney, Hall and Catlin's portfolios feature images that primarily construct North American indigeneity.

Travelling in Summer by Canoe

Despite the claim on the *Views in Hudson's Bay* title page that the images depict indigenous "tribes," the lithograph *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe* portrays a group of settler-colonialists paddling through the Red River. The British flag at the back of the canoe on the right side of the image signals British ties. Viewing the figures from the side flattens the image; the viewer is positioned directly on the left side of the passing travellers, minimizing the sense of recession into space. Rounded rock foliage in the background separate the choppy blue water from the light blue sky. The generalized landscape makes it unclear where the group of men are travelling since there are no recognizable landmarks in sight.

The men in the canoe as well as the canoe itself also appear generalized, like the setting. The light brown canoe has a dark brown pattern on its surface, suggesting sewn birch rind.[60] The men within the canoe are light-skinned and organized into four sets of pairs sitting side by side,

[60] Grace Lee Nute, "New Discoveries," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* 276 (December 1945), 34.

except for one man sitting in the front and another standing in the back. All of the men are paddling towards the left side of the image, except for two men seated in the middle of the canoe. The size of these men is disproportionate to that of the other figures, as they are significantly smaller than the rest of the men in the canoe. Of these two, the man seated closest to the viewer is wearing a black top hat and a blue coat; the man seated next to him wears a cap with a brown coat. The rest of the men in the image wear long sleeve shirts and some of them have top hats with feather plumes or a kerchief tied around their head.

Comparing this lithograph to Rindisbacher's watercolours shows that Jones and Day have simplified the scene. Rindisbacher's *Two of the Companies Officers Travelling in a Canoe Made of Birchbark Manned by Canadians* (figure 2-a) is similar to Jones and Day's lithograph because of the side profile perspective, minimal vegetation in the background, and the lack of recognizable landmarks. The images differ by the direction the canoe travels as well as by Rindisbacher's emphasis on differentiating the men from one another. In the watercolour, the standing man in the back of the canoe looks directly at the viewer while smoking a pipe clenched in his mouth and steering the canoe with his paddle. His clothing is shaded on the front, creating three-dimensionality, and his stance is more naturalistic and casual compared to the stiff stance of the man in the lithograph. The rest of the men paddling in the watercolour are individualized by their facial expressions and skin tones. Their dissimilar skin tones suggest different ethnicities, whereas each man appears uniformly light-skinned in the lithograph. The men are also depicted in proportion to each other, which is more realistic than in the lithograph. The two men seated in the middle of the canoe are not as small and disproportionate to the other men as in the lithograph. Another difference between the two images is that the viewer can see into the

interior of the canoe in the watercolour, which creates a spatial illusion suggesting depth and movement. The spatial illusion is missing in the lithograph, causing the canoe to appear flat.

Rindisbacher's second watercolour variation of the same scene, *Hudson's Bay Company officials in an express canoe crossing a lake* (figure 2-b), was painted two years after the previous one. The water rippling away from the canoe and the splashing from the force of the paddles again convey an impression of space and movement. However, the weather has changed, as the clouds float in the middle of the sky, rather than drifting over the horizon. The setting is also different. In the second watercolour, the landscape appears varied and vast due to the hill formations and trees. Shading, as well as a mixture of orange, brown, and black on the hill to the left, gives character to the landscape. The broken horizon line adds a natural flow to the scene; the lake flows around the prominent middle ground and faint background land formations, producing a natural rhythm in the landscape, which is echoed in the rippling water.

Canoe Travel as a Colonial Trope

Jones and Day's lithograph is an example of a trope, or a repeated visual theme, used in colonial imagery. Terry Goldie states that the canoe is often "made to seem a simplistic evocation of nature in opposition to [colonial] technology."[61] Illustrating a canoe, an indigenous technology, with settler-colonialists in it creates an identity that is separate from Britain. By generalizing the landscape and figures within the lithograph, the image communicates only enough detail to connect the subject matter with the Hudson's Bay Company and with settler-colonialists. Although the company frequently used canoes to transport people and supplies within its territory, the setting could represent any number of areas occupied by the Hudson's

[61] Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 21.

Bay Company. Cole Harris asserts that the Hudson's Bay Company purchased canoes from indigenous groups and hired experienced French-Canadians and indigenous workers, including Metis individuals, to operate them.[62] It is unlikely that all of the men in the canoe would be light-skinned, as many of the men operating Hudson's Bay Company canoes were also indigenous. There are no recognizable landmarks or people in the image to connect the lithograph with the Red River Settlement.

Rindisbacher's watercolours share the same visual theme as Jones and Day's lithograph; however, Rindisbacher illustrates cultural differences in his depictions of the men in the canoe. From the title of the watercolours, we know the men paddling the canoe are transporting two Hudson's Bay Company officers. The men paddling the canoe may be indigenous as their skin-colour is a darker tone than the officers seated in the middle of the canoe. The workers wear cloth trousers and shirts, which was the favoured material for water travel since it is quick to dry.[63] In contrast to the workers' clothing, the Hudson's Bay Company officers wear more formal European attire, rather than apparel specifically suited for water travel.[64] The differences of dress between the hired hands and the Hudson's Bay Company officers is also carried over in Jones and Day's lithograph, but without the differences in skin tone, the canoe operators in the lithograph appear to be the same ethnicity as the Hudson's Bay Company officers.

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[62] Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2008), 382.

[63] Hanson and Potter claim that cloth was the preferred material, but they do not specify what kind of cloth. James Austin Hanson and Gail DeBuse Potter, *The Encyclopedia of Trade Goods* (Chadron, Nebraska: Museum of the Fur Trade, 2011), 177.

[64] Top hats, caps, and collared coats were popular men's clothing items in Europe during the nineteenth century. C. Willett Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 114-119. Elizabeth Ewing, *Everyday Dress, 1650-1900* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1984), 75-76.

Gillian Poulter contends that British artists failed to make ethnic distinctions between North American cultural groups; instead, they simplified individual identities and cultures that were not British into generalized constructions of indigeneity.[65] Poulter explains that the "message to potential emigrants [is] that the Canadian 'Natives' – both types now rolled into one – are no obstacle or match for hardworking, enterprising British settlers."[66] Jones and Day's portrayal of the canoe paddlers is different from the racial hierarchy described by Poulter, as the printmakers were contrasting settler-colonialist and British rather than indigenous and British identities. However, Jones and Day did contribute to the colonial ideology outlined by Poulter by omitting indigenous workers from the scene. Poulter states that colonialist travel imagery denied indigenous people a place in colonialist societies.[67] Jones and Day replaced the indigenous figures from Rindisbacher's watercolours with settler-colonialists, which denies them a place within the canoe, and by extension, a place alongside British officers and settler-colonialists.

The absence of indigenous figures in the canoe creates a visual binary between the settler-colonialists and British officers; the paddlers are active, working in the landscape, whereas the Hudson's Bay Company officers are in a passive position, observing the work take place. Communicated is that the Hudson's Bay Company owns the land, whereas the settler-colonialists work the land for the owners. The image constructs an identity about settler-colonialists that is connected to indigeneity since the settler-colonialists use indigenous technology, a canoe, to transport the officers, but the identity is also connected to English culture and the British officers since the figures are racially identical. Damian Skinner states

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[65] Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: The Image of 'the Native' and 'the inhabitant' in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada," *Journal of Canadian Art History* vol. 16, no. 1 (1994), 19-20.

[66] Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric," 20.

[67] Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric," 17.

> It was not enough to assert legal processes that transferred ownership from indigenous peoples to settler populations, or to create and manage social processes of dispossession. The land itself also had to be re-imagined and remade, and in this process the ideologies of race and the organization of space became intertwined, based on the remarkable commonality that both are conceived of as natural, given, and elemental.[68]

By communicating that the Hudson's Bay Company officers are the owners of the Red River Settlement, the lithograph manipulates the landscape and concepts of indigeneity to portray colonial ideologies about space and possession.

A hierarchy between the worker and owner is also communicated through the picturesque aesthetic in the lithograph, which is also conveyed in Rindisbacher's watercolours.[69] Even though the men are individualized by their different ethnicities, they are placed into roles of the worker or observer. Rindisbacher's watercolour may focus on the figures to create a narrative about the people living in and overseeing the Red River Settlement, but the social hierarchy in the watercolours communicates the same colonial ideology about ownership and national identity that is present in the lithograph.

The same theme of travelling in a canoe in British occupied territory is illustrated in John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22*. Before his attempts to find the Northwest Passage, Franklin completed two land expeditions in North America to map the northern coastline. The title page to *Views in Hudson's Bay* refers to both Franklin's "former" land expedition of 1818 and his "present" (second) land expedition begun in 1825, around the time of the print series' production. Franklin's travel book describes his hardships and successes while navigating the North American frontier during his first land

[68] Damian Skinner, "Settler-colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no. 1 (January 2014), 136.

[69] Picturesque representations of figures characterize people through social and racial hierarchies. Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric," 11-12.

expedition. Edward Finden produced the illustrations for the book, based on drawings by George Black, an artist and British navel officer who was part of Franklin's first expedition.

Included in Finden's *Expedition Crossing Lake Prosperous* are a number of canoes and boats with people travelling towards the right side of the image (figure 12). The landscape in the scene is a similar layout to Rindisbacher's watercolour *Hudson's Bay Company officials in an express canoe crossing a lake,* which was painted approximately two years after Franklin published the travel book. The hills and vegetation in Finden's engraving display the same natural rhythm as Rindisbacher's image, but from a farther distance. The large canoe in the middle of Finden's image resembles the canoe depicted in Jones and Day's lithograph and in Rindisbacher's watercolours. The men in Finden's engraving cut through the lake with their paddles; as they move forwards, their shadows ripple in the water. In all four images, the men are organized in an identical formation: one man is standing at the back of the canoe, one man is sitting at the front of the canoe, and men sit side by side in the middle of the canoe. The interior of the canoe is also visible is Finden's image, which creates depth and a sense of movement, as in Rindisbacher's watercolours.

The similarity between all four images suggests that Rindisbacher copied Finden's canoe scene to inform his watercolour interpretations. It is not definitively known whether Rindisbacher had access to Franklin's travel book, but Peers asserts that fur traders in the Red River Settlement "had a habit of collecting works by other traders and explores."[70] As Peers has connected Rindisbacher's watercolour *An Eskimo and child [Untitled]*(1822-1823) with the illustration *Portrait of Akaitcho and his Son* (1823), which is also from Franklin's travel book, it

[70] Laura Peers, "On Missionaries, Artists, Bears, and 'Grandfathers:' Peter Rindisbacher's Paintings, John White's Collection, and the Red River Ojibwa," in *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art: A Collection of Essays,* edited by J.C.H. King and Christian F. Feest (Germany: ZKF Publishers, 2007), 110.

seems likely that the artist obtained Franklin's book and used the illustrations for his watercolours. Finden, Rindisbacher, and Jones and Day construct the same canoe scene, but they interpret the portrayal of the landscape and figures in different ways. The images also communicate a seasonal representation of travel in North America. Images of canoe travel in British colonized regions during the summer produces a national identity about British North America that is connected to North American seasons, to indigenous technology, and to British possession of North American lands.

Travelling in Winter by Dog Cariole

The *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series transitions from summer travel by canoe to winter travel by dog cariole in the lithograph *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide.* Like the canoe scenes, the cariole scene is portrayed from the side; three men and three dogs travel through snow towards the left side of the image. There is no vegetation in the background of the lithograph, and the white horizon line blends into the white snow and the light blue sky. The lack of spatial details erases the specificity of the locale. The figures in the scene are all depicted in profile, parallel to the picture plane, with a lead guide on the left side of the image, followed by three running dogs, another guide running next to the dog cariole, and a seated gentleman in the cariole. Shading on the lead guide's buffalo robe and shadows from the running dogs create some illusion of depth; however, the rest of the figures are not shaded nor do they cast shadows, causing them to appear flat.

The lead guide in the lithograph wears a red, yellow, and white cap with ear shaped peaks on its sides and two red feathers on its back. His body is covered by a buffalo robe that has a red and white circular motif on the front. Underneath his robe are blue leggings with red piping along the sides. He wears snowshoes that curl up at the front and moccasins on his feet. It looks

as though he is carrying a rifle over his shoulder, with strings dangling from its stock. Behind the lead guide are three dogs wearing blankets, or dog tuppees,[71] on their backs. The tuppees are decorated with yellow, black, red, and white material and have bells on the sides and middle. Connected to the tuppees is a black collar decorated with bells. The collar has a red and blue feathered decoration attached to the dog's neck. The first dog is sticking out its tongue, whereas the other two have their mouths closed. The dogs appear to be moving as they all have one front paw in the air.

Behind the dogs in the lithograph is another guide running parallel to the cariole. He is dressed in a top hat with feather plumes and ribbons, a blue collared coat with red piping, a multi-coloured waist sash, red leggings with yellow piping, as well as black and white ties fastened around his legs to hold up his leggings. On his hands are yellow and red gloves and in his right hand is a whip. Behind this guide, or dog cariole driver, is a man seated in a blue, green, and red sled with curled woodwork on its front. The man seated appears shorter than the other two men in the image due to the small sled he is seated in. He sits with his arms and lower body covered by a brown buffalo blanket; on his upper body is a blue coat with a fur collar, and he wears a thick brown cap on his head.

Comparing the lithograph to Rindisbacher's watercolours shows that Jones and Day simplified and modified Rindisbacher's portrayal of the landscape, figures, animals, and clothing. In Rindisbacher's *Winter Voyaging in a Light Sledge* (figure 3-a) and in *A Dog Cariole used only in winter by Canadian Indians* (figure 3-b), Rindisbacher uses vegetation and a visible horizon line to extend the space, creating depth rather than flatness. The weather also looks

[71] Racette refers to decorated dog blankets as "tapis or tuppee." Sherry Farrell Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Metis and Half Breed Identity," (PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2004), 172.

different since the clouds have changed location in the sky. In *Winter Voyaging in a Light Sledge,* the clouds move towards the left side of the image at the top of the sky, and in *A Dog Cariole used only in winter by Canadian Indians* the clouds glide over the horizon line. Rindisbacher's portrayal of the setting places the viewer within the scene, watching the travellers pass. Jones and Day keep the viewer outside the scene by not including the spatial illusions and details that Rindisbacher uses in the watercolours.

The portrayal of people and animals in the watercolours also places the viewer within the setting, unlike in the lithograph, due to the detailed individualization of each figure. The watercolours portray the figures in the same single file formation as in the lithograph, but each figure has a long shadow that extends into the foreground, suggesting a light source from the left side of the image and adding depth. The dogs in the watercolours are larger than in the lithograph and leave paw prints in the snow as they move forward. Their mouths are open, as if panting from pulling the weight of the sled. The man seated in the cariole in the watercolours is slightly larger than the man in the lithograph. He is also depicted in three quarters rather than in profile, providing the viewer with a perspective of his facial expression.

Another difference between the lithograph and the watercolours is the figures' dress. The lithograph changes the way Rindisbacher illustrates the figure's clothing by omitting and modifying certain attributes in each man's attire. In the watercolours, the lead guide's nose is pierced with a hoop ring, which is a detail that is absent in the lithograph. The orientation of the man's rifle is also different in the watercolours; the muzzle is pointed upwards across the man's shoulder, and the stock is pointed downwards towards the man's legs, with what appears to be string dangling from both the tip of the muzzle and the bottom of the stock. The lead guide, who has darker skin than the others, is also the only figure wearing animal skins in all three images.

Animal skins were worn predominantly by indigenous people at the Red River Settlement.[72] In the watercolour, the lead guide wears a painted buffalo robe, which looks similar to the sun motif buffalo robes that George Catlin frequently depicts in his artwork. In *Pshán-shaw, Sweet-scented Grass, Twelve-year-old Daughter of Bloody Hand* (figure 13), which Catlin painted in 1832, a woman wears a painted sun motif buffalo robe that has a similar design to the buffalo robe in Rindisbacher's watercolours. Also alike is the red and white circular designs on the woman's chest; they look similar to the circular motif on the lead guide's chest in the lithograph. The repetition in these images suggests that buffalo robes and circular motifs are part of colonialist visual language about indigeneity.

The dress of the dog cariole driver in the lithograph and the watercolours also differs. In the watercolours, the cariole driver wears a loose fitting blue coat, in contrast to the tailored blue coat worn by the driver in the lithograph. The guide in the lithograph wears a style of frock coat that was popular in England in the nineteenth century, characterized by fronts that slant away from the waist, exposing the man's thighs.[73] He also wears different head attire in the watercolours than in the lithograph; his cap in the watercolours is white, blue, yellow, and red, with triangular designs on the bottom that extend to his shoulders. The top of the cap is eared with pointed tips on both sides of his head. Attached to the back of the cap are blue, red and white ribbons. In the lithograph, Jones and Day reinterpret the guide's cap with a top hat and feather plumes. The guide's attire shows he can afford imported cloth and readymade clothing; both items were available from Hudson's Bay Company posts, and wearing these items indicated

[72] Aileen McKinnon, "Dress in Red River Settlement, 1815 to 1835," (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, 1992), 33.

[73] Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Nineteenth Century*, 114-119.

your status and wealth in the community.[74] The guide's overall style appears to be an amalgamation of indigenous and settler-colonialist dress. The cap on the guide's head in the watercolours is similar to eared hoods made of blanketing cloth worn in indigenous communities.[75] Sherry Farrell Racette states that the hoods, or blanketing caps, were fashioned from remnants of blankets or wool and were decorated with "two wolf or lynx ears" while "others were trimmed with feathers."[76] The blue capote worn by the guide in the watercolours is characteristic Metis dress; however, capotes were also available to anyone in the Red River Settlement since they were sold as readymades in the Hudson's Bay Company forts.[77] Rindisbacher as well as Jones and Day's depiction of this guide suggests he is culturally different from the lead indigenous guide and from the settler-colonist man in the cariole due to his mixture of indigenous and European dress.

The seated man in the cariole wears similar dress in both the watercolours and the lithograph, however the colour of his coat and scarf changes. The rimmed cap worn by the seated man is similar to caps worn in England for sporting events, such as hunting.[78] In addition to the cap, the seated man's coat and scarf also separate him from the dress of the lead indigenous guide and the dog cariole driver since his clothing is muted and plain in comparison to the other two figures. The title of the lithograph labels the man as a "gentleman," which suggests he is a Hudson's Bay Company officer, as he is in a similar, passive position as the Hudson's Bay Company officers in the canoe scenes.

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[74] McKinnon, "Dress in Red River Settlement," 17.
[75] Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together," xii.
[76] Racette, "Sewing Ourselves Together," xii.
[77] McKinnon, "Dress in Red River Settlement," 37-38.
[78] Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Nineteenth Century*, 119.

Also equivalent to the summer canoe scenes is how Rindisbacher differentiates the figures in the winter cariole scenes to construct a narrative about the people living in the Red River Settlement. He portrays the men with different clothing to capture details about their distinct cultures. While Jones and Day reiterate this message through the lithograph, they simplify and modify Rindisbacher's details. The changes made by Jones and Day cause the viewer to feel outside of the scene, which prevents the viewer from connecting with and feeling part of the image. The difference between feeling within the scene versus outside of it may be linked to the images' audience. Rindisbacher's watercolours were frequently sold to Hudson's Bay Company officers who were living or had lived in the Red River Settlement.[79] The officers would have seen a similar winter scene in person, and Rindisbacher's engaging depiction draws on their nostalgic memory. According to Peers, Rindisbacher's images depict "aspects of colonial culture … the nostalgia of colonial agents for the adventures of living in the wilderness, enjoying an exotic and uncivilized lifestyle."[80] In contrast, the *Views in Hudson's Bay* targeted an audience interested in imagery about indigeneity, not an audience who had lived in the Red River Settlement. This accounts for the separation the viewer feels when looking at the lithograph; the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series presents observations about the Red River Settlement, whereas Rindisbacher's watercolours construct nostalgia for it.

All three images are similar to one another since they communicate an overall message about the figures in the scene through the portrayal of their roles. The Hudson's Bay Company officer in the cariole observes the guides running in the landscape and managing the dogs, which places the guides in a working and active role. The message conveyed through the images is that

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[79] Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1970), 41.

[80] Laura Peers, "Almost True: Peter Rindisbacher's Early Images of Rupert's Land, 1821-26," *Art History* 3 (2009), 536.

the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement are workers for the British and the British are overseers of the land and its occupants. The social hierarchy communicated in the winter cariole scenes reiterate a colonial, national identity about the Red River Settlement that is rooted in racial and social oppositions.[81]

Winter Dog Cariole Travel as a Colonial Trope

Winter cariole travel is also a trope repeatedly depicted in colonial travel books. In Franklin's 1823 travel book, the engraving *Manner of Making a Resting Place on a Winters Night, March 15, 1820* (figure 14) portrays a winter scene showing Franklin and his men making camp for the evening. On the left side of the image are two dog sleds with three dogs harnessed to each cariole. In the foreground of the image is another dog sled with three unharnessed dogs around it. The similar number of dogs depicted to a sled suggests there was a standard number of dogs to a sled or that there was an established nineteenth-century visual language for depicting dog carioles.

In addition to Franklin's travel book, John West, a British missionary who lived in the Red River Settlement from 1820 to 1823, also published a travel book that features a winter dog cariole scene. West's travel account, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and Frequent Excursions Among the North-West American Indians, in the Years 1820-1823*, documents his perceptions about the Red River Settlement and its inhabitants. He commissioned Rindisbacher to create illustrations for his travel book before he left the settlement in 1823.[82] One of these illustrations, which became the book's frontispiece (figure 15), depicts a winter scene with a three-dog cariole – the same number of dogs in the

[81] Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric," 12.

[82] Alvin M. Josephy Jr., "The Boy Artist of Red River," *American Heritage* 21, no. 2 (1970): 47.

aforementioned winter cariole images – that has transported West to an indigenous community in the settlement.

The dogs in the frontispiece are larger and shaggier than the dogs in Jones and Day's lithograph as well as in Rindisbacher's watercolours. West explains that the dogs are native to the area; he suggests they are a cross between a European breed and a wolf.[83] West claims that the dogs "are lashed to a sledge, and are often brutally driven to travel thirty or forty miles a day, dragging after them a load of three and four hundred pounds in weight."[84] The depiction of the dogs in the frontispiece as well as in West's description suggests that the dogs are work animals rather than pets. This reiterates the colonial message repeated in the winter cariole images that the Red River Settlement inhabitants, including the dogs, are active workers in the settlement.

Conclusion

A similar colonial narrative is conveyed in the scenes depicting summer travel by canoe and winter travel by dog cariole. Rindisbacher engages with colonial travel imagery and reiterates colonial tropes to construct his watercolours, but he also differentiates his figures from one another to suggest the diverse and distinct people and cultures in the Red River Settlement. Jones and Day modify Rindisbacher's watercolours by omitting or changing the attributes Rindisbacher uses to individualize the figures. By doing so, the British printmakers simplify Rindisbacher's imagery to emphasize the roles of the Red River Settlement inhabitants in comparison to the roles of the Hudson's Bay Company officers. This forms an identity about the Red River Settlement inhabitants that is separate from Britain and connected to the North American landscape. The title page of the *Views in Hudson's Bay* markets the prints to a non-

[83] John West, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and Frequent Excursions Among the North-West American Indians, in the Years 1820-1823* (London, England: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1823), 23.

[84] West, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony*, 23.

indigenous audience interested in interpretations of indigenous North American people, clothing and culture. The settler-colonial and colonial audience mimics the role of the Hudson's Bay Company officers in the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs. They observe indigeneity, just as the officers in the images observe the landscape and inhabitants of the Red River Settlement.

Both the canoe and cariole tropes create a hierarchy between the inhabitants and the colonialists. The inhabitants are depicted in active roles within the landscape, and belong, whereas the colonialists are portrayed in passive roles, observing and overseeing the landscape and inhabitants. The hierarchy engages with a colonial narrative reiterated in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century print series and travel books. It claims that everything within British occupied territories is under the ownership and control of the British.

CHAPTER TWO: Colonial and Settler-Colonial Perspectives

The previous chapter argued that Jones and Day as well as Rindisbacher contribute to nineteenth-century colonial ideology about British North America and indigeneity, despite the stylistic differences in their imagery. Examined through this chapter is how Jones and Day's colonial perspective and Rindisbacher's settler-colonial perspective frame the narratives communicated through their images. A colonial perspective informs Jones and Day's images since both men produced the print series while living in England. A settler-colonial perspective informs Rindisbacher's imagery since he painted the watercolours while living in the Red River Settlement. The chapter examines the lithographs *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg* (figure 4) and *The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* (figure 5) in comparison to Rindisbacher's watercolours to further differentiate the narratives conveyed through the colonial versus settler-colonial perspectives. As there are no known Rindisbacher watercolours that are similar to the lithograph *The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole*, I argue that Jones and Day created this image and added it to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series to better convey colonial ideology about indigenous and non-indigenous families.

An Indigenous Family Travelling in Winter

In the lithograph *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg*, an indigenous family carrying supplies walks in single file through snow; they are accompanied by two dogs pulling a sled with bundles. Throughout the middle and background of the image are trees and small vegetation. The layout of the vegetation forms a 'C' shape; it starts in the middle of the image with the barren tree and winds to the left of the image across the shaded mounds of snow and thin vegetation, turning towards the right side of the image at the

horizon line. Drifting above the horizon line is a large white cloud that stands out against the blue sky. In the foreground is an indigenous man; he leads two dogs harnessed to a sled of provisions, two small boys, and their mother towards the left side of the image.

The father wears a red cap with white stripes and two feathers attached to the top. He carries a rifle in his hands with the barrel on his shoulder; the rifle has two strings hanging from its muzzle. The man is clothed in a red and white shirt, red leggings, gloves, and has moccasins on his feet that are strapped into snowshoes. Wrapped around his body is a large sun motif buffalo robe. The man's dress and position is similar to the indigenous guide's clothing in the dog cariole scenes – Day and Jones' *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide* and the watercolours by Rindisbacher.

Behind the father are two dogs pulling a toboggan. The dog harnesses are not decorated and look like brown leather. The lead dog has its mouth slightly open; it looks upwards, anticipating a command from the indigenous man. The second dog has one of its front paws in the air and its back legs are far apart, as if struggling to pull the weight of the sled. Roped down on the toboggan are brown, white and red bundles. A little boy walking parallel to the sled is wearing a cream-coloured blanket around his body with blue stripes at the bottom, a pointed blue cap on his head, and leggings. Under his arm is a bow, which he presses to his chest as he walks. The boy standing behind the toboggan carries a brown bundle on his back and wears a cream blanket and brown leggings. Next to the boy is his mother who is carrying a large yellow bundle on her back. She also has a cream blanket wrapped around her body and wears a green top, blue leggings, and moccasins.

A watercolour and drawing of the same scene by Rindisbacher provide additional information about the figures' personalities. In the drawing *Dogs Pulling Toboggan [Untitled]*

(figure 4-a), the boy walking next to the sled is portrayed on the rear, rather than on the far side of the toboggan. The boy holds a stick and seems to be teasing the barking dog. The shape of the stick is similar to a canoe paddle; it is rounded and thick at the top and thin in the shaft. However, it is unlikely the boy would be carrying a canoe paddle in the winter. The mother in the drawing watches the interaction between the dog and her son with a slight smile on her face. The same detail, but with more animation, is also present in Rindisbacher's watercolour of the scene, *Chippewa Mode of Travelling in the Winter* (figure 4-b). The child is in the same position as in the drawing and waves a thin stick above his head as the dog barks at him. In this version, the mother holds what looks like a canoe paddle. Instead of looking at her child and the dog, she looks out at the viewer with a frown on her face.

In his drawing and watercolour, Rindisbacher emphasizes the family's interactions, providing a narrative about the family's personality. The boy and the dog in the drawing and watercolour are animated, compared to the serious expressions of the boy and the dog in the lithograph. In Jones and Day's reinterpretation of the scene, the focus is on the setting, which emphasizes the figure's relationship to the landscape. Despite the differences in interpretations, all three images portray the indigenous family and dogs as active participants in the landscape. The family is walking, rather than being transported, and they are carrying supplies. The dogs are also active participants since they transport goods on the toboggan.

A non-Indigenous Family Travelling in Winter

The lithograph *The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* portrays a similar scene in that it too depicts a family travelling in a winter landscape. The low winter sun illuminates the figures from the right side of the image, casting shadows that extend into the foreground. The family is travelling by horse cariole, winding around layers of

snow and vegetation on a path with footprints that lead towards a fort in the distance. The fort is in the background outlined against the blue horizon.

The title of the lithograph does not identify the fort in the background, but comparing it to a watercolour by Ernest Hutchins (figure 16) suggests it might be Fort Douglas, the residence of the Governor of the Red River Settlement.[85] The watercolour was painted in 1909, well after the fort's destruction. Despite the change of season, both images portray the fort from a similar perspective. In the watercolour, the river is in the foreground of the image and Fort Douglas is in the background against the horizon line. A path leads figures into the fort in the middle of the image, as in the lithograph. On the left side of the image is a building with a pointed roof, similar to the building on the left in the lithograph. The comparison between the images suggests that the Governor and his family are driving on the frozen river, which is also stated in the lithograph's title, toward home.

The figures in the lithograph are large in scale, arranged in a line, and positioned in the foreground. They stand and sit stiffly, staring at the landscape around them with serious expressions. A horse harnessed to the cariole transports the family along the path; its two legs in the air suggest that it is moving the sled forwards. The horse's body is shaded on its neck and legs to illustrate musculature. Behind the horse rides the Governor's family in a red, white and pink cariole. Its front curls upwards, like the dog cariole in *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide*. Running parallel to the sled is a white and brown dog with a yellow collar. Unlike in the previous images depicting the indigenous family, the dog is unharnessed and running free. Both its front legs are in the air and it leaps forwards to catch up

[85] The archival record for Ernest J. Hutchins' watercolour *Old Fort Douglas* states that Fort Douglas was the Governor of the Red River Settlement's residence until the fort was destroyed by the 1826 flood. Ernest J. Hutchins, MIKAN no. 2837713, watercolour, 1909; C-018184; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

with the horse. Next to the dog is the Governor seated in the front of the sled; he holds a whip in his hands and is directing the horse. Behind the Governor is his family; his wife and son are seated side by side under a buffalo blanket, and an older boy is standing at the back of the cariole on a ledge.

Each of the figures in the scene is wearing winter clothing. The Governor is dressed in yellow trousers, a blue collared coat with red trimmings, yellow gloves, and a brown and yellow cap. The mother wears a large brown bonnet with a pink ribbon tied under her chin and a black and white patterned top. Her son seated next to her wears a brown and yellow cap, similar in style to his father's, and his body is completely wrapped in a brown buffalo blanket. The boy standing on the back of the cariole wears clothing similar to the Governor. He is dressed in yellow trousers, a collared blue coat with red piping, a red waist sash, as well as a brown cap.

Jones and Day's portrayal of the Governor and his family places them within the landscape as passive participants. Instead of walking like the indigenous family, the Governor and his family are transported through the winter scene. They observe the landscape around them, rather than being a part of it. The horse is the active participant in the image since it pulls the family to their destination. The dog is also in an active position as it runs through the setting, but is it not harnessed to a sled or carrying any cargo, suggesting it is a pet, rather than a working animal.

Family Relationships in the Red River Settlement

Jones and Day's depiction of a British woman and Hudson's Bay Company officer's wife in the Red River Settlement is unusual; it was uncommon during the early 1820s for officer's wives to live in the settlement with their husbands. Prior to the 1820s, non-indigenous men involved in the fur trade often formed unions with indigenous women. These unions created

alliances between fur traders and indigenous communities; they granted fur traders access to trade routes and provided indigenous wives with an important role as a cultural liaison between their husband and their community.[86] Sylvia Van Kirk explains that until the late 1820s, Hudson's Bay Company officials believed that European women were ill suited to living in British North America with their husbands.[87] Company wives were prohibited from travelling to British North America on company ships, which prevented them from living with their husbands while they were stationed at company posts. The implementation of this rule followed earlier failed attempts at allowing wives to live with their husbands during their posting.

In the 1830s, the gradual introduction of non-indigenous wives into the Red River Settlement created racial hierarchies between indigenous and non-indigenous wives. Indigenous women were "rejected as unsuitable mates for officers and gentlemen"[88] and Hudson's Bay Company officers were encouraged to choose European wives.[89] The British wives of Hudson's Bay Company officers were hostile towards indigenous wives since they believed the unions threatened their status and supposed superiority as European women.[90] The missionaries in the Red River Settlement supported the racial tensions as they condemned unions between non-indigenous men and indigenous women if the marriage had not taken place in a church, and instead, had followed the customs of the indigenous woman's community.[91]

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[86] Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Woman in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 7.

[87] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 34.

[88] Jennifer S. H. Brown*, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Australia: La Trobe University Library, 1992), xv.

[89] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 7.

[90] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 202.

[91] Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 146.

It is possible that the Governor and his family portrayed in Jones and Day's lithograph is Governor Robert Parker Pelly and his wife, Emma.[92] While Pelly was stationed as Governor of the Red River Settlement from 1823 to 1825, he lived in Fort Douglas with his family. The Hudson's Bay Company's policy on wives was no longer strictly enforced during the 1820s; the arrival of missionaries and settlers in the early 1820s with non-indigenous, European women altered the rule, but British wives in the settlement was still uncommon and not encouraged for Hudson's Bay Company officers.[93] In fact, Pelly's family is an example of a failed attempt at introducing a British wife to British North America. Jennifer S. H. Brown states that Emma's "delicate health and failure to adjust to the Red River life led Pelly to relinquish his position."[94]

When Pelly and his wife moved from England to the Red River Settlement, they brought with them their one-year-old son, Robert.[95] In 1824, the Pelly family welcomed a second son, Henry, who was born in Fort Douglas.[96] Pelly therefore had two young sons under the age of three while he lived in the Red River Settlement. The boys depicted in the lithograph appear much older than Pelly's sons, suggesting that the portrait does not depict Pelly's family.

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[92] I found the name of Pelly's spouse, Emma, on both their son's birth certificates. England, Birth Certificate Reference D2424/8/49 (January 21, 1822), Robert Pelly; Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester, United Kingdom. Fort Douglas, Red River Colony, Birth Certificate piece number 160, class number RG 5 (July 1, 1824), Henry Pelly; Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist Registry and from the Wesleyan Methodist Metropolitan Registry, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, Surrey, England.

[93] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 34.

[94] Brown, *Strangers in Blood*, 34.

[95] England, Birth Certificate Reference D2424/8/49 (January 21, 1822), Robert Pelly; Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester, United Kingdom.

[96] The location 'Fort Douglas' is handwritten on Henry Pelly's birth certificate. Fort Douglas, Red River Colony, Birth Certificate piece number 160, class number RG 5 (July 1, 1824), Henry Pelly; Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist Registry and from the Wesleyan Methodist Metropolitan Registry, The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, Surrey, England.

Scholarship about this lithograph claims it is based on a Rindisbacher watercolour depicting Governor Andrew Bulger, who was stationed at the Red River Settlement from 1822 to 1823.[97] Clifford Wilson claims that Pelly asked Jones to replace Bulger's head in the lithograph for Pelly's head, making Pelly's family the subject instead of Bulger's.[98] Research into Bulger's genealogical history reveals that Bulger was indeed married and had a family – eleven years after his position as Governor of the Red River Settlement. According to the marriage certificate, Andrew Bulger, "late Captain in the Newfoundland Fencibles, Bachelor," married "Alicia Lowther, Spinster," in 1834 at St. Andrew's Church in Quebec City, Quebec.[99] The marriage certificate further states that Bulger served as a Captain in the Newfoundland Fencibles, which was Bulger's station before he was placed in the Red River Settlement in 1822.[100] Finally, the certificate also lists Bulger as a 'Bachelor' and not a 'Widow,' suggesting that his marriage to

[97] The following scholars claim that the *Views in Hudson's Bay* prints series is a repetition of Rindisbacher's watercolours depicting Andrew Bulger: John C. Ewers, *Artists of the Old West* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965); Karen McCoskey Goering, "Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834): First Artist of the North American Frontier," *Gateway Heritage: The Magazine of the Missouri Historical Society* 6, no. 1, (1985): 42-48; Alvin M. Josephy Jr., "The Boy Artist of Red River." *American Heritage* 21, no. 2 (1970): 30-49; Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1970); John Francis McDermott, "Peter Rindisbacher: Frontier Reporter," *The Art Quarterly* (1949): 129-144; Carol Moore-Ede Myers, "Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834)," in *Lives and Works of the Canadian Artists*, edited by R. H. Stacey (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1977); Grace Lee Nute, "New Discoveries," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* 276 (December 1945): 34; Henry E. Bovay, "Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834) Swiss Pioneer Artist of the American West," in *Red River Crossings: Contemporary Native American Artists Respond to Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834)* (New York: Swiss Institute, 1996), 5-14; Clifford Wilson, "Pelly's Picture Books," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* 276 (December 1945): 34-45.

[98] Clifford Wilson, "Pelly's Picture Books," *The Beaver: A Magazine of the North* (December 1945), 34-36.

[99] Quebec, Marriage Certificate (22 August 1834), Andrew Bulger and Alicia Lowther; Drouin Collection, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

[100] Bulger's position within the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment is described in his autobiography. Andrew H. Bulger, *An Autobiographical Sketch of the Services of the Late Captain Andrew Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment* (Bangalore, India: 1865).

Lowther was his first.[101] Bulger was single when he lived in the settlement, explaining why there are no known Rindisbacher watercolours depicting Bulger driving in a horse cariole in the Red River Settlement with his family. His marriage certificate contradicts existing literature and strongly suggests that *The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole* is, in all likelihood, not based on a watercolour by Rindisbacher.

Colonial Versus Settler-Colonial Perspectives

If Jones and Day created *The Governor of Red River, driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole,* they contributed to a colonial and setter-colonial market interested in scenes of winter travel in North America. Poulter states that "early visitors to Canada made or purchased sketches, paintings and watercolours as souvenirs. Often these travellers would subsequently publish illustrated accounts of their journeys."[102] Travelling in winter by horse cariole is a common image in print series and travel books depicting North America. For instance, there are multiple travel books at the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library at the University of Alberta that were published in England prior to the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series that feature horse carioles in winter. Two of these travel books include the illustrations *Fall of Montmorency in Winter* engraved by F.C. Lewis after a painting by George Hariot (figure 17) and *A Canadian Cariole* by an unknown engraver after a drawing by John Lambert (figure 18). The first illustration depicts multiple families travelling by horse cariole. In the foreground of the image is a horse cariole accident, suggesting this mode of travel can be unsafe. The second image

[101] I am basing this conclusion on my genealogical research since it required reading numerous marriage certificates. On certificates where a man or woman remarried after their spouse passed away, the person's description reads 'widow' rather than 'bachelor' for a man and 'spinster' for a woman.

[102] Gillian Poulter, "Representation as Colonial Rhetoric: The Image of 'the Native' and 'the inhabitant' in the Formation of Colonial Identities in Early Nineteenth-Century Lower Canada," *Journal of Canadian Art History* vol. 16, no. 1 (1994), 12.

demonstrates the structure of a cariole, providing an educational tool for people unfamiliar with carioles. In the background of the image are people driving in carioles, showing how the vehicles are used in the winter.

The existence of travel books produced in England with images of horse carioles shows that British publishing houses and printmakers were familiar with the imagery. F. St. George Spendlove discusses how printmakers created fictitious topographical views for print series; the printmakers constructed the images based on information relayed to them by travellers.[103] As North American winter scenes with horse carioles were common in British print series and travel books, and there was a practice of making historically fictitious prints, Jones and Day likely added the lithograph to the print series based on pre-existing visual constructions of similar scenes.

Placing the winter cariole scene next to *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg* communicates a social and racial binary based in oppositions. The indigenous family is portrayed in an active position transporting themselves in the landscape, whereas the British family is transported in a passive position by a horse cariole. The indigenous family is travelling for a purpose; both the family and the dogs are transporting supplies. In contrast, the non-indigenous family appears to be travelling for leisure, as they are not carrying belongings. The indigenous family lives within the landscape; the non-indigenous family is present to oversee the area for a short period of time. Their home is in the background, at the fort.

Poulter argues that British colonial art merges indigenous North American identities with settler-colonialist identities into "foreign Others." Jones and Day contribute to this colonial

[103] F. St. George Spendlove, *The Face of Early Canada: Pictures of Canada which Have Helped to Make History* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), 83.

ideology by merging concepts of indigeneity with the North American winter landscape and contrasting it to the British colonial family. The winter scene and the two families are all portrayed as foreign Others: the indigenous family as primitive Other, the civilized British family as civilized Other, and the North American winter landscape as spatial Other, a landscape unknown and different from England.

Jones and Day visually construct the figures and scenes in the lithographs from a colonial perspective. They reinterpret the indigenous family in Rindisbacher's imagery to emphasize the family's position within the landscape and construct the non-indigenous family as a direct comparison. Linda Tuhiwai Smith states

> By the 19th century, colonialism not only meant the imposition of Western authority over indigenous lands, indigenous modes of production, and indigenous law and government, but also the imposition of Western authority over all aspects of indigenous knowledges, languages, and cultures.[104]

Jones and Day's interpretation of indigeneity imposes authority over the indigenous family's identity and culture. The title page of the print series claims that the images are "Taken … on the Spot," legitimizing the narrative in the lithographs by claiming the images were created by a first-hand observer.

Rindisbacher's perspective differs from Jones and Day since he actually was a first-hand observer of many different cultures and individuals while he lived in the Red River Settlement. His perspective comes from a position as a Swiss settler-colonialist, an individual colonized by the British and part of the system colonizing indigenous populations. Rindisbacher's imagery of the indigenous family focuses on their interactions, conveying the family's personality and individual traits. Rindisbacher's artistic training likely affected the way he perceived and

[104] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 96.

interpreted subjects since he learnt his artistic style from a miniature painter.[105] Mary Allodi claims that the artist "was a miniature painter at heart. … His [indigenous] costumes are painted bead by bead, feather by feather."[106] Rindisbacher's artistic training as a miniaturist suggests that he depicts details about the indigenous family's clothing and personalities because that is how he was taught.

Rindisbacher's portrait of the indigenous family may be based on what he witnessed in person, but it structures the indigenous family's identity and culture within his artistic style. His interpretation of the family is affected by what he chooses to emphasize and omit as an artist. Marcia Pointon asserts that portraits combine elements of fiction and reality.

> Portraiture is a slippery and seductive art; it encourages us to feel that then is now and now is then. It seems to offer factual data while simultaneously inviting a subjective response. It offers – in its finest manifestations – an illusion of timelessness, the impression that we can know people other than ourselves and, especially, those among the unnumbered and voiceless dead.[107]

The details that Rindisbacher uses in his portrait of the indigenous family cause the viewer to feel connected to the figures. It personalizes the family, making them seem real. However, Rindisbacher's perspective as a settler-colonial artist is similar to Jones and Day. He imposes authority over indigenous identity and culture by interpreting the indigenous family for non-indigenous audiences. His portrait is a combination of his perspective as a first-hand observer and as an artist contributing to a colonialist market interested in images attempting to define indigeneity.

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[105] Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Artist was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1970), 5.

[106] Mary Allodi, "The Red River Artist, Peter Rindisbacher 1806-1834," *Rotunda* 3, no. 4 (Fall 1970), 34.

[107] Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London, England: Reaktion, 2013), 28.

Conclusion

In both winter scenes depicting travel in the Red River Settlement, the families are similarly structured. A mother and father journey with their two sons in a single file formation with the father at the lead and the mother and sons in the back. The families are differentiated through their race; the indigenous family has a darker complexion than the non-indigenous family and family members wear animal skins and blankets rather than European clothing. The indigenous family travels towards the left side of the image by foot and is accompanied by two working dogs. In contrast, the non-indigenous family is transported towards the right side of the image by cariole and is accompanied by a pet dog. The families travel in opposition to one another – left versus right – symbolizing a colonial narrative about racial and social binaries between indigenous and non-indigenous families.

Jones and Day's lithograph depicting the Governor and his family travelling in a horse cariole is constructed in a similar artistic style to Rindisbacher's, making the print looking like a work based on a Rindisbacher watercolour. However, the image was created by Jones and Day and added to the print series to contrast with the indigenous family travelling in winter. The oppositional narratives conveyed in the images reiterate the colonial ideology consistently structured in the *Views in Hudson's Bay* print series.

CHAPTER THREE: Negotiating Colonial Ideology

The last two lithographs in *Views in Hudson's Bay* narrate a diplomatic meeting between Hudson's Bay Company officers and an Ojibwe group. *The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor* (figure 6) portrays Ojibwe men meeting Hudson's Bay Company officers outside of Fort Douglas. *The Red Lake Chief making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825* (figure 7) depicts the same Ojibwe men meeting with the Governor inside the Colony House at Fort Douglas. Both scenes portray the "Red Lake Chief" as the focal point of the images, visually recording his negotiations with the Governor. Examined in this chapter is the possibility that the images convey a narrative counter to dominant colonial ideology. By analyzing the lithographs in context with Rindisbacher's watercolours, the study shows that the colonial ideology communicated through the narratives is complex and layered, rather than a standard binary portraying indigenous and non-indigenous groups in opposition.

The location depicted in each of the scenes is Fort Douglas, a Hudson's Bay Company post, which was established in the Red River Settlement in 1813.[108] It was constructed in an attempt to dominate the fur trade and control the fur trade's supply lines.[109] Fort Douglas was close to Fort Gibraltar (see figure 8), a post run by the Hudson's Bay Company's rival, the North West Company. The Hudson's Bay Company acquired Fort Gibraltar soon after the Battle at Seven Oaks, which was a violent confrontation in 1817 between members of the Hudson's Bay

[108] The Red River Settlement is also referred to as the "colony of Assiniboia." Nelly Laudicina, "The Rules of Red River: The Council of Assiniboia and its Impact on the Colony, 1820-1869," *Past Imperfect* 15 (June 2009): 36-75. Robert Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine: A Thematic History, 1734-1850* (Environment Canada, 1988), 8-9.

[109] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine*, 8-9.

Company and the North West Company.[110] By 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had merged into one enterprise.[111] Fort Gibraltar was renamed Fort Garry and the Hudson's Bay Company moved its operations to this location, leaving Fort Douglas as the Governor's residence.

According to Robert Coutts, merging the two rival fur-trading companies had both positive and negative effects. It resolved trapping tensions between employees of the two companies, but it also eliminated about two-thirds of the jobs.[112] This spike in unemployment placed an economic burden on the Hudson's Bay Company, as the inhabitants of the Red River Settlement, including the settler-colonialists and the indigenous communities, became significantly more dependant on it for provisions. In addition to the unemployment conditions, the Red River Settlement was struggling to self-sustain. The fur trade was in decline and the land that settlers had hoped was fertile for farming was plagued with harsh winters and invasive pests that prevented a good harvest. By 1821, both indigenous and settler-colonialist groups were economically dependant on the Hudson's Bay Company.[113]

Diplomatic Tropes

In *The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor*, the figures are clustered together in the foreground, outside Fort Douglas. In the background on the left side of the image is the Red River, which winds around green vegetation and trees. Behind the figures is a stockade with a canon pointed towards the group. A large British flag hangs near the front of the fort's entrance; it is held by one of the Ojibwe men. The

[110] R. D. Francis, *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies* (Saskatoon, Sask: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 8.
[111] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine,* 98.
[112] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine*, 98.
[113] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine*, 73.

group is lit from the right side of the image, casting a shadow over the figures that extends on the ground into the left side of the image. The linear perspective created by the wall of the fort and the small scale of the vegetation in the background extends the space and makes the setting seem realistic.

On the right side of the lithograph, the Governor of the Red River Settlement shakes hands with one of the Ojibwe men. The Governor wears a cap, a long, tailored blue coat with a black collar, light coloured trousers, and black shoes. Next to the Governor is another settler-colonialist man who also wears European clothing. The two men's clothing is dissimilar to the settler-colonialist men standing on the far left of the image, who are dressed like the labouring men paddling the canoe in *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe*. The men in the Ojibwe group have blankets draped around their chests and wear red, green, or blue wool leggings with black and white fastenings below their knees. Their dress exposes their upper thighs and chests, showing a substantial amount of skin in comparison to the formally dressed Governor and settler-colonialists. Some of the Ojibwe men wear feathers in their hair and adornments around their neck. The Ojibwe men closest to the Governor show less skin than the rest of the group. One of the Ojibwe men standing in the foreground is larger than the rest of the figures; he wears a top hat with feather plumes, a blue and red coat, a blanket around his waist, red and blue leggings, and moccasins. The man's size and stature suggests that he is the Ojibwe Chief mentioned in the title of the work. The majority of the Ojibwe men are carrying rifles and point them towards the sky; flame and smoke comes out of the rifles from the muzzle flash, suggesting the men have fired their weapons to announce their arrival.

Rindisbacher portrays the same subject matter and perspective in his watercolours. However, the Hudson's Bay Company men differ in each watercolour in comparison to the

lithograph. In Rindisbacher's *Red Lake Indians Salute Governor Bulger at Fort Douglas* (figure 6-a), Governor Bulger is dressed in a military uniform rather than a blue collared coat.[114] The men standing on the left of the image also differ; in the watercolour, they wear formal, blue collared coats instead of a loosely fitted shirt and coat. The body language of the settler-colonialist man standing beside Bulger is also quite different than in the lithograph, as he stands with his arms crossed staring sternly off into the distance. Behind the flag in the watercolour are Hudson's Bay Company men in conversation; their bodies are hidden from the group by the flag, and they do not seem to acknowledge the Ojibwe men. In the lithograph, there is only one man standing behind the flag, but the lithograph's colourist has not coloured in his body.[115] The Ojibwe men in Rindisbacher's watercolour are also different than in the lithograph as they have nose piercings and facial tattoos. Rindisbacher's second watercolour of the scene, *A War Party at Fort Douglas discharging their Guns in the Air as a token of their peaceable Intentions* (figure 6-b), is even more detailed. Omitted from this version are the two men standing on the left side of the image, which emphasizes the Red River on the left and the cluster of figures on the right. The Governor's clothing in this watercolour is similar to the lithograph, but his body language differs since he is not shaking the hand of the Ojibwe man in front of him.

The Red Lake Chief, making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825 moves the party from outside Fort Douglas to the Colony House. The viewer perceives the scene from slightly above and from the front of the room. The men are positioned in a wide circle facing a window on the right side of the lithograph. Maps hang on the wall in the background and a British flag hangs next to the door in the left side of the print. The image is

[114] Bulger's military uniform references his service in the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment. Andrew H. Bulger, *An Autobiographical Sketch of the Services of the Late Captain Andrew Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Fencible Regiment* (Bangalore, India: 1865).

[115] This man is not coloured in any of the lithographs that I have examined in person.

flattened by the perspective of the ceiling, which seems to make the space extend forwards instead of backwards.

In the scene, the Governor of the Red River Settlement is seated in a chair next to the window, watching the Ojibwe Chief. The majority of the Ojibwe men are seated on the wood floor; they face the Ojibwe Chief and Bulger, who are in conversation on the right side of the image. Some of the Ojibwe men are smoking tobacco from their pipes as they listen to the negotiations. The Ojibwe man seated in the bottom right of the image points up with his index finger towards the Ojibwe Chief, and the man standing close to Bulger and the Chief also points in that direction. The Chief is motioning to the left side of the image with his outstretched arm and flattened palm, toward the British flag and a man smoking tobacco. The Ojibwe Chief is no longer dressed in a blue and red coat as in the arrival scene. Instead, he wears a large silver medal around his neck, a cream coloured blanket with a blue stripe across his torso, red and blue leggings, and moccasins.

Rindisbacher's watercolours of the scene are more detailed than Jones and Day's lithograph. In both watercolours, the Ojibwe men have nose piercings and tattoos, which are omitted in Jones and Day's variation. In Rindisbacher's *Captain Bulger's Palaver*[116] (figure 7-a), the figures are closer to the picture plane and the viewer is able to see the expressions on the men's faces. There are more objects in this scene than in the lithograph; the rifles the Ojibwe men were carrying in the previous arrival scene are placed on the left side of the room against the wall. In Rindisbacher's second watercolour, *Captain Bulger, Governor of Assiniboia, and the*

[116] I was not able to confirm whether there is any writing under the image and whether the image's title is original to the work as the Gilcrease Museum was unable to unframe the watercolour. According to the *New Oxford American Dictionary* 3rd Edition, the eighteenth-century meaning for the word 'palaver' is "a talk between tribespeople and traders." However, the contemporary meaning of the word 'palaver' is a "prolonged and idle discussion."

Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippewa Tribe of Red Lake, in Council in the Colony House in Fort Douglas May 22nd, 1823 (figure 7-b), the scale of the figures to the room is similar to the lithograph. However, only two men point in this version of the scene. The Ojibwe Chief gestures with an outstretched arm towards the left side of the room while an Ojibwe man seated directly in front of him points with his index finger towards him. The ceiling also differs from the lithograph, extending the room backwards to create a sense of depth. Rindisbacher has also incorporated more objects in the room. On the left side of the image is a stack of rifles leaning against the back wall; next to the rifles is a shelf with vessels on top. On the opposite side in the background is a desk and chair with two maps and a bookshelf at the top of the wall.

These diplomatic scenes likely portray a meeting between Andrew Bulger, the Governor of the Red River Settlement, and Peguis, a leader of a community of Ojibwe, which took place in 1822. Also present in the meeting was the Council of Assiniboia, which was formed to ensure the adherence of British law in the Red River Settlement.[117] Bulger was one of three regular members in the Council; the others were Thomas Thomas and John Pritchard, Hudson's Bay Company officers.[118] According to Laura Peers, Peguis and a group of Ojibwe met with Bulger to complain about the lack of compensation they had been receiving since the 1817 treaty.[119] Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, negotiated with Ojibwe, Assiniboine, Metis, and Cree communities to grant him access to their land in exchange for tobacco.[120] Selkirk believed that the indigenous communities, by signing the treaty, had ceded their land.[121] However, Peguis

[117] Laudicina, "The Rules of Red River," 39.
[118] Laudicina, "The Rules of Red River," 41.
[119] Laura L. Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994), 126.
[120] Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 67.
[121] Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada*, 126.

understood that the treaty negotiated a land rental and Selkirk was to make payments with tobacco to the indigenous groups.[122] Bulger wrote about his meeting with Peguis in 1822 in a letter to Andrew Colville, a Hudson's Bay Company employee.

> I asked Pigowis if he had not, with other chiefs, signed a paper, conveying the land to His Lordship, which the old rogue at first strenuously denied; but being more closely questioned, and informed that I could produce, not only the paper, but some of the persons who saw him sign it, he confessed he had signed it, but without consulting his chiefs and young men, who were always reproaching him with what he had done.[123]

The recorded interaction between Bulger and Peguis suggests that men spoke to each other in a common language, likely English, despite their dispute. Bulger's account makes it seem like Peguis admitted to ceding his lands, but Peguis' argument was about the details of the treaty, not about whether he signed the treaty. This was not the last visit Peguis made to the Red River Settlement Governor and Council about the treaty; Peguis repeatedly made diplomatic visits to negotiate for the promised compensation.[124] Even if Bulger and the Council had wanted to help Peguis, there was little they could do; the Council met infrequently and had little control over the decisions made by the Hudson's Bay Company.[125] Since this treaty disagreement was an ongoing problem between Peguis and the Hudson's Bay Company, and since Rindisbacher was living in the Red River Settlement and working for Bulger during the 1822 meeting with Peguis, these two diplomatic images probably portray this treaty disagreement between the two men.

Framing Colonial Ideology

These diplomatic scenes are structured by a colonialist visual language. Rindisbacher, Jones and Day differentiate the indigenous and non-indigenous individuals through their dress.

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[122] Peguis, "Native Title to Indian Lands," *Nor'Wester,* February 14, 1860, page 3.

[123] Andrew H. Bulger, *Papers Referring to Red River Settlement, Hudson's Bay Territories* (Bangalore, India: Regimental Press, 1866).

[124] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine,* 106.

[125] Coutts, *The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine*, 114.

Vivien Green Fryd describes similar colonial scenes in terms of opposing forms of masculinity.[126] She contends that both indigenous and non-indigenous men are portrayed as masculine, but the indigenous men are "alien" in comparison to the clothed non-indigenous men because of their "nakedness and accoutrements – trade blanket, hunting pouch, and body paint."[127] The indigenous men in both the arrival and interior scenes display bare skin and wear feathers and trade blankets, which visually differentiates them from the settler-colonialists and the formally dressed Hudson's Bay Company officers. Peguis, or the Ojibwe Chief, however, exposes very little skin in the arrival images. He wears a Chief's coat, which is a trade item that was given to indigenous leaders by colonialists during trading ceremonies.[128] The coats, which communicated trade allegiances, were often personalized by the owner.[129] Even though Peguis is fully clothed in the arrival images, his dress still communicates indigeneity and separates him from the non-indigenous men, like the other Ojibwe figures.

In addition to the Chief's coat, Peguis also wears a top hat with feather plumes, which is another trade item that was given to indigenous chiefs by colonialists during trading ceremonies.[130] He also wears a silver medal around his neck in both the arrival and interior scenes, which was given to him by Selkirk during the 1817 treaty negotiations.[131] The medal acknowledges the assistance Peguis and his community gave to the settler-colonialists who immigrated to the Red River area in 1812. With the Ojibwe community's help, the settler-

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[126] Vivien Green Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe,'" *American Art* (1995), 83-84.

[127] Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe,'" 83-84.

[128] Pamela Blackstock, "Nineteenth Century Fur Trade Costume," *Canadian Folklore* 10, no. 1-2 (1988): 200.

[129] James Austin Hanson and Gail DeBuse Potter, *The Encyclopedia of Trade Goods* (Chadron, Nebraska: Museum of the Fur Trade, 2011), 94.

[130] Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada*, 37.

[131] Shave, "John West, Peguis, and Peter Rindisbacher," *The Beaver* (Summer 1957): 17-18.

colonialist were able to survive and adapt to the unpredictable environment in the Red River area.[132] Peguis was known as Colony Chief in the Red River Settlement as a result.[133] According to Albert Edward Thompson, Peguis' great-great-grandson, the medal "bore the likeness of King George III on one side and the Hudson's Bay Company crest on the other," a likeness that can be viewed in person at the Manitoba Museum, where the medal is stored.[134] Thompson also explains that Selkirk gave Peguis his Chief's coat during the same ceremony.[135] By portraying Peguis in the arrival scenes with clothing that was given to the Chief by Selkirk, the image communicated Peguis' association with the Hudson's Bay Company and to the Red River Settlement settler-colonialists.

A colonial visual language also structures Peguis' gestures in the interior scenes. Rindisbacher and the printmakers depict Peguis and the seated Ojibwe man pointing with their hands or finger, applying a conventional European pose to an Ojibwe individual. Peers contends

> While conventional within European sculpture and painting, such gestures would never have been made by Ojibwa and northern Cree people, for whom pointing was exceptionally rude and potentially dangerous: it was the way that evil-intentioned individuals sent harmful power in witchcraft or shamanic feuds.[136]

In the lithograph and the watercolours, the Ojibwe men's identities are reinterpreted for non-indigenous audiences. Stephanie Pratt claims that the pose "amounts to an idealization and Europeanization of the original sitter and begins a process of hybridical representations of

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[132] Shave, "John West, Peguis, and Peter Rindisbacher," 17-18.

[133] Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada*, 89.

[134] Peguis' medal is located at the Manitoba Museum, Catalogue Number H8-6-4. Albert Edward Thompson, *Chief Peguis and his Descendants* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1973), 16-17.

[135] Thompson, *Chief Peguis and his Descendants*, 16-17.

[136] Laura Peers, "Almost True: Peter Rindisbacher's Early Images of Rupert's Land, 1821-26," *Art History* 3 (2009): 529.

[indigenous] leaders that lasted far into the 18th century,"[137] and as this image shows, well into the nineteenth century. Peguis' gesture in the direction of both the British flag and the indigenous man smoking tobacco could be a reference to the 1817 treaty negotiations. Pointing to the British flag – a symbol of territory and ownership – perhaps reflects Peguis' argument that the settler-colonialists occupy the region because they are renting the land. It could also remind the Governor and Council to honour the treaties made in the name of Britain and to provide the Ojibwe group with the negotiated amount of tobacco. Both the British flag and tobacco are also trade items that were given to indigenous groups during official ceremonies;[138] pointing to these items references the relationship between the two cultural groups.

The maps hanging on the wall in the interior images also convey colonial ideology. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill suggests that maps symbolize "discovery, order and ownership" since they rename and reorganize indigenous land to construct a colonial territory.[139] Mapping causes the idea of ownership, or the claim of ownership, to become a visual reality.[140] The maps on the wall in the interior images represent Selkirk's and the Hudson's Bay Company's claim of ownership over the Red River Settlement and Ojibwe territory. Each of the objects and gestures depicted in the images, including trade items, pointing, and maps, are constructed in a visual language that engages with colonial ideology.

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[137] Stephanie Pratt, "Truth and Artifice in the Visualization of Native Peoples: From the Time of John White to the Beginning of the 18th Century," in *European Visions: American Voices*, edited by Kim Sloan (London, England: British Museum, 2009), 35-36.

[138] Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada,* 37-38.

[139] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 17.

[140] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual*, 17.

Negotiating Colonial Narratives

The colonial narratives constructed through these images – both watercolors and print – also incorporate perspectives that stray from colonialism. It is possible that Rindisbacher felt sympathy towards Peguis and the Ojibwe group due to his own experiences with the Hudson's Bay Company. In a letter from Rindisbacher's father to a friend, Rindisbacher's father claims he has been "cheated" by the Hudson's Bay Company and pleads for help.

> Justice and police are bad here, so that the right of the fist is [almost] valid here. The raw, cold-blooded Englishman, whose trade spirit borders almost on inhumanity, worries about nothing except that which [favours] his trade with the wild people, of whom we see individuals each day.[141]

Rindisbacher and the Swiss were expected to remain in the Red River Settlement, despite the terrible conditions, to comply with their portion of the Hudson's Bay Company contract. The contract required the Swiss to farm and produce supplies that would contribute to the growing settlement.[142] In 1822, fourteen Swiss settler-colonialists wrote to the Hudson's Bay Company to complain about the conditions, explaining that "houses were in ruins, and that the people were treated like slaves."[143] Despite repeated negotiations, the Swiss families were forced to stay in the Red River Settlement until a devastating flood destroyed Fort Douglas in 1826 and gave them an opportunity to move elsewhere.[144]

Rindisbacher's sympathies towards Peguis' situation may be constructed through the Ojibwe Chief's change in dress. In the arrival images, Peguis wears items that were given to him

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[141] Dr. Karl J. R. Arndt, "The Peter Rindisbacher Family on the Red River in Rupert's Land: Their Hardships and Call for Help from Rapp's Harmony Society," in *German-Canadian Yearbook*, edited by Hartmut Froeschle (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 1973), 104.

[142] Arndt, "The Peter Rindisbacher Family on the Red River in Rupert's Land," 104.

[143] Jack M. Bumsted, *Trials and Tribulations: The Red River Settlement and the Emergence of Manitoba 1821-1870* (Winnipeg: Great Plains Publishing, 2003), 48.

[144] Arndt, "The Peter Rindisbacher Family on the Red River in Rupert's Land," 104.

by Selkirk and in trade ceremonies. In the interior images, Peguis wears his own cultural regalia and the medal Selkirk gave him around his neck. The medal references Peguis' title as Colony Chief in the Red River Settlement, communicating his role as an important leader not only in his own community, but also in the settler-colonial community. In a similar situation, Peers documents how Peguis changed his attire from trade clothing to his own regalia to confront a Cree council. In this circumstance, Peguis' change of clothes legitimized his claim to dictate terms to the Cree council since the clothing signified his role as an Ojibwe Chief.[145] Similarly, Peguis' change of dress in the diplomatic images symbolizes his connection to his Ojibwe identity and culture as well as his respected position in both indigenous and non-indigenous communities.

In 1859, Peguis wrote a letter for the newspaper *Nor'Wester* that was published in 1860. Peguis' argument in the *Nor'Wester* is likely the same he made during his meetings with the Governor of Red River and Council.

> We never sold our lands to the said Company, nor to the Earl of Selkirk; and yet the said Company mark and sell our lands without our permission. Is this right? I and my people do not take their property from them without giving them great value for it … and is it right that the said Company should take our landed property from us without permission, and without our receiving payment for the same?[146]

Near the end of Peguis' letter, he says "I speak loud: listen!" [147] This speech is clearly articulated in the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithograph as well as in Rindisbacher's watercolours by Peguis' large scale and dominance in the scenes. Soon after Peguis' letter was published, Donald Gunn, an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to the *Nor'Wester* requesting they publish his reply to Peguis.

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[145] Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada,* 160.
[146] Peguis, "Native Title to Indian Lands," 3.
[147] Peguis, "Native Title to Indian Lands," 3.

> It is to be regretted that the Company should maintain they have made a bona-fide bargain, while the Indians hold that they rented the land, and are afraid that under similar pretences, all their lands will soon pass out of their hands.[148]

Gunn's letter shows sympathy towards Peguis' argument and concern about the Ojibwe community's future. Rindisbacher may have felt similar sympathies as Gunn and visually interpreted Peguis in the watercolours to reflect this. Jones and Day reiterate the narrative constructed by Rindisbacher as Peguis' position and dominance in the scene is consistent between the watercolours and the lithographs.

Another layer of the complex narrative communicated by Jones and Day as well as by Rindisbacher is suggested by comparing the interior scenes with a print after Benjamin West's *The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet in a conference at a council fire, near his camp on the banks of Muskingum in North America in Oct. 1764* (figure 19). The engraving was published in William Smith's *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians* in 1766. It depicts a group of men clustered in a circle around a fire watching an indigenous man in the middle of the image give a speech. He wears a blanket draped over his chest that is similar to the blanket worn by Peguis. His arm is also outstretched and pointing, like Peguis, but in an upward direction. On the left side of the image is a group of settler-colonialists who are either sitting or leaning as they watch the indigenous leader give his speech. The men are in a similar arrangement as the Governor of the Red River Settlement and Council. On the right side of the image is a group of indigenous men; one of the men in the foreground of the image is seated on the ground and smokes from a pipe. He is similar to the Ojibwe man in the foreground of the interior scenes who is also smoking from a pipe.

[148] Donald Gunn, "Peguis Vindicated," *Nor'Wester*, April 28, 1860, 4.

As Rindisbacher made a habit of copying images that were published in travel books, it is possible that Rindisbacher used this engraving to inform his depiction of Peguis' meeting with the Governor and Council. By copying colonial imagery and engaging with colonial visual language in his artworks, Rindisbacher indeed contributes to the colonial system. The images are nonetheless complex, and in depicting Peguis' side of the story, they also provide a counter colonialist response.

Conclusion

In the arrival scenes, the Ojibwe group is placed in an active role as visitors to Fort Douglas with a diplomatic purpose. The Governor and Council are portrayed in a passive role as observers of the Ojibwe group's arrival. The narrative is continued in the interior scenes, which also frame the Governor and Council as passive listeners. In these scenes, the Ojibwe are also in active roles, smoking their pipes, pointing, and giving a speech. The images communicate Peguis' counter narrative about disputed land, but the narrative is framed within a colonial, visual language and by non-indigenous perspectives. These images – both the colonial lithographs by Jones and Day and the settler-colonial watercolours by Rindisbacher – are complicated and layered interpretations of indigenous and non-indigenous diplomatic relationships.

EPILOGUE

I first became interested in Rindisbacher's work after reading the Swiss Institute's exhibition catalogue *Red River Crossings: Contemporary Native American Artists Respond to Peter Rindisbacher.* This catalogue documents a 1996 exhibition that took place in New York City, New York with ten indigenous artists: Arthur Amiotte, Rebecca Belmore, Brad Kahlhamer, James Luna, Alan Michelson, Joanna Osburn-Bigfeather, Jolene Rickard, Jeffrey Thomas, Deron Twohatchet, and Phil Young. As indigenous people, the artists were asked to respond to the indigenous subject matter in Rindisbacher's artwork. Margaret Archuleta describes some of the issues that arose with the exhibition.

> The complexity of representing [an indigenous] response is the challenge that each of the artists in the show has taken on by his or her participation. ... Do the artists speak for all [indigenous] people? Or can they only speak for themselves as individuals with personal and private experiences? What strategies do they use to confront and represent these complex issues?[149]

The problems addressed in *Red River Crossings*, and by extension, the problems with responding to non-indigenous constructions of indigeneity, affected the way I researched and critically thought about the *Views in Hudson's Bay* and Rindisbacher's work. Similar to the questions that arose during *Red River Crossings*, I found myself repeatedly asking: how can a non-indigenous person conduct research about indigenous and settler-colonialist subject matter without perpetuating colonialist forms of thinking?

Stuart Hall asserts that "…interrogating stereotypes makes them uninhabitable. It destroys their naturalness and normality."[150] Through my thesis, I interrogated the stereotypes in

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[149] Margaret Archuleta, "Dear Diary – The Swiss Institute Called Today," in *Red River Crossings: Contemporary Native American Artists Respond to Peter Rindisbacher (1806-1834)* (New York: Swiss Institute, 1996), 6.

[150] Stuart Hall, Sut Jhally, Sanjay Talreja, and Mary Patierno, *Representation & the Media* (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1997).

Views in Hudson's Bay and Rindisbacher's watercolours to unravel the complexities of the subject matter and move beyond surface-level stereotypes of indigenous versus non-indigenous. I view the images as layered narratives rather than as direct representations of people and places from the Red River Settlement.

The *Views in Hudson's Bay* and Rindisbacher's watercolours continue to function today in educational contexts; the images are used to illustrate the clothing worn by people living in the Red River Settlement during the early nineteenth century. While visiting Library and Archives Canada during the summer of 2016, I saw a display about indigenous clothing that used a selection of Rindisbacher's watercolours as well as Jones and Day's lithographs. One of the panels, titled "Identifying the Métis" (figure 20), used *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide* to show how Métis[151] men dressed in the Red River Settlement during the nineteenth century. I also saw a display at the Manitoba Museum in the summer of 2015 that used Rindisbacher's watercolour *Red Lake Indians Salute Governor Bulger At Fort Douglas* to represent clothing settler-colonialists gave to indigenous groups during the nineteenth century (figure 21). The museum had a replica made of the plumed top hat from Rindisbacher's image to physically represent some of the clothing depicted in the watercolour.

In using the *Views in Hudson's Bay* and Rindisbacher's images to represent clothing worn by people in the early nineteenth century, the multifarious meanings conveyed through the imagery is not considered. Jules Prown further discusses these complex meanings, but in the context of material culture:

> …objects made or modified by [humans] reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used

[151] I accent the term Metis to reflect Library and Archives Canada's use of the term.

them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.[152] Similar to how Prown considers material culture, we can analyze visual culture, or the people, clothing and objects in imagery, by how they communicate narratives about their makers, buyers, and historical time period. Focusing only on the clothing depicted in *Views in Hudson's Bay* or in Rindisbacher's watercolours separates the visual culture in the images from its history as an object that is subject to the interpretations and modifications of its maker. The visual culture depicted in images continually forms new meanings depending on the way the images are displayed and considered. By viewing the *Views in Hudson's Bay* lithographs and Rindisbacher's watercolours as interpretations of history, we decolonize their narratives by recognizing the roles images play as mediators of the past.

[152] Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 70.

ILLUSTRATIONS

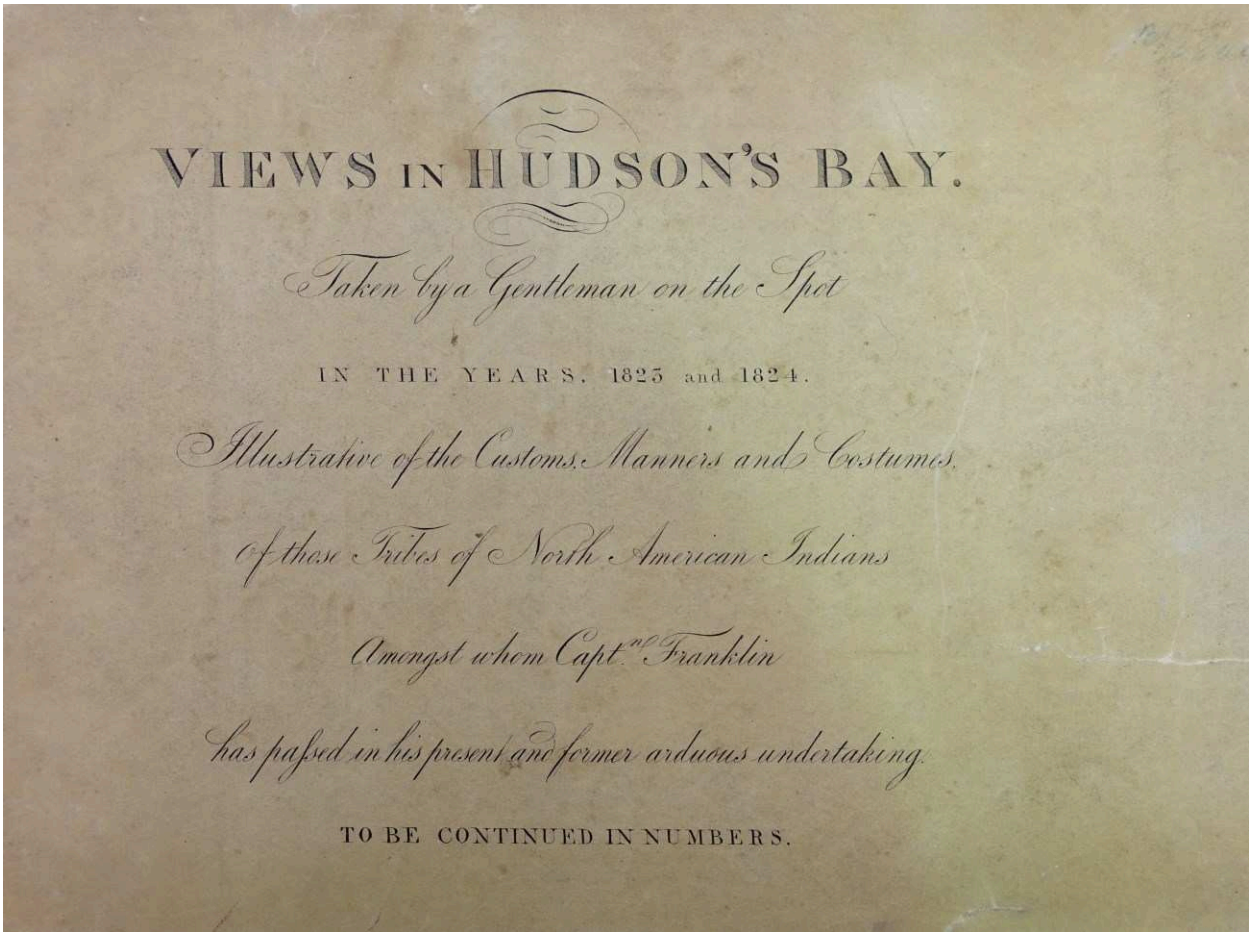


Figure 1. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher), title page in *Views in Hudson's Bay*, 1825. Lithograph. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA N7563. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 2. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher) after Peter Rindisbacher (painter), *The Governor of Red River, Hudson's Bay Voyaging in a Light Canoe*, in *Views in Hudson's Bay*, 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. 27.3 x 30.8 cm. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-184. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 2-a. Peter Rindisbacher, *Two of the Companies Officers Travelling in a Canoe Made of Birchbark Manned by Canadians,* c. 1823. Watercolour with pen and black ink over graphite on wove paper. 21.5 x 26.8 cm. National Gallery of Canada, 23007. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 2-b. Peter Rindisbacher, *Hudson's Bay Company officials in an express canoe crossing a lake*, c. 1825. Watercolour with brush and pen on wove paper. 17.3 x 10.5 cm. Library and Archives Canada, Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana, R9266-346. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 3. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher) after Peter Rindisbacher (painter), *A Gentleman Travelling in a Dog Cariole in Hudson's Bay with an Indian Guide*, in *Views in Hudson's Bay*, 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. 27.3 x 35.5 cm. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-182. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 3-a. Peter Rindisbacher, *Winter Voyaging in a Light Sledge*, 1822-1823. Watercolour on paper. 19.69 x 26.04 cm. Private Collection.

Figure 3-b. Peter Rindisbacher, *A Dog Cariole used only in winter by Canadian Indians*, c. 1825. Watercolour, pen and black ink on paper. 16.6 x 27.5 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Thomson Collection, AGOID 108508. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

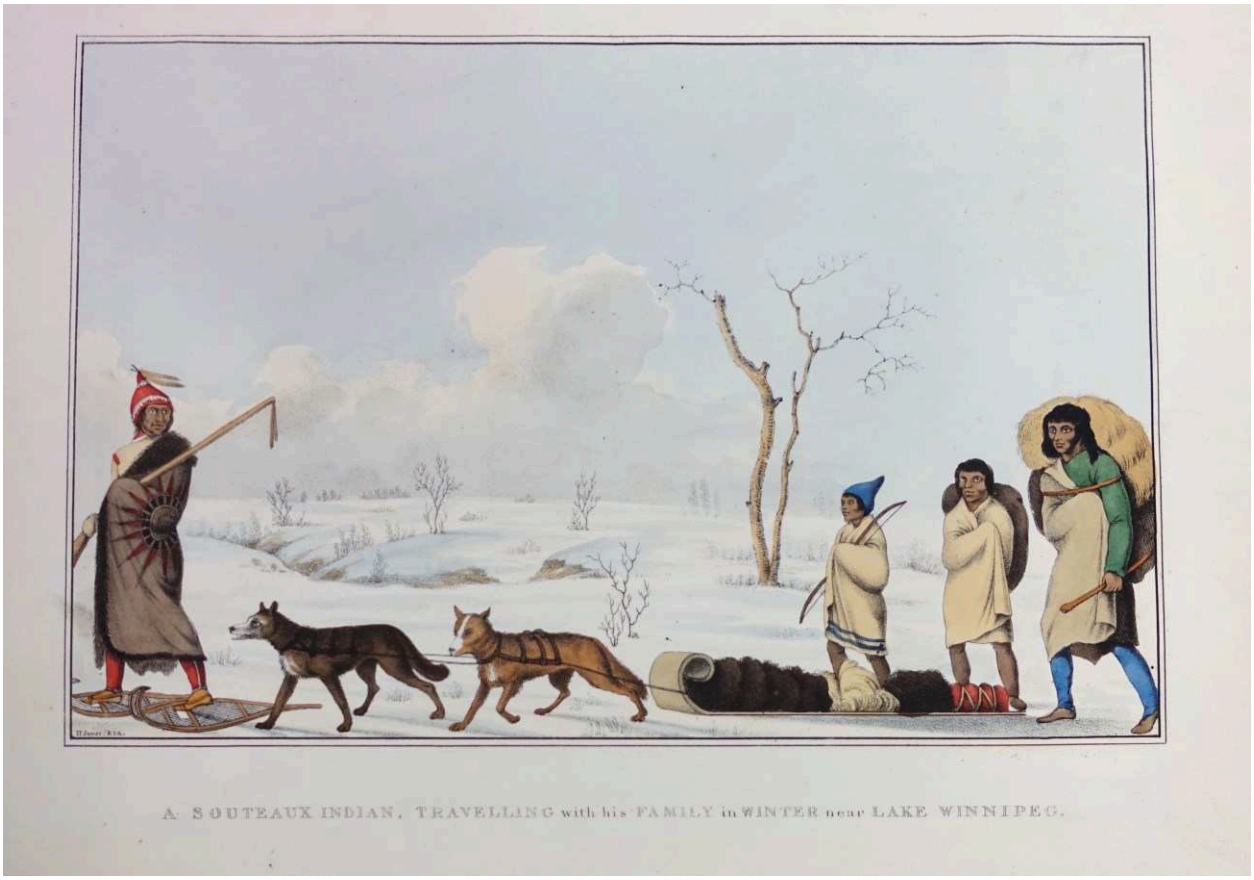


Figure 4. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher) after Peter Rindisbacher (painter), *A Souteaux Indian, Travelling with his Family in Winter near Lake Winnipeg*, 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. 27.3 x 30 cm. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-181. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 4-a. Peter Rindisbacher, *Dogs Pulling Toboggan [Untitled],* ca. 1820. Pencil and ink on paper. 19.7cm x 24.1 cm. Glenbow Museum, Collection of Glenbow, 58.42.7.

Figure 4-b. Peter Rindisbacher, *Chippewa Mode of Travelling in the Winter*, c. 1820. Watercolour and graphite on paper. 48.26 x 58.42 cm. West Point Museum, 00558.

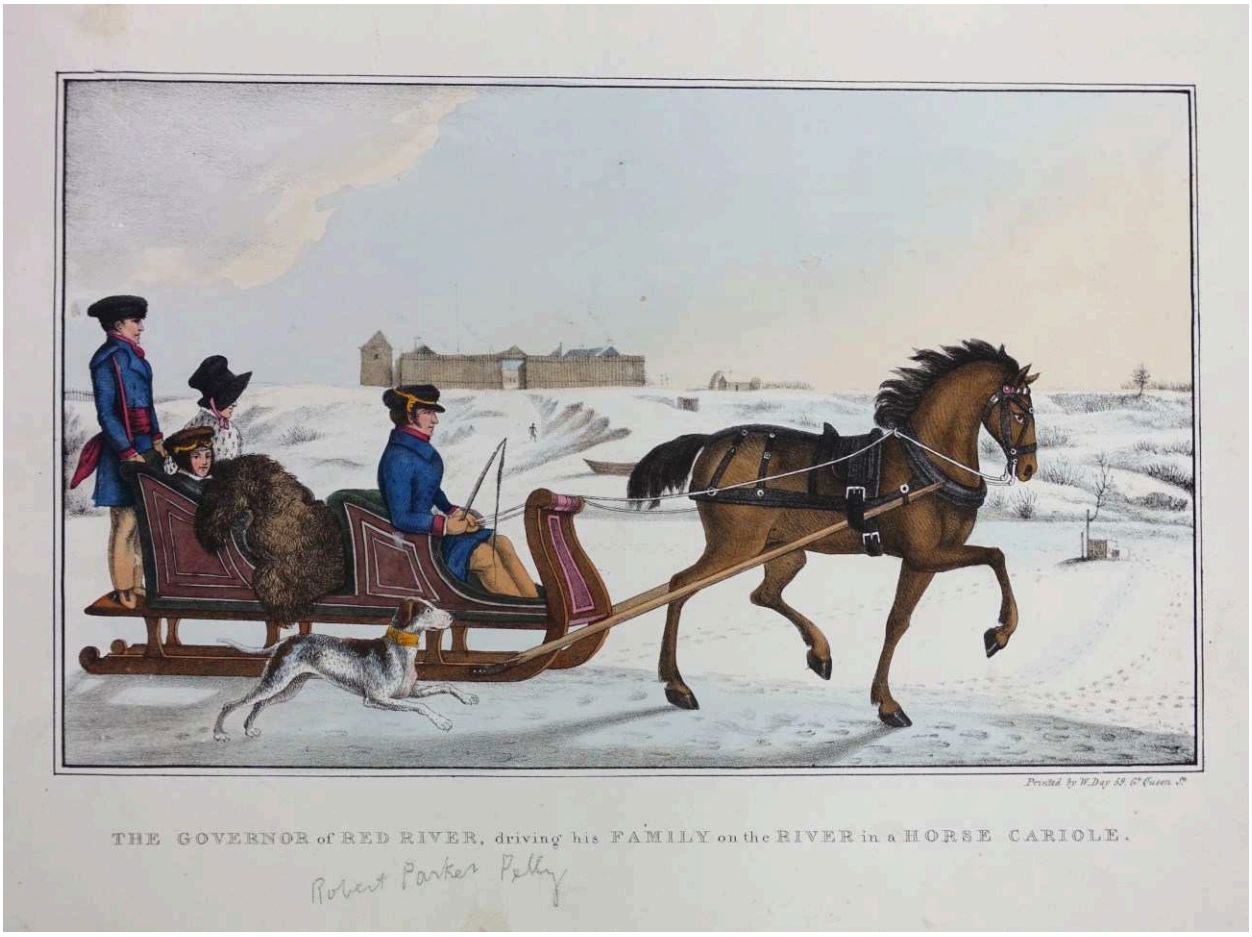


Figure 5. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher), *The Governor of Red River, Driving his Family on the River in a Horse Cariole*, 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. 27.3 x 30 cm. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-183. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

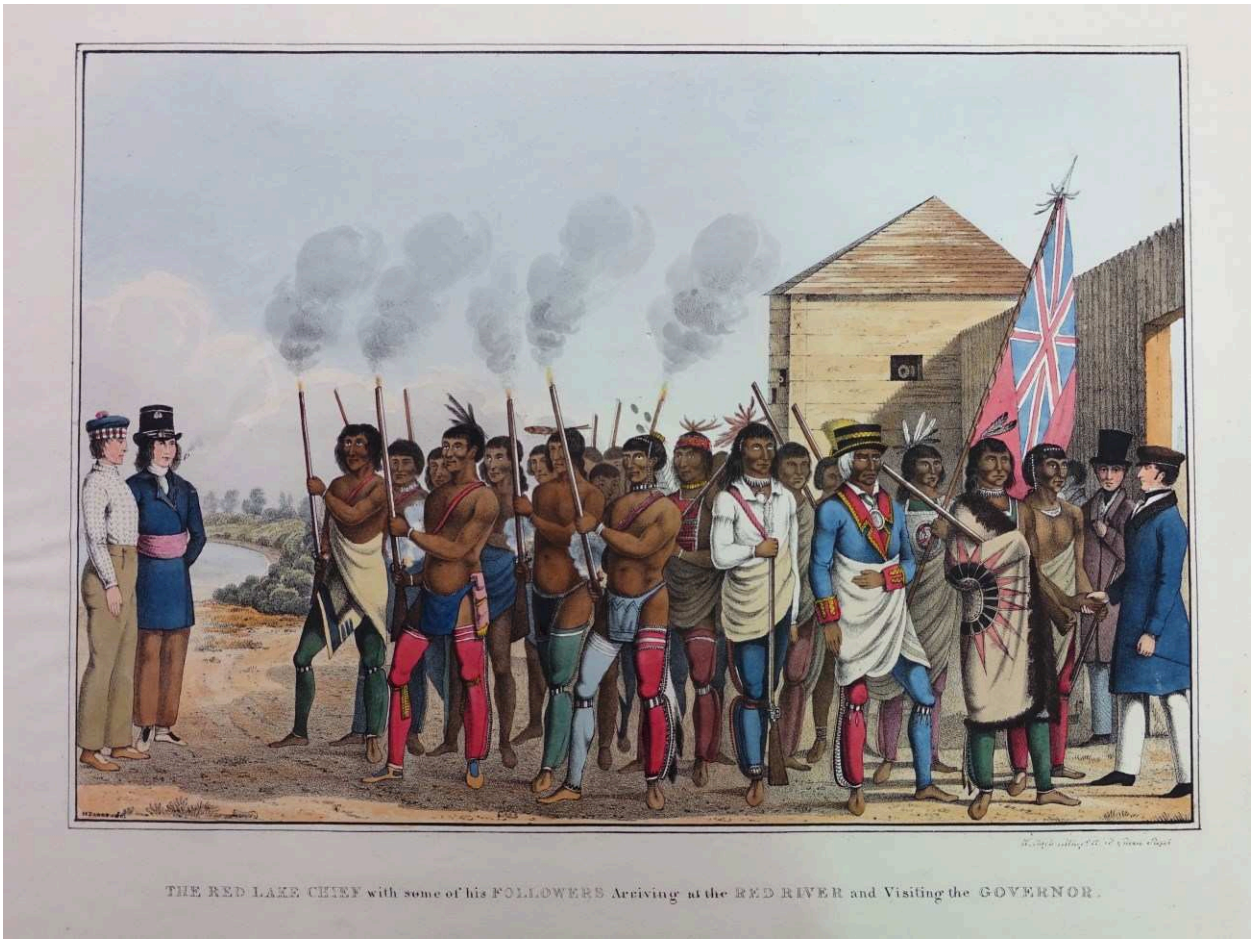


Figure 6. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher) after Peter Rindisbacher (painter), *The Red Lake Chief with some of his Followers Arriving at the Red River and Visiting the Governor*, in *Views in Hudson's Bay*, 1825. Hand-coloured lithograph. 27.3 x 32.2 cm. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-179. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 6-a. Peter Rindisbacher, *Red Lake Indians Salute Governor Bulger at Fort Douglas,* 1822-24. Pen and watercolour on paper. 32 x 22.8 cm. Manitoba Museum, HBC 83-23. Image © The Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg, MB. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 6-b. Peter Rindisbacher, *A War Party at Fort Douglas discharging their Guns in the Air as a token of their peaceable Intentions,* 1823. Watercolour, pen and ink on paper. 26.5 x 32.7 cm. Royal Ontario Museum, 951.87.3. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Figure 7. H. Jones (lithographer) and William Day (publisher) after Peter Rindisbacher (painter), *The Red Lake Chief, making a Speech to the Governor of Red River at Fort Douglas in 1825,* in *Views in Hudson's Bay*, 1825. 25.1 x 31.6 cm. Hand-coloured lithograph. Archives of Manitoba, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Views in Hudson's Bay Fonds, HBCA P-180. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 7-a. Peter Rindisbacher, *Captain Bulger's Palaver*, 1822-1823. Watercolour on paper. 39.1 x 51.8 cm. Gilcrease Museum, GM 0226.1339.

Figure 7-b. Peter Rindisbacher, *Captain Bulger, Governor of Assiniboia, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippewa Tribe of Red Lake, in Council in the Colony House in Fort Douglas, May 22nd, 1823,* 1823. Watercolour, ink and sepia ink on paper. 30.3 x 21.9 cm. McCord Museum, M965.9.

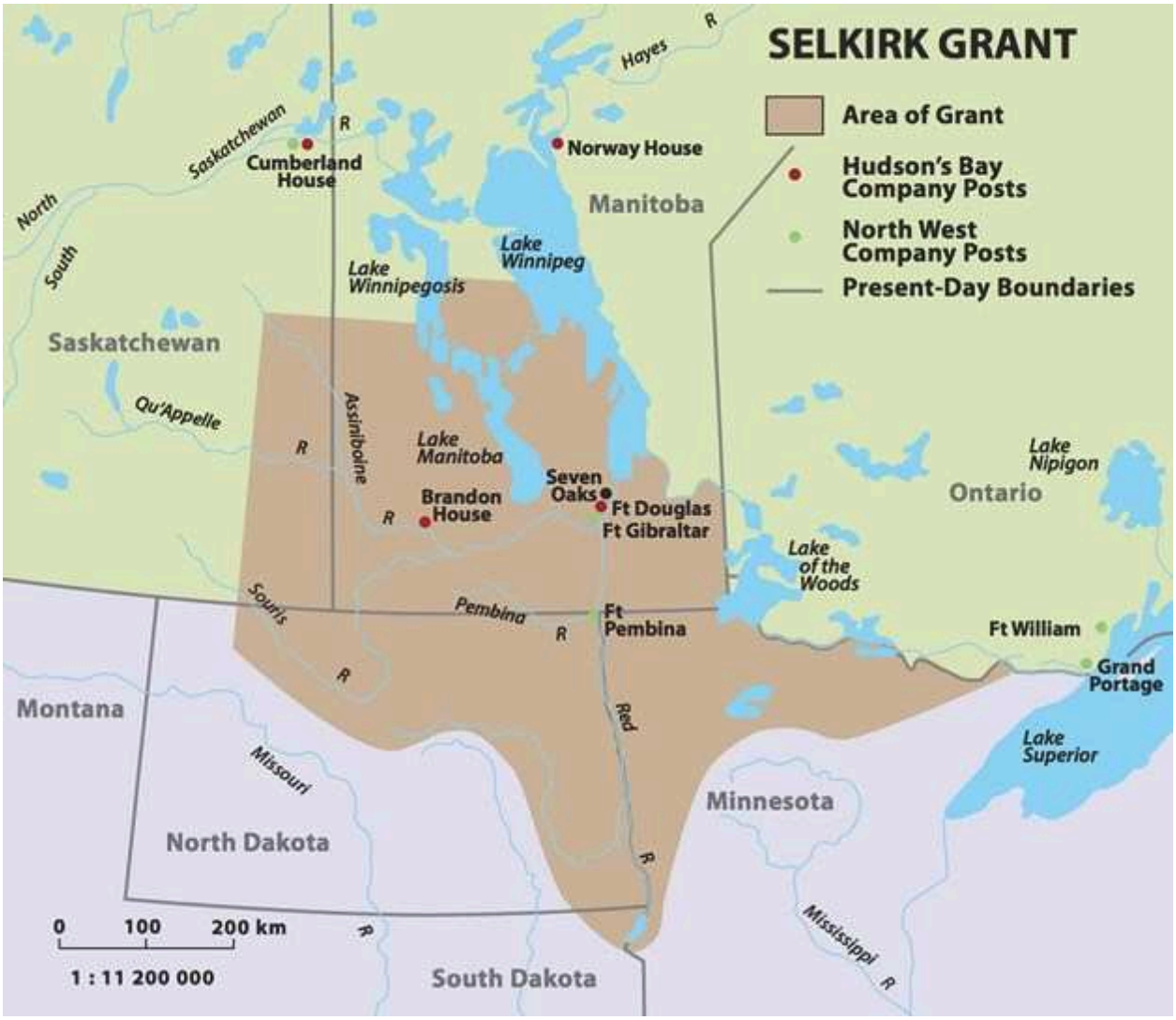


Figure 8. Map of the Red River Settlement. 17 Wing Publishing Office Winnipeg. Courtesy of the Canadian Military Journal on the National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces website. http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vol13/no3/page57-eng.asp.

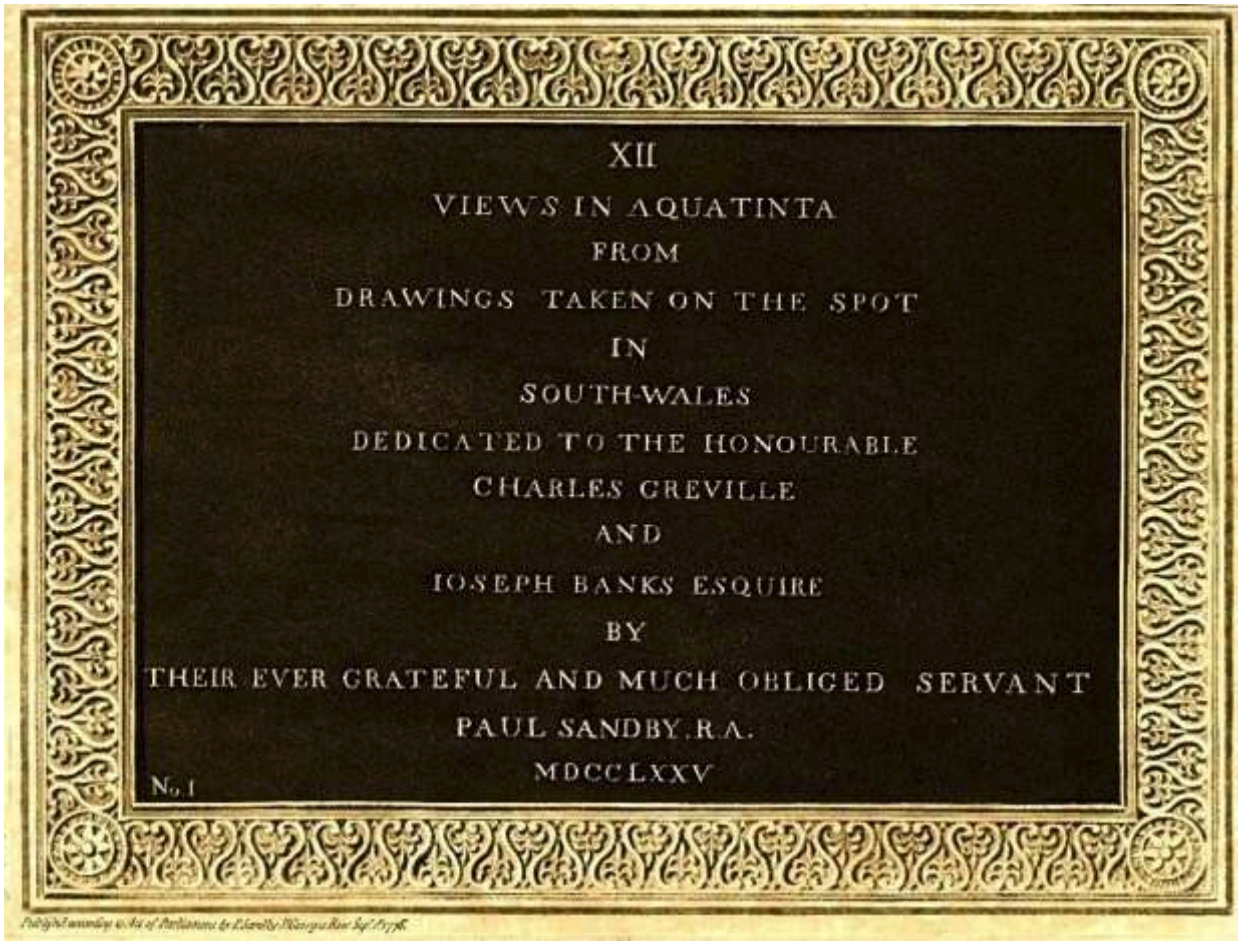
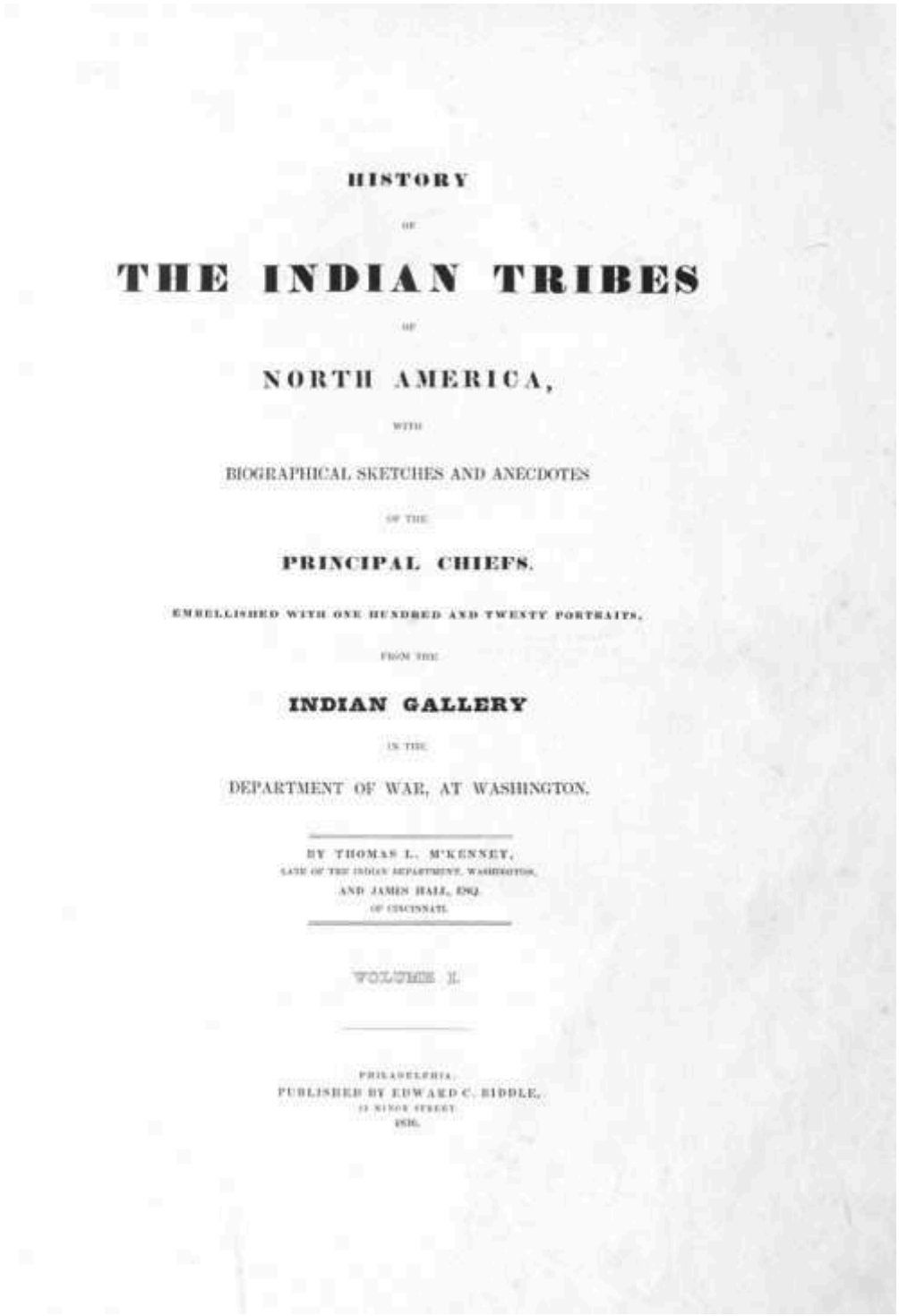


Figure 9. Paul Sandby, *Views in Wales* title page, 1775. Aquatint. 23.6 cm x 31.4 cm. The British Museum, 1904,0819.635.



HISTORY

OF

THE INDIAN TRIBES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES

OF THE

PRINCIPAL CHIEFS.

EMBELLISHED WITH ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PORTRAITS,

FROM THE

INDIAN GALLERY

IN THE

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, AT WASHINGTON.

BY THOMAS L. M'KENNEY,

LATE OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,

AND JAMES HALL, ESQ.

OF CINCINNATI.

VOLUME I.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY EDWARD C. BIDDLE,

1836.

Figure 10. Title Page. Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with biographical sketches and anecdotes of the principal chiefs Embellished with one hundred and twenty portraits, from the Indian gallery in the Department of War, at Washington*. Philadelphia: E. C. Biddle, 1836-1844. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

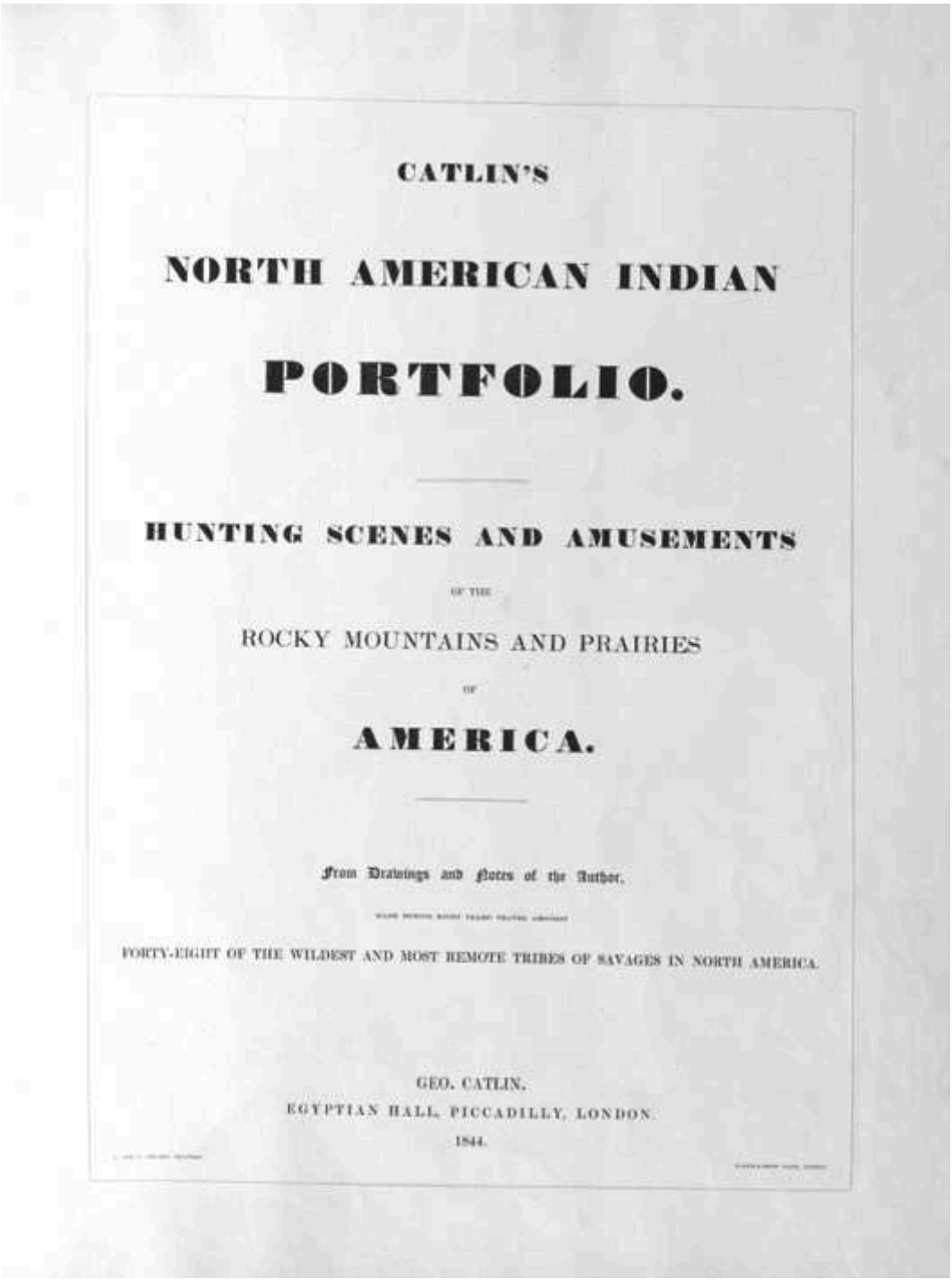


Figure 11. Title Page. George Catlin, *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio. Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains and Prairies of America. From Drawings and Notes of the Author, Made During Eight Years' Travel Amongst Forty-Eight of the Wildest and Most Remote Tribes of Savages in North America*. London: Catlin, 1844. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

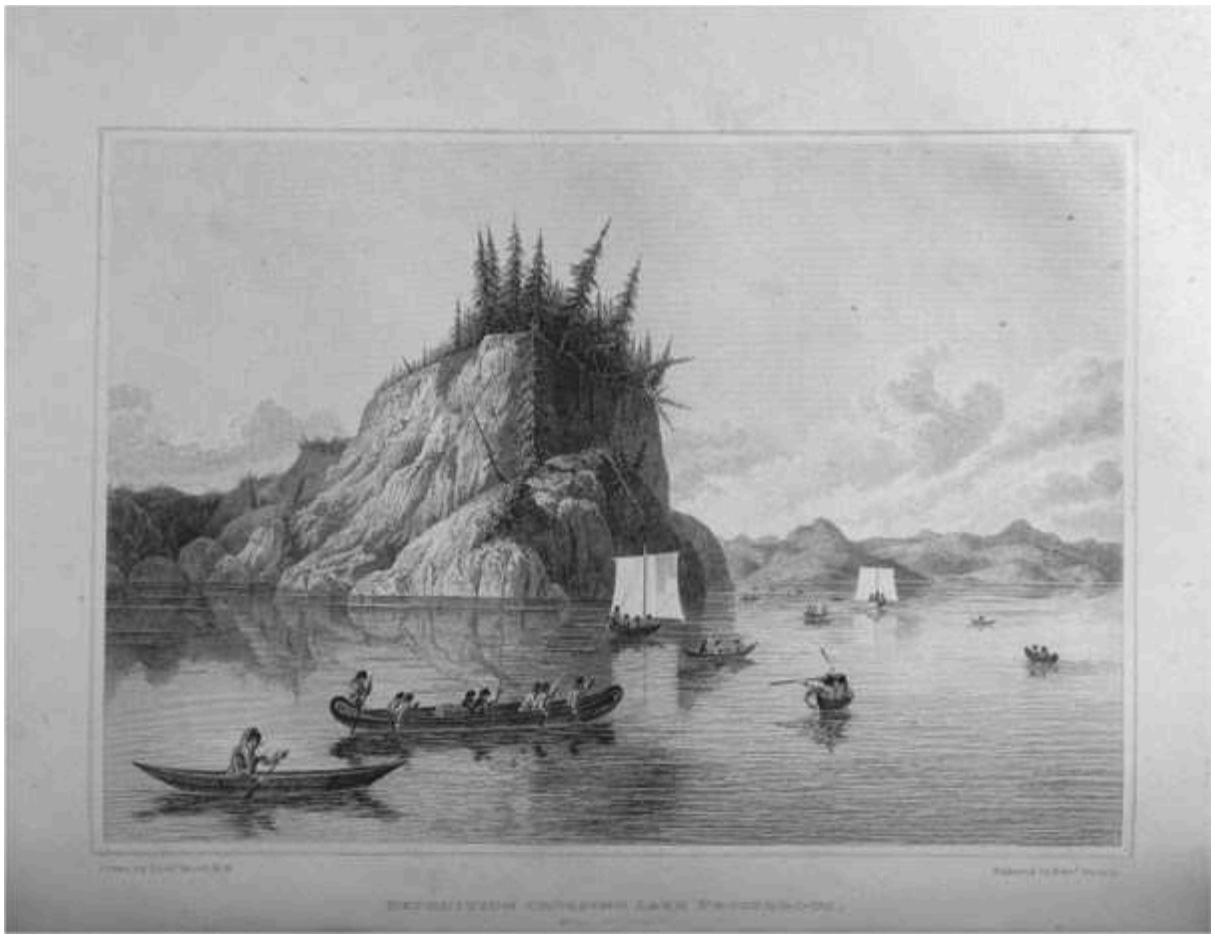


Figure 12. Edward Finden after George Black, *Expedition Crossing Lake Prosperous,* 1823. Engraving. From John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, In the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (London: John Murray**,** 1823), 234. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Figure 13. George Catlin, *Pshán-shaw, Sweet-scented Grass, Twelve-year-old Daughter of Bloody Hand*, 1832. Oil on canvas. 73.7 x 60.9 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1985.66.125.

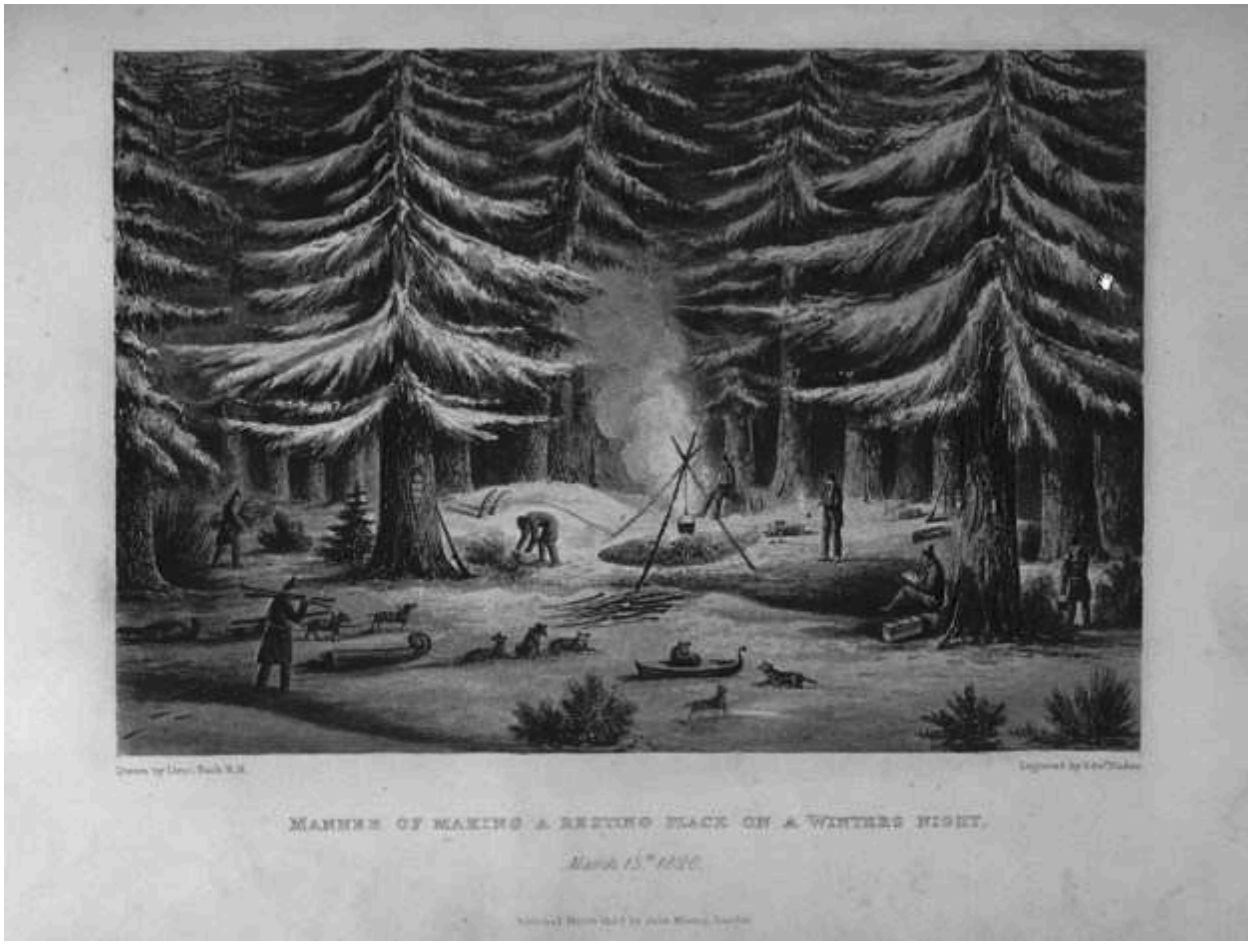


Figure 14. Edward Finden after George Black, *Manner of Making a Resting Place on a Winters Night, March 15, 1820,* 1823. Engraving. From John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, In the Years 1819, 20, 21, and 22* (London: John Murray**,** 1823), 115. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Figure 15. Peter Rindisbacher, untitled frontispiece, 1824. From John West's *The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America; and frequent Excursions among the North-West American Indians, in the years 1820-1823*. London, England: L.B. Seeley and Son, 1824. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

Figure 16. Ernest J. Hutchins, *Old Fort Douglas, Red River 1815*, 1909. Watercolour. 45.5 x 34.55 cm. Library and Archives Canada, 2837713.

Figure 17. F.C. Lewis (engraver) after George Hariot (painter), *Fall of Montmorency in Winter*, 1807. Engraving. From George Hariot's *Travels through the Canadas: To which is Subjoined a Comparative View of the Manners and Customs of Several of the Indian Nations of North and South America* (London: Printed for R. Philips, 1807), 75. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

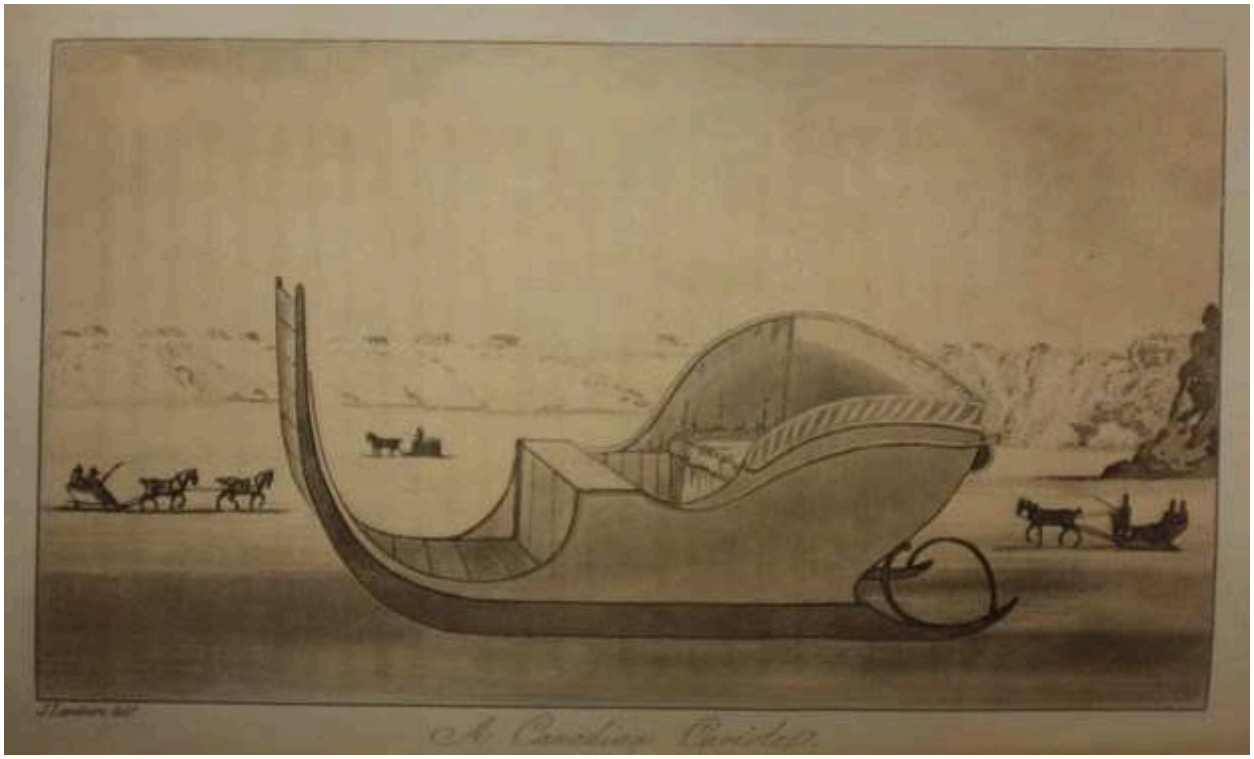


Figure 18. Engraver unknown after John Lambert (drawing), *A Canadian Cariole*, 1813. Engraving. From John Lambert's *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808: To which are Added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of some of the Leading Characters in the United States* (London: Printed for C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1813), 216. Image courtesy of Bruce Peel Special Collections, University of Alberta.

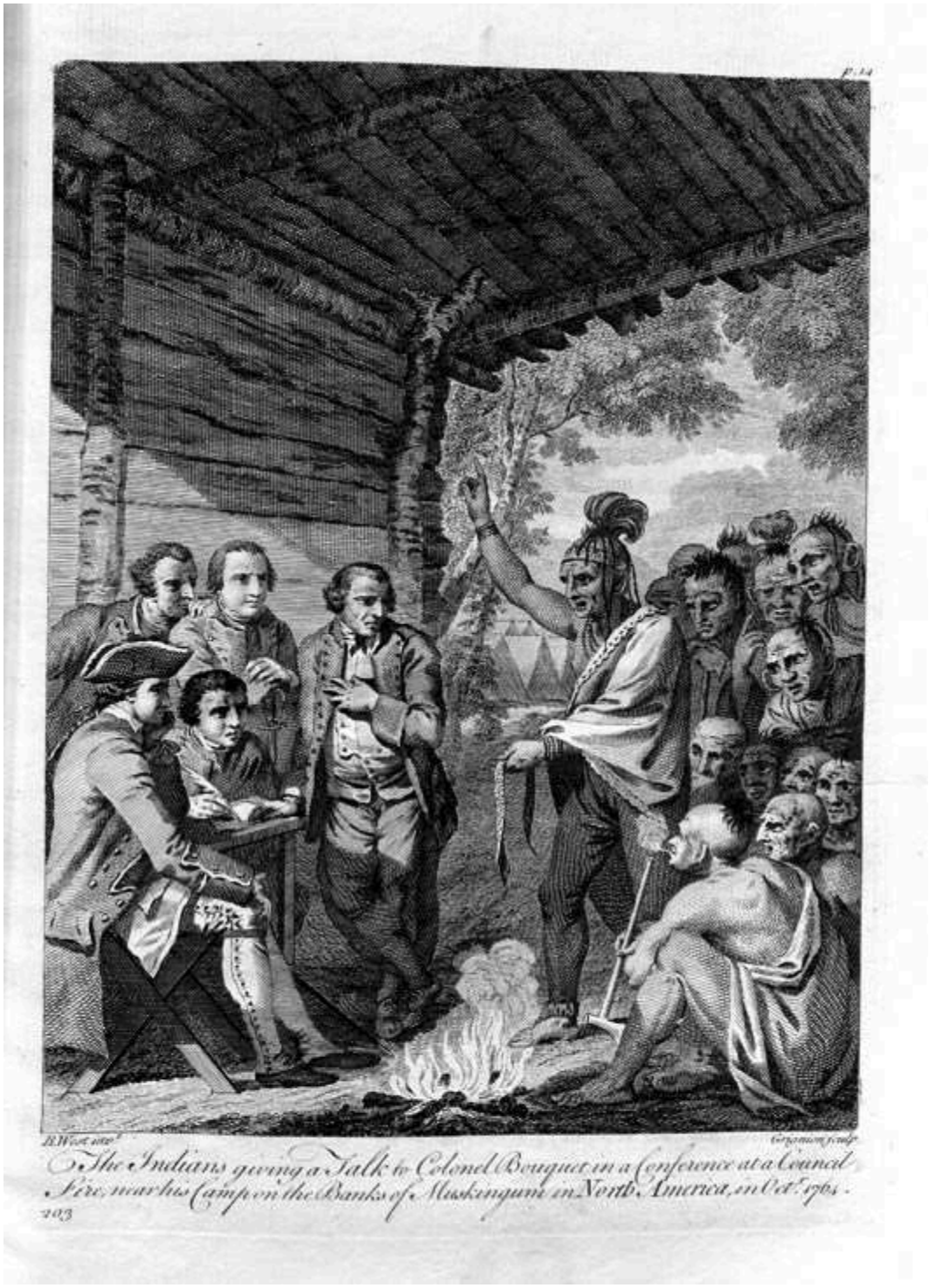


Figure 19. Charles Grignion I after Benjamin West, "The Indians giving a talk to Colonel Bouquet in a conference at a council fire, near his camp on the banks of Muskingum in North America in Oct. 1764," 1766. Engraving. From William Smith's *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians* (London: Reprinted for T. Jefferies, 1766), 14. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, LC-USZ62-104.

Figure 20. "Identifying the Métis" exhibition panel at Library and Archives Canada, 2016. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

Figure 21. "Partners in Trade" exhibition display case and panels in the Hudson's Bay Company Gallery at the Manitoba Museum, 2015. Image © The Manitoba Museum, Winnipeg, MB. Photograph by Julie-Ann Mercer.

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