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Pictures for a Nation: C.W. Jefferys and the Construction of Visual Nationalism in Canada, 1867-1950

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Pictures for a Nation: C.W. Jefferys and the Construction of Visual Nationalism in Canada, 1867-1950

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Abstract

Pictures for a Nation: C.W. Jefferys and the Construction of Visual Nationalism in Canada, 1867-1950

This dissertation examines how the systematic construction of national identity through mechanically reproduced images operated as a technology of settler colonial power from Canada's federal state formation in 1867 through the mid-twentieth century. Using C.W. Jefferys' *Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950) as an emblematic case, this research demonstrates how visual practices transformed ostensibly objective historical documentation into mythological constructions. Chapter I traces Jefferys' transformation from newspaper illustrator to visual historian, demonstrating how "drawing by observation" conferred epistemological authority and legitimized colonial visual culture. Chapter II analyses institutional networks of cultural capitalists and educational systems to show how print-capitalism enabled mass dissemination of Visual Nationalism through coordinated patronage and textbook circulation. Chapter III examines appropriation of archaeological and ethnographic visual epistemologies, revealing how Indigenous artifacts were redefined as national heritage symbols. Drawing on archival research and digital database analysis, this study integrates W.J.T. Mitchell's imagetext theory with Benedict Anderson's print-capitalism framework. I demonstrate that Visual Nationalism functioned through mechanically reproduced pictures that claimed objective historical documentation while actually operating as mythological constructions naturalizing European territorial appropriation and stereotyping Indigenous peoples as primitive specimens requiring settler preservation. In doing so, Visual Nationalism systematically reordered cultural knowledge, transforming diverse Canadian heritage into standardized images that promoted settler colonial identity as natural and inevitable. I situate contemporary Canadian historical consciousness within this genealogy of colonial visual practices, showing how enduring representational patterns from 1867-1950 continue to shape Indigenous-settler relations. This research establishes visual culture as central to Canadian nation-building, advances postcolonial analysis of settler colonial visual practices, and challenges reconciliation discourse by revealing how supposedly neutral historical images perpetuate colonial ideologies.

Keywords: Visual Nationalism; Settler Colonialism; Print-Capitalism; C.W. Jefferys; Canadian Historical Consciousness

Resumo Expandido

Imagens para uma nação: C.W. Jefferys e a construção do nacionalismo visual no Canadá, 1867-1950

Gabriel Araújo Feitosa

Resumo

Esta dissertação examina como o Nacionalismo Visual, definido como um processo sistemático de construção e circulação da identidade nacional que opera por meio de imagens mecanicamente reproduzidas, atuou como uma tecnologia do poder colonial de povoamento no Canadá desde a Confederação (1867) até meados do século XX. Utilizando *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950) de C.W. Jefferys como estudo de caso central, esta pesquisa demonstra como práticas visuais transformaram um tipo de documentação histórica alegadamente objetiva em construções mitológicas que naturalizaram a apropriação territorial europeia. Ao mesmo tempo em que este projeto nacional construía narrativas históricas que naturalizavam a ocupação do território canadense por aquela identidade colonial, ele marginalizava os povos indígenas como espécimes primitivos que requeriam preservação pelos colonos. Baseando-se em extensa pesquisa arquivística e análise digital de mais de 3.000 documentos digitalizados, este estudo revela como redes institucionais de capitalistas culturais, sistemas educacionais e autoridades arqueológicas coordenaram a disseminação em massa de um corpo de imagens padronizadas de teor nacionalista. Através da análise sistemática da transformação de Jefferys de ilustrador de jornal para historiador visual, das redes que possibilitaram a circulação em massa do Nacionalismo Visual, e da apropriação da cultura material indígena como símbolos do patrimônio nacional, esta pesquisa estabelece a cultura visual como central para a construção da nação canadense, enquanto avança a análise pós-colonial das práticas visuais do colonialismo de povoamento.

Palavras Chaves: Nacionalismo Visual; Colonialismo de Povoamento; Capitalismo de Impressão; C.W. Jefferys; Consciência Histórica Canadense

1. Introdução

Charles William Jefferys (1869-1951) consolidou-se como o mais influente ilustrador histórico do Canadá durante a primeira metade do século XX, produzindo imagens que alcançaram reprodução sem precedentes por meio de livros didáticos, materiais educacionais e publicações corporativas que moldaram a consciência histórica de gerações de canadenses.

Sua obra principal, *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950), representa o ápice de uma carreira dedicada à visualização do passado canadense, circulando amplamente através das redes editoriais da editora metodista Ryerson Press e alcançando grande sucesso comercial. Esta disseminação massiva posicionou Jefferys como o principal responsável por estabelecer um vocabulário visual padronizado para a história canadense, transformando eventos coloniais em ícones nacionalistas, potencializados por técnicas de reprodução mecânica otimizadas para circulação impressa.

Além de sua produção artística, Jefferys foi um colecionador sistemático e curador de cultura visual, acumulando ao longo de décadas um arquivo extenso de fotografias, cartões postais, fragmentos de livros ilustrados, reproduções de obras de arte e esboços originais que documentam práticas visuais coloniais desde o século XVII. Esta prática curatorial posicionou-o no centro de um projeto mais amplo de Nacionalismo Visual Canadense, que envolvia uma rede coordenada de capitalistas culturais, instituições educacionais e autoridades acadêmicas. Figuras como Sir Byron Edmund Walker (banqueiro e patrono cultural), Arthur Doughty (Arquivista do Domínio), Lorne Pierce (editor da Ryerson Press), e Cornelius Van Horne (presidente da Canadian Pacific Railway) reconheceram explicitamente o papel da cultura visual na promoção do nacionalismo canadense, financiando e direcionando a produção de imagens que transformaram encontros coloniais em narrativas heroicas de construção nacional.

De forma estratégica, Jefferys posicionou-se como artista-historiador, colaborando com os mais proeminentes acadêmicos do meio histórico no Canada, como Charles T. Currelly (diretor do Royal Ontario Museum), George M. Wrong (fundador do Departamento de História da Universidade de Toronto), seja incorporando pesquisas, ilustrando livros em parceria, ou apropriando imagens de publicações arqueológicas e etnográficas para conferir autoridade científica às suas ilustrações históricas. Esta colaboração interdisciplinar permitiu-lhe reivindicar objetividade acadêmica, enquanto transformava fontes especializadas em materiais pedagógicos acessíveis, estabelecendo-se como mediador entre conhecimento acadêmico e consciência histórica popular. Sua metodologia de "*reconstrução visual da história*" combinava observação direta, crítica de fontes e imaginação artística, criando representações que alegavam precisão documental, sem reconhecer a promoção de narrativas coloniais de progresso e civilização.

Jefferys constitui, portanto, um caso fundamental para compreender como a convergência entre mercado editorial, cultura visual e validação acadêmica operou na legitimação de fontes coloniais como documentação histórica "objetiva". Sua prática

sistemática de apropriação, desde relatos missionários do século XVII até publicações antropológicas contemporâneas, revela como o Nacionalismo Visual funcionou através da transformação de materiais diversos (incluindo ilustrações românticas de eventos históricos) em evidência científica que naturalizava a apropriação territorial europeia enquanto marginalizava os povos indígenas como espécimes culturais em extinção. Esta análise demonstra como práticas visuais aparentemente neutras operaram como tecnologias de poder colonial, estabelecendo modelos de representação que continuam moldando a consciência histórica canadense contemporânea.

2. Metodologia

Esta pesquisa fundamenta-se na extensão da teoria do capitalismo impresso de Benedict Anderson ao domínio visual, demonstrando como a reprodução mecânica de imagens possibilitou a circulação de vocabulários pictóricos padronizados que fomentaram comunidades imaginadas, conectando populações heterogêneas através de narrativas visuais compartilhadas de herança nacional. As ferramentas analíticas integram a teoria da imagemtexto de W.J.T. Mitchell para examinar como texto e imagem interagem e se complementam na construção de significado nacionalista, especialmente em materiais educacionais em que ilustrações de Jefferys apareciam associadas a narrativas textuais. Os métodos de análise visual seguiram protocolos sistemáticos examinando dimensões tecnológicas, composicionais e sociais, conforme metodologia de Gillian Rose. As operações desmitologizantes de Roland Barthes forneceram ferramentas para expor como representações aparentemente objetivas operaram como sistemas semiológicos de segunda ordem, esvaziando significados culturais originais e preenchendo-os com construções mitológicas que serviram narrativas coloniais.

Como contribuição metodológica original, esta pesquisa estabelece um sistema analítico de seis modos de apresentação que emergiram da análise sistemática das práticas visuais em *The Picture Gallery*: o Expositor de Museu, a Parede de Salão, a Janela, o Olho Espiã, a Planta Técnica, e o Panteão. Esta tipologia constitui classificação empírica baseada em padrões visuais recorrentes, validada por correspondências arquivísticas onde Jefferys discute diferentes estratégias de apresentação, demonstrando como o Nacionalismo Visual funcionou através da coordenação sistemática de múltiplas autoridades epistemológicas.

3. Resultados e conclusão

Os resultados demonstram que o Nacionalismo Visual canadense operou por uma rede institucional coordenada que sistematicamente empregou imagens mecanicamente reproduzidas para construir consciência histórica no Canadá, marcada pela identidade colonial de povoamento. Estas instituições funcionaram como aparatos de legitimação cultural, transformando coleções visuais em autoridade nacionalista por meio de exposições, publicações educacionais e materiais corporativos que alcançaram centenas de milhares de canadenses. Jefferys emergiu como figura paradoxal neste processo: enquanto preservou um arquivo visual extenso de fontes coloniais, incluindo relatos missionários, expedições artísticas e documentação arqueológica, de inegável valor documental, sua curadoria reproduziu vieses coloniais sem reconhecimento crítico, transformando diversidade cultural em narrativa hegemônica, naturalizou apropriação territorial como herança nacional legítima. Esta narrativa hegemônica transcendeu divisões linguísticas, criando uma identidade colonial canadense abrangente que incorporou tanto tradições anglófonas quanto francófonas em uma estrutura ideológica que reproduzia estereótipos e limitava a agência dos povos indígenas.

A pesquisa revela que esta construção visual da identidade nacional permanece dominante na compreensão contemporânea dos povos indígenas, perpetuando representações que os posicionam como culturas "primitivas" ou "em extinção", assim necessitando de preservação e tutela, ao invés do reconhecimento de sua soberania política. Estes achados possuem implicações significativas para discursos de reconciliação, demonstrando como práticas institucionais aparentemente neutras continuam operando por meio de convenções visuais estabelecidas entre 1867-1950. A pesquisa estabelece cultura visual como tecnologia central do colonialismo de povoamento, oferecendo possibilidades metodológicas aplicáveis a outros contextos nacionalistas, contribuindo também para estudos pós-coloniais ao demonstrar empiricamente como autoridade científica servia para legitimar apropriação cultural.

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Introduction

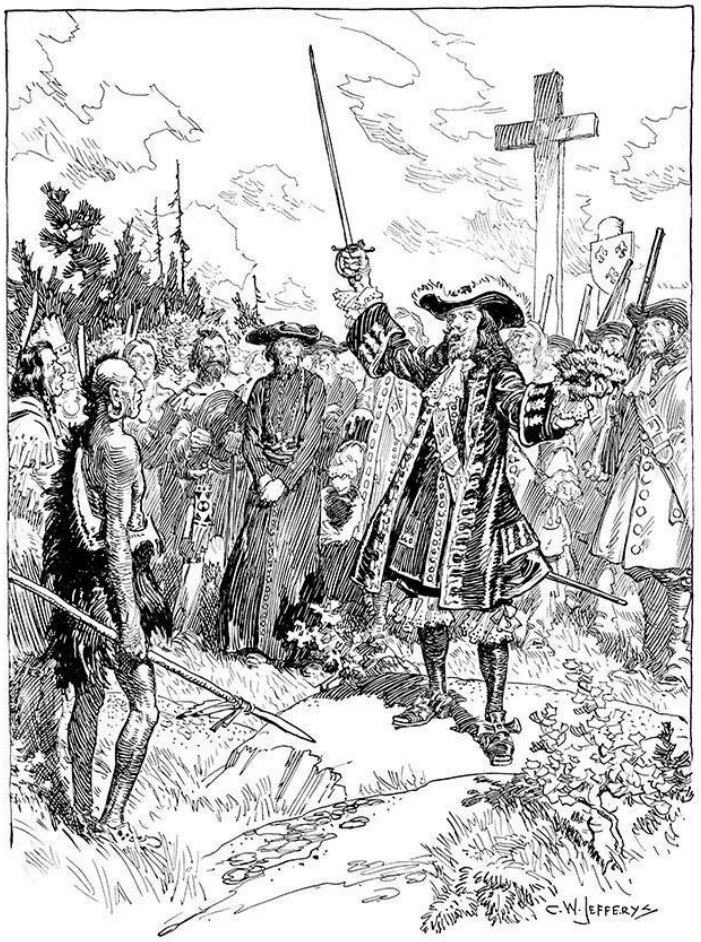

Fig.1 - C.W. Jefferys, "*St. Lusson Taking Possession of the West at Sault Ste. Marie*", *Page 157 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

The French military officer and explorer St. Lusson stands amidst a crowd in full regimental dress, arms wide open, sword raised, and flanked by priests and soldiers carrying rifles. They occupy a scene marked by a wooden cross and the royal arms of France. Executed in elaborate pen-and-ink cross-hatching, St. Lusson's attire appears intricate and pompous, casting him as the dramatic hero of this event, embodying the authority of the French monarchy. A small group of Indigenous men are positioned as passive witnesses to Daumont de Saint-Lusson's 1671 ceremony, as if they complied with this dominating ritual and observed Louis XIV's territorial claims enacted through his commissioner's symbolic pageant. The prominent display of firearms functions as veiled threats to the Indigenous men, a reminder of the French's willingness to use force to secure territorial claims, but also a patriarchal assertion of protection and benevolence.

This mythologizing picture, designed for mechanical reproduction, constructs the narrative of Indigenous surrender before a powerful and inevitable sovereign, erasing Indigenous agency in what was a moment of complex diplomatic and economic negotiation. Based on French accounts, the rendering obscures the fraught dynamics underlying Saint-Lusson's exploration mission, commissioned by Intendant Talon in 1670 as part of France's strategy against English expansion into Hudson Bay.[1] The numerous European figures positioned within the sketchy wilderness, set against the small Indigenous group, contribute to reinforcing this myth, emphasizing the apparent certainty of European domination. The picture's frame consists of a simple line that fades at the bottom, merging into the vegetation and allowing the image to blend seamlessly with the paper and caption. In the lower right corner, amidst the bushes, lies the artist's signature: *C.W. Jefferys*.

Considering its context of production and circulation, specifically Canada's expanding editorial market during the 1920s, this image raises the central question of how visual culture operated as an apparatus for constructing historical consciousness. It requires us to examine which sources were used by C.W. Jefferys to support this historical illustration, and what roles both picture and artist served in a broader editorial project of circulating Canadian nationalist narratives. Reproduced within history books,[2] it provided a powerful image for a growing population seeking connection to a shared Canadian past, many of whom were recent immigrants or possessed limited literacy. The strategic deployment of this illustration across educational textbooks, particularly through Ryerson Press's Methodist publishing network, exemplifies what Benedict Anderson identified as print-capitalism's role in fostering imagined communities.[3] By repeatedly exposing young Canadians to this selected mythologized version of early French colonization, the image functioned as a vehicle for embedding settler colonial narratives into Canadian historical consciousness, naturalizing European sovereignty over Indigenous lands.

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[1] Léopold Lamontagne, "DAUMONT DE SAINT-LUSSON, SIMON-FRANÇOIS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed May 28, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/daumont_de_saint_lusson_simon_francois_1E.html.

[2] The St. Lusson illustration appeared in numerous publications throughout the twentieth century, including: J.E. Wetherell, *Three Centuries of Canadian Story* (Toronto: Musson, 1928); Jefferys' own *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story* (1930), *Canada's Past in Pictures* (1934), and *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* Vol. 1 (1942); Morden H. Long, *A History of the Canadian People* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1942); *Encyclopedia Canada* (Toronto: Grolier, 1957-1958); and continued into the 21st century in works such as Peter Unwin, *The Wolf's Head* (Toronto: Cormorant, 2008). This represents a partial documentation of the image's extensive circulation.

[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 37-46.

Jefferys' drawing of St. Lusson's 1671 territorial appropriation, mechanically reproduced for standardized diffusion, epitomizes the mythological constructions that became central to Canadian nation-building after Confederation. Reproduced in more than a dozen publications throughout the twentieth century by the Methodist house Ryerson Press, this image was one among many crafted to instill national sentiment in young students, and it continues to shape popular visual memory of this colonial encounter through its widespread digital circulation.[4] The image transforms the historical moment when French king Louis XIV sent emissaries to claim the upper Great Lakes region, where they staged a political pageant intended to symbolize French dominance over more than fourteen Indigenous peoples, into a foundational narrative of inevitable European sovereignty that would become essential to Canadian national identity.[5] Thus, this research examines how Jefferys' visual practices reveal Visual Nationalism — the systematic construction and circulation of national identity through mass reproduced visual media — as both a distinctly Canadian phenomenon and a broader technology of settler colonial power. Through analysis of visual culture from Confederation (1867) through *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950), this study demonstrates how Canadian nation-building inherited and adapted colonial visual practices to construct settler historical consciousness.

Research findings reveal that Jefferys' transformation from newspaper illustrator, to Canada's foremost visual historian, exemplifies how individual artistic practice became institutionalized as a technology of settler colonial power. His mastery of "drawing by observation,"[6] combined with strategic positioning within cultural networks, and appropriation of archaeological sources, demonstrates how Visual Nationalism operates through the convergence of print-capitalism, institutional authority, and colonial knowledge systems. By tracing Jefferys' evolution from the Toronto Art Students League (1886-1904) through systematic educational and corporate dissemination by mid-century, this research exposes how seemingly objective historical images functioned as mythological construction serving settler Canadian interests while marginalizing Indigenous peoples. This case study thus illuminates Visual Nationalism as a reproducible colonial technology that extends

[4] As of June 2025, a Google search for 'St. Lusson' returns multiple copies of Jefferys' illustration among the first image results, suggesting the continued predominance of his visual interpretation of this historical event.

[5] Contemporary documentation of the 1671 St. Lusson ceremony includes Claude Dablon's eyewitness account in "Relation of 1670-1671," *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, vol. 55 (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1899), 115

[6] "*Drawing by observation*" was Jefferys' fundamental artistic philosophy, developed through newspaper illustration, emphasizing direct engagement with Canadian environments and naturalistic representation. This approach became central to his claims of historical accuracy and scientific objectivity in visual reconstruction. See: *1.2. Training the Eye: Jefferys' Formation as Visual Historian*.

beyond the Canadian context, offering critical insights into how mechanically reproduced images construct national consciousness through claims to scientific objectivity. Moreover, by examining Jefferys' integration within state institutions and corporate networks, this analysis reveals how cultural producers operated as intermediaries between elite interests and popular consciousness, demonstrating the collaborative mechanisms through which hegemonic ideologies achieve mass circulation and naturalization.

The nation-building project that Jefferys integrated emerged from the Canadian Confederation of 1867, which marked a transformative moment in the political organization of British North America, catalysing unprecedented efforts to construct national identity across territories previously governed through British and French imperial orders. Beyond establishing political, economic, and institutional autonomy, Confederation created the conditions for imagining a unified national community — one that would inherit imperial legacies while forging a distinctive identity in negotiation with its colonial origins. Central to this process of national imagination was the deliberate construction of historical consciousness through visual culture, as cultural elites recognized that making the past visible constituted an essential component of nation-building. This project envisioned in the nineteenth century embodied colonial values of economic progress, Christian supremacy, and masculine domination through a romanticized conception of history.[7] Although challenged by conflicting identities, whether through Franco-British tensions, Indigenous resistance, or the cultural diversity introduced by immigration waves, and despite pressures from Canada's position within the British Empire and in opposition to expanding American influence, the hegemonic nation-building project remained anchored in inherited colonial values.

Theoretically, what I term the hegemonic narrative of Canadian history encompasses both Anglophone and Francophone identities through the concept of a shared *settler Canadian* character[8] that, despite occasional disputes over national leadership, remains fundamentally grounded in the same imperial values, represents Indigenous cultures through consistent stereotypes, and largely cooperates in disseminating a cohesive set of national symbols and values through common discursive practices. This analysis of a hegemonic

[7] Philip Buckner; Douglas Francis, R.. Eds. Introduction. In: Canada and the British World: culture, migration and identity. Vancouver, UCB Press, 2006.

[8] While I initially used "Euro-Canadian" to capture this analytical distinction, I have adopted "settler Canadian" throughout this work both to align with established scholarly usage and to avoid potential misappropriation of terminology. The term "settler Canadian" has been effectively employed by scholars such as Adam J. Barker in "*The Contemporary Reality of Canadian Imperialism: Settler Colonialism and the Hybrid Colonial State*" to emphasize the colonial relationship fundamental to Canadian state formation. This terminological choice also reflects contemporary concerns about the appropriation of terms referencing European heritage by far-right groups who deploy ahistorical narratives to advance racist agendas.

Canadian historical narrative draws upon the Marxist conception of ideology as a process through which dominant ideas within society reflect the interests of ruling economic classes.[9] In the Canadian context, this ideological framework operated through the coordination between cultural institutions, educational systems, and cultural capitalists, shaping visual culture to naturalize settler colonial perspectives as historical truth. The Christian, European-descended elite who controlled cultural institutions after Confederation deployed what I term Visual Nationalism to construct a hegemonic, homogenizing historical consciousness. This project positioned settler Canadian identity as a natural foundation for the nation, thereby legitimizing capitalist expansion and facilitating economic and political interests of the ruling class.[10]

Charles William Jefferys (1869-1951) was a prolific historical illustrator and collector, whose extensive connections to key agents and institutions of this nationalist project between Confederation and the end of World War II established him as the most influential contributor to shaping historical consciousness in Canada,[11] particularly through his textbook illustrations. His enduring influence in Canadian visual culture grew after Imperial Oil acquired his complete catalogue and published a set of five portfolios as support material for history teachers, reaching almost 500,000 copies between 1957-1972.[12] This corporate appropriation reveals how Visual Nationalism served as cultural capital and advanced economic interests for the ruling classes. At the individual artist's level, *The Picture Gallery* represents Jefferys' magnum opus, materializing both his extensive career as illustrator and his dedication to collecting visual sources, what he termed "pictorial records"[13], encompassing diverse visual practices spanning centuries of image-making. The work reflects his accomplished career in printmaking, where he skilfully reproduced and reinterpreted images from various print media, while embodying a scholarly career that positioned him as an artist-historian with

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[9] For the foundational Marxist conception of ideology, see Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Volume I), trans. B. Fowkes (New York: Vintage Books, 1977); and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Excerpts from The German Ideology," in *Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*, ed. L. S. Feuer (New York: Anchor, 1989), 246-261. For a comprehensive analysis of how the concept of ideology has been developed and refined by subsequent theorists, see Mark C. J. Stoddart, "Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge and Power," *Social Thought & Research* 28 (2007): 191-225.

[10] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks: Volume I*, trans. J. A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 137; *Prison Notebooks: Volume II*, trans. J. A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 91.

[11] Sandra Campbell. *Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. P. 317

[12] "Imperial Oil Collection Presentation," The C.W. Jefferys Website, accessed July 15th, https://www.cwjefferys.ca/imperial-oil-collection-presentation. Information originally reported in the "Esso Reporter," April 12, 1972.

[13] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. 254

recognized authority in historical studies.[14] Accordingly, this study adopts a visual culture framework that encompasses the circulation, appropriation, and reproduction of images.[15] This approach enables the classification and interpretation of these complex visual practices while situating them within the broader traditions and scholarly dialogues that informed Jefferys' work, constituting a genealogy of the colonial visual culture in which Jefferys was both embedded and actively participating.

Scholarship on Jefferys and Canadian Visual Culture

Canada's dominant national narrative in recent decades celebrates the country as a multicultural haven, built by waves of immigrants who found refuge and opportunity in a vast, welcoming land.[16] This relatively recent myth of peaceful settlement and cultural accommodation has profoundly shaped both popular consciousness and academic discourse, positioning Canada as a model of tolerance and diversity.[17] However, this narrative of benevolent nation-building has increasingly come under scholarly scrutiny as Canadian academics grapple with the reality that this 'open country' was built upon the systematic dispossession of Indigenous peoples and ongoing settler colonialism.[18] The challenge of reconciling Canada's self-image as a progressive, multicultural democracy with its colonial foundations has generated scholarship examining how national identity has been constructed and contested through visual practices.

Although grounded in an art historical perspective instead of a visual culture analysis, Canadian scholars have been grappling with a dichotomy in the past few decades. On one hand, recognizing and celebrating the country's formative years, marked by substantial contributions from artists and institutions that merit recognition for actually fostering a sense of identification and producing a cultural terrain that positioned Canada as a relevant centre for a multitude of artistic expressions. On the other hand, examining colonial values embodied by the generations active in those formative years, using art historical criticism as a vehicle for promoting a democratic, progressive and multicultural society. Authors like Robert

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[14] Lorne Pierce. Preface. P. XIV. In: C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. III. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950.
[15] W.J.T. Mitchell, "*Visual Culture and the Pictorial Turn*," in "Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-34.
[16] Donald A. Wright. *Canada: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2020, 1-2.
[17] Gerald Friesen, *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). 227-228.
[18] Patricia Olive Dickason, and William Newbigging. *Indigenous Peoples Within Canada: A Concise History*. Oxford University Press, 2019. 240-259

Stacey,[19] Jim Burant,[20] Marylin McKay,[21] Ian E. Wilson,[22] Brian S. Osborne,[23] Ryan Edwardson,[24] and recently, Sandra Campbell[25] and Jaleen Grove,[26] provide a foundation of Canadian cultural analysis that scrutinized the period in question here (1867-1945), identifying a nation-building project that harnessed images of the past to instill a particular idea of nation. Despite not providing a methodological framework for visual culture, this body of authors has produced relevant insights on the positioning of print media as hegemonic narrative reproduction, and constitutes the central scholarly dialogue I'm engaging with.

Marilyn McKay is a starting point for our analysis as she worked with a very similar time frame (1860-1930), examining Canadian mural painting in which she identified a unified body of work for this medium in comparison with the previous and the next periods. McKay demonstrated that murals became numerous within these decades, and the artists became professionally trained, also serving new institutions and patrons aligned with that national project, making the glorification of salient features of Canada as a modern nation-state the primary subject matter.[27] The idea of a modern nation-state, in that context, also meant the celebration of Western culture's superiority and the effort to associate Canada with that heritage — in line with my reading of a settler Canadian identity. Referencing Said and Gramsci, McKay reminds us that mural painting worked as ideological support for religious and aristocratic elites to maintain power, demonstrating that the medium permitted narratives explaining nation formation through sequential panels. Furthermore, their deployment within

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[19] Robert Stacey. The Canadian Poster Book : 100 Years of the Poster in Canada. Toronto: Methuen, (1979); Stacey, Robert H., James Edward Hervey MacDonald, and Hunter Bishop. *J.E.H. MacDonald, Designer: An Anthology of Graphic Design, Illustration and Lettering*. Archives of Canadian Art, 1996. Also: Stacey, Robert. "From 'The Old Litho Life' to 'Never a Day without a Line' / De l'atelier de Lithographie Traditionnel à Celui Où Il Ne Se Passe « pas Un Jour sans Un Trait »." *National Gallery of Canada Review* 8 (June 1, 2017): 99–134. https://doi.org/10.3138/ngcr.8.005.

[20] Jim Burant. "The visual world in the Victorian age." *Archivaria* (1984): 110-121.; Jim Burant. "Ephemera, archives, and another view of history." *Archivaria* (1995): 189-198. Jim Burant. "The growth and protection of a cultural industry: the graphic arts in Canada, 1850-1914." *Imprint* (1999).

[21] Marylin Jean McKay, *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting*, 1860s - 1930s (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 4-17.

[22] Ian E Wilson. "Short and Doughty: The Cultural Role of the Public Archives of Canada 1904-1935." *The Canadian Archivist* 2.4 (1973).

[23] Brian S Osborne. "'*The kindling touch of imagination': Charles William Jefferys and Canadian identity.*" In: *A few acres of snow: literary and artistic images of Canada, edited by Paul Simpson-Housley and Glen Norcliffe*, 28-47. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1992.

[24] Ryan Edwardson. *Canadian content: Culture and the quest for nationhood*. University of Toronto Press, 2008.

[25] Sandra Campbell. *Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press*. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2013.

[26] Jaleen Grove. "*Bending Before the Storm: Continentalism in the Visual Culture of Canadian Magazines*". Journal of Borderlands Studies 34, nº 5 (October 20, 2019): 783–806.

[27] Marylin Jean McKay, *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting*, 1860s - 1930s (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 4-17. For McKay's references to Said and Gramsci, see pages 16-17.

architectural space, a privileged form of art in that historical context, made possible a viewing experience that inspired their audiences to accept the values they intended to embody, especially when bound with authoritative public institutions.

For this research, McKay's analysis of a set of C.W. Jefferys' murals from the 1930s is pivotal as a critical reading of a commonly appraised artist.[28] In addition, her assessment of mural painting in Canada as ideological constructs for hegemonic groups, amplified by the visualizing experience they engender, offers a lens through which to investigate the visual culture I'm analysing, often constituted by narrative representations, like in *The Picture Gallery.* Nevertheless, most of the studies regarding Jefferys deal with his insertion in print media, especially in the illustrated book market. Canadian scholars have delved into his work to grasp and question his central position in the formation of the country's historical consciousness, noting Jefferys' affiliation with prominent agents that worked to disseminate a myriad of nationalist pictures. Either by promoting a mythmaking, romantic view of Canadian history,[29] or through efforts to further a better appreciation of Canadian history and identity, while providing records for posterity,[30] or even by influencing public debate in defence of British Imperial ties and opposition to U.S. American interference,[31] Jefferys' pictures have mostly been perceived as powerful but affordable mechanically reproduced emblems of Canadian nationalism. These interpretations do not undermine the artistic value of his drawings or the fruitful productivity he delivered in a multitude of visual media (watercolour, illustration, advertising, mural painting, to name a few), which are frequently listed as virtues that demand recognition by Canadians. Moreover, these readings inform us about the visual culture in which he was embedded, and the visual economy that made possible his career, grounded in illustration.

Within this analytical framework, the present study does not constitute a biographical examination of Jefferys, nor does it undertake a formal artistic appraisal of his work, despite his presence as a unifying figure across the chapters. Rather, this research examines Jefferys' work within the broader context of Canadian historical illustration, comparing his approach with similar nation-building endeavours. In the Canadian context, *The Picture Gallery*

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[28] Marylin Jean McKay, *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting*, 1860s - 1930s (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002). P. 46-47 and 143-147.
[29] Sandra Campbell. "*From romantic history to communications theory: Lorne Pierce as publisher of C. W. Jefferys and Harold Innis*." Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Fall 1995).
[30] Brian S. Osborne. "'*The kindling touch of imagination': Charles William Jefferys and Canadian identity.*" In: *A few acres of snow: literary and artistic images of Canada, edited by Paul Simpson-Housley and Glen Norcliffe*, 28-47. Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1992.
[31] Jaleen Grove. "*Bending Before the Storm: Continentalism in the Visual Culture of Canadian Magazines*". Journal of Borderlands Studies 34, nº 5 (October 20, 2019): 783–806.

belongs to a specific genre of comprehensive visual histories, preceded by *Picturesque Canada* (1875) and succeeded by *Canada: A Visual History* (1966). While these works share a common effort to visually represent the country's history, analysing them comparatively reveals the particular ideological frameworks operating in each historical moment.

Robert Stacey's scholarship has been essential for understanding the networks of cultural production examined in this study. As a prominent art historian and curator, Stacey produced foundational works on Canadian design[32], illustration[33], and artistic production[34] that illuminate the institutional frameworks enabling nation-building after Confederation. His dual role as both scholar and C.W. Jefferys' grandson provided unique access to archival materials while maintaining critical scholarly distance. Stacey's organization of the Jefferys fonds represents exemplary archival stewardship — his systematic cataloguing and comprehensive documentation have transformed a family collection into a professionally accessible research resource with detailed finding aids and contextual annotations, further explained in the methodology section. Moreover, engaging with Stacey's extensive publications revealed gaps in existing scholarship, particularly regarding the ideological dimensions of Jefferys' work and its relationship to broader colonial discourses. While Stacey's research thoroughly documents the networks and technical aspects of Canadian visual culture from an art historical perspective, this created space for the present study's focus on the mythological and ideological functions of visual practices in Canadian nation-building.

The foundational contributions of archival studies scholars, particularly Jim Burant's pioneering work[35] on Canadian art institutions, archives, and artists — especially in illustration — have been essential for establishing the methodological frameworks and empirical foundations that inform this research. While this study engages productively with these scholarly traditions and benefits from their contributions, it adopts a more explicitly critical perspective informed by postcolonial theory. Writing from Brazil provides a particular outsider view for recognizing the colonial dimensions of Canadian nationalism that may be less visible from within the settler Canadian academic context. This perspective, combined

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[32] Robert Stacey. The Canadian Poster Book : 100 Years of the Poster in Canada. Toronto: Methuen, (1979)

[33] Robert Stacey. "Art Illustration." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published January 30, 2011; Last Edited February 14, 2025.

[34] Robert Stacey., James Edward Hervey MacDonald, and Hunter Bishop. *J.E.H. MacDonald, Designer: An Anthology of Graphic Design, Illustration and Lettering*. Archives of Canadian Art, 1996. See also: Robert Stacey. “From ‘The Old Litho Life’ to ‘Never a Day without a Line’ / De l’atelier de Lithographie Traditionnel à Celui Où Il Ne Se Passe « pas Un Jour sans Un Trait ».” *National Gallery of Canada Review* 8 (June 1, 2017): 99–134. https://doi.org/10.3138/ngcr.8.005.

[35] Jim Burant. *Ottawa Art & Artists: An Illustrated History*. Art Canada Institute= Institut de l'art canadien, 2022. Also: Jim Burant. "The visual world in the Victorian age." *Archivaria* (1984): 110-121.

with theoretical frameworks drawn from postcolonial studies, enables a reading of Canadian visual culture that foregrounds its function as a technology of colonial power rather than simply celebrating its role in fostering national identity.

Theoretical Framework and Key Concepts

Fig.2 - C.W. Jefferys, "*Primitive Indian Hunting*", *Page 7 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

My analysis draws primarily on W.J.T. Mitchell's visual theory, which provides essential tools for examining the ideologies embedded within visual culture while offering a systematic approach to understanding how images function as historical and social documents, operating within broader networks of power, knowledge, and cultural meaning. Beyond the notion of imagetext, Mitchell's framework for analyzing how images and text work together to create meaning,[36] this approach proves particularly useful for analysing plates within *The Picture Gallery* [Figure 2], as well as ethnographic publications and textbooks. Mitchell's emphasis on the social life of images[37] provides a complementary

[36] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Word and Image," in "Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 43-56; and "The Pictorial Turn," in "Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 11-34.
[37] W.J.T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 7-11, 93-94.

framework for tracing how pictures circulate, transform, and acquire new meanings as they move across different institutional contexts: from scientific publications to museum displays to nationalist illustrated books like *The Picture Gallery*. Given the profusion and liberty with which Jefferys reproduced and was reproduced within Canadian visual culture, tracing these new meanings and underlying intentions of pictures is especially relevant.

Figure 2 demonstrates Jefferys' systematic imagetext practices through embedded textual elements that frame Indigenous hunting as colonial knowledge. The notation "*From Lahontan's Voyages*" appears directly within the beaver illustration rather than as scholarly apparatus, while explanatory text interspersed throughout the hunting scenes — "*shooting the wild turkey*," "*Montaignais hunting Moose in Winter*," "*a deadfall for trapping foxes, wolves, etc.*" — functions to taxonomically organize Indigenous practices for settler consumption. This imagetext formation transposes colonial observation into natural Canadian heritage by embedding European authority directly within the visual field, naturalizing Lahontan's documentation while erasing Indigenous cultural contexts and relationships with these practices.

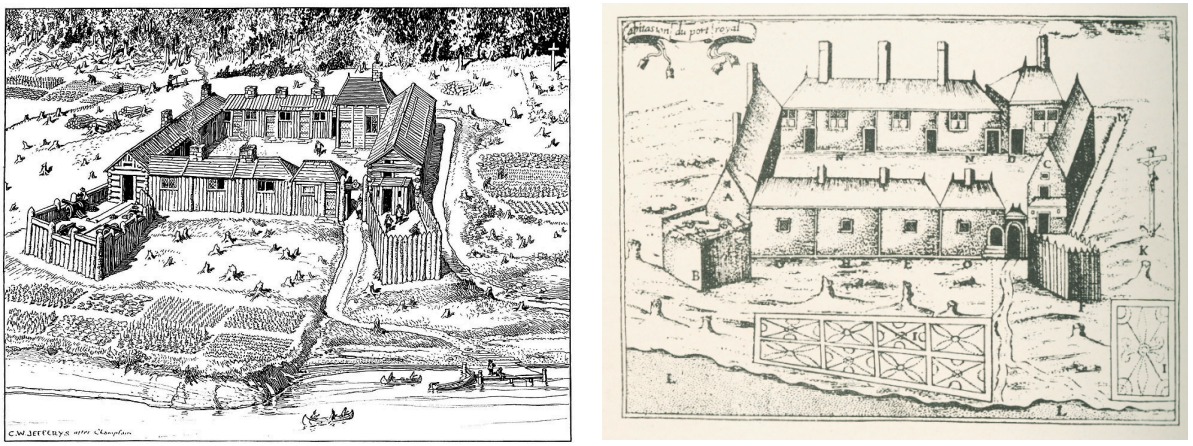

Fig. 3 - C.W. Jefferys, *The Habitation of Port Royal*, in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, vol. 1, 1942, p. 81 (left); and Samuel de Champlain, *Habitation du Port Royal*, from *Les voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris, 1613) (right).

Jefferys' redrawing of Champlain's 1613 *Habitation du Port Royal* [Figure 3] reveals how colonial visual documentation becomes national heritage through artistic intervention and institutional authority. By positioning himself as the authoritative corrector of colonial sources, explaining that his "*present drawing endeavours to show the materials of these earliest houses, and how they were built*" because the original "*engraver knew nothing of the conditions of life in a new, rough country,*"[38] Jefferys demonstrates how colonial visual

[38] C.W. Jefferys. *Canada's Past in Pictures*, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1934. p.16

practices simultaneously revealed and concealed their ideological operations. While openly acknowledging his interpretive intervention, he claims scholarly objectivity that masks the nationalist agenda underlying his redrawing. This process also exemplifies W.J.T. Mitchell's concept of *worldmaking*: images actively constructing worldviews and shaping historical consciousness through their visual practices.[39]

C.W. Jefferys recognized that pictures held a central role in shaping historical consciousness and Canadian nationalism, deliberately reproducing colonial images and creating original artwork that circulated widely through educational contexts as part of the settler Canadian nation-building project. This systematic visual practice operated through what contributors understood as pictures' active agency in constructing national identity[40] — a recognition that demands awareness of broader theoretical frameworks extending from Walter Benjamin[41] and the Frankfurt School[42] through Nelson Goodman's worldmaking concept[43], which reveals how scientific and cultural discourses shape popular consciousness through their inherently subjective operations. Jefferys' Visual Nationalism thus functioned through both the reproduction of colonial pictures as deliberate historical interpretation and the mass circulation of his artwork in educational materials, requiring investigation of the hidden assumptions and intentions underlying these historical and national representations.

Jefferys' Visual Nationalism operated through settler Canadian discursive formations that structured what could be known about Canadian identity, naturalizing colonial perspectives as historical truth while rendering Indigenous epistemologies invisible.[44] His

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[39] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[40] Figures analysed in this dissertation like George-Édouard Desbarats, Arthur Doughty, Lorne Pierce, George M. Wrong, Sir Byron Edmund Walker, and William C. Van Horne explicitly articulated the role of visual culture in promoting Canadian nationalism. Desbarats declared in 1888: "we intend to illustrate the Dominion of Canada... we are for building up a homogenous, united, patriotic nation," whilst Doughty emphasized that "illustrations associated with the beginnings and the advance of our civilization prove such valuable aids, since they permit one to obtain a connected and systematized view of our development." *The Dominion Illustrated*, Toronto, 7 July 1888, p. 2; Arthur Doughty, Preface, in James F. Kenney, *Catalogue of Pictures Including Paintings, Drawings and Prints in the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, 1925). These and other key figures' explicit deployment of visual culture for nationalist purposes will be examined throughout this thesis.

[41] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968).

[42] Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1972).

[43] Nelson Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1978).

[44] Michel Foucault's theory of discourse treats knowledge systems as ensembles of discursive practices central to maintaining power relations, constituting subjects within particular regimes that claim independence from individual speakers while representing phenomena through naturalized frameworks. Recent scholarship has extended this to visual discourse analysis, examining how images function as material artifacts, cultural metaphors, and imaginative constructs shaping embodied knowledge. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972). For Foucault's development of discourse theory in relation to

ethnographic imagetext formations [Figure 4] functioned simultaneously as material artifacts circulating through educational networks, metaphors signifying "primitiveness" and "Canadianness" according to settler strategic requirements, and imaginative constructs training viewers to see Indigenous cultures as scientific specimens rather than complex historical agents.[45] Yet these images retained traces of their original cultural contexts, creating potential contradictions that could challenge rather than reinforce colonial ideologies.[46]

Sandra Campbell, a contemporary scholar, has provided one of the most thorough interpretations of C.W. Jefferys' work. She defined him as "*the dominant visual mythmaker of Canada's past in the first half of the twentieth century*"[47] leading the way for my efforts at unveiling mythical constructions within *The Picture Gallery*, but also among the visual culture in which he was embedded and actively participated in shaping. Thus, I employ Roland Barthes' mythologies' concepts to expose ideological messages operating on a second-order level.[48] In this framework, myth transforms first-order denotative meanings into signifiers for broader mythical constructions that serve this ideological, nationalist visual project. This process become evident in *Primitive Indian Hunting,* one of the emblematic plates from *The Picture Gallery*'s first section of volume I [Figure 2, page 20], referenced by Jefferys as *The Indian Section.*[49] Using design principles learned from his early years as an advertising artist, Jefferys creates a pictorial montage[50] arranging original drawings with copies of illustrations, often juxtaposing fragments from different historical periods. In this

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power, see also Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). For recent scholarship expanding Foucault's framework to visual studies, see: Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. Visual Culture Series. London: SAGE Publications, 2001, 135-163. Traue, B., Blanc, M., & Cambre, C. (2018). Visibilities and Visual Discourses: Rethinking the Social With the Image. Qualitative Inquiry, 25(4), 327-337. (Original work published 2019)

[45] This analytical framework illuminates how Indigenous cultural objects became commodities within a visual economy, while simultaneously serving settler Canadian nationalist narratives that erased Indigenous historical agency through supposedly scientific presentation.

[46] The "transgressive potential" concept draws from visual discourse analysis scholarship recognizing images' "double capacity to overdetermine cultural orders as well as to pierce the boundaries between surveilled systems of knowledge," requiring what scholars term a "methodological double placement" that treats images simultaneously as instances of discourse and transgressions of discourse. See Traue, B., Blanc, M., & Cambre, C. (2018). "Visibilities and Visual Discourses: Rethinking the Social With the Image." *Qualitative Inquiry*, 25(4), 327-337. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800418792946 (Original work published 2019).

[47] Sandra Campbell. *From Romantic History to Academic History Publishing C.W. Jefferys and Harold Innis, 1921–1951* - In: Both Hands : A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press, 2013. P. 317

[48] Roland Barthes. Mythologies, Trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972.

[49] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. VII

[50] Walter Benjamin, "*The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,*" in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1968). P. 217-251

plate, Lahontan's beaver from 1703[51] is supplemented by hunting scenes Jefferys drew from later descriptions or imagined himself in the 1930s. Jefferys selects and visually arranges those individual pictures, conferring new meaning, frequently crafting new narratives.

Here, the montage creates a sophisticated mythological construction through several key elements: the interplay between title and images, the depiction of selected weapons and hunting methods as representative of Indigenous culture, and the emphasis on natural life, all of which combine to signify Indigenous life as 'primitive' or 'vanishing' on a second-order level. This process removes distinct Indigenous practices from their specific cultural contexts and timeframes, situating them in a pre-modern temporality — a timeless primitiveness. By romanticizing different Indigenous relationships with wilderness within the same label, it reinforces the narrative of inevitability of displacement by modern civilization. This mythical transformation empties these practices of their historical specificity and refills them with naturalized meanings about Indigenous 'essence' and civilizational progress.

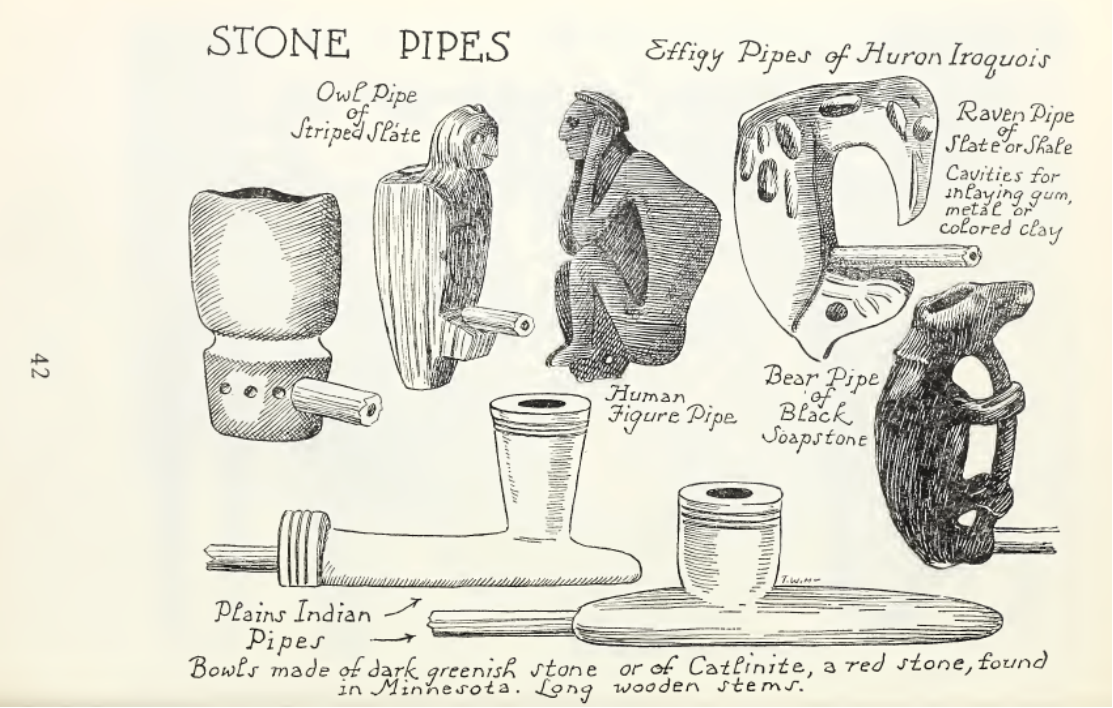

Fig.4 - C.W. Jefferys, *Page 42 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

[51] Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America* (London: H. Bonwicke, 1703). P. 106-107. Jefferys admits to reproducing Lahontan in the image' callouts: "*From Lahontan's Voyages."*

Understanding the crucial theoretical problem of Indigenous representation within this settler Canadian national project required analysing visual conventions of scientific discourse that Jefferys appropriated from North American anthropological and archaeological publications. In comparison with his previous works or other contemporary historical picture books, a conspicuous characteristic of *The Picture Gallery* is the appropriation of visual practices from the natural sciences, archaeology and anthropology [Figure 4]. Jefferys had been engaged in scholarly debate with historians since the 1910s, contributing to the leading historical journal in Canada, *The Canadian Historical Review*,[52] and collecting pictures from scientific publications since his formative years. However, it was in the *Picture Gallery* that he started to employ scientific images as part of the visual practices for Canadian history. To properly analyse these scientific pictures and their visual conventions, mostly contained in the *Indian Section* mentioned above, I implement Lorraine Daston's and Peter Galison's framework of visual epistemologies,[53] which examines how different approaches to scientific representation embody distinct claims about knowledge and objectivity. Their work reveals the tension between "mechanical objectivity" — which seeks to eliminate human interpretation through supposedly neutral documentation — and "truth to nature," which relies on expert judgment to reveal essential characteristics. This framework helps illuminate how seemingly objective scientific illustrations of Indigenous artifacts simultaneously functioned as claims to epistemological authority and vehicles for particular ideological narratives about Indigenous peoples and Canadian national identity.

The visual conventions employed by Jefferys in representing Indigenous artifacts invokes scientific objectivity through systematic decontextualization, standardized measurement, and taxonomic classification that mirror the "mechanical objectivity" described by Daston and Galison.[54] Jefferys positions artifacts like pipes and other ceremonial objects within sterile, comparative arrangements that emphasize their value as scientific specimens rather than cultural productions. This mode of presentation borrows many visual practices following patterns established in archaeological journals and museum displays (discussed in Chapters 2 and 3), in a procedure that embodies the "morality of restraint" that Daston and Galison identify as central to mechanical objectivity — artifacts are labelled with

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[52] C.W. Jefferys. The Visual Reconstruction of History. In: The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XVII, Toronto, 1936.

[53] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007). For their specific discussion of visual epistemologies and the tension between "mechanical objectivity" and "truth to nature," see especially chapters 3-4. See also Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations* 40 (1992): 81-128.

[54] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 115-190.

geographical origins, materials, dimensions, and typological classifications, while being deliberately extracted from their ceremonial, spiritual, or everyday contexts that would reveal their Indigenous meanings. However, Jefferys and prominent contemporary sources, such as the *Victoria Memorial Museum* archaeologist Harlan I. Smith,[55] still adopted mechanical reproductions of hand drawings, instead of direct photography, as a primary image-making technology. This practice reveals the same paradox that Daston and Galison observed in nineteenth-century scientific images. Claims to objectivity often relied on interpretive intervention, creating what they recognize as a hybrid practice that proclaimed objectivity while deploying trained artistic judgment to serve ideological purposes.

The dichotomy of objective representation through trained artistic judgment is present in Jefferys' work and in the early years of visual archaeology in Canada, from which he borrows many sources. However, this dichotomy was part of a broader phenomenon that involves the simultaneity of the popularization of photography with the establishment of archaeology as an academic discipline. This complex process situates representational tools as means for developing what Foucault termed "discursive formations"[56] — practices and rules that govern the production, circulation, and acceptance of knowledge and discourse within a specific field — that must not be analysed only at a disciplinary level, but from a wider perspective that considers anthropology and ethnology as technologies of colonial power. These visual discursive formations governed what could be seen and which visual practices could be employed for visualizing Indigenous cultures,[57] strategically privileging illustration over photography precisely because drawings enabled more effective colonial control over representation. The systematic decontextualization of Indigenous artifacts from their social contexts; comparative taxonomies that positioned Indigenous material culture as symbols of primitiveness; and the deployment of scientific visual practices that could remove complexities while emphasizing classification — all served the colonial project more

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[55] On Harlan I. Smith's work at the Victoria Memorial Museum, see Harlan I. Smith, *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*, Bulletin 37 of the Anthropological Series of the Victoria Memorial Museum (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1923); Smith, *The Archaeological Collection from the Southern Interior of British Columbia* (Ottawa: Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Museum of Geological Survey, 1913).

[56] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 31-39.

[57] Following Gillian Rose's application of Foucault's theory of discourse to visual culture, visuality operates as a form of discourse that "makes certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable" while producing "subjects...within that field of vision." Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. Visual Culture Series. London: SAGE Publications, 2001, 136-138.

effectively than photography's mechanical reproduction, which might capture inconvenient contextual details that complicated primitivist narratives.

Building upon this understanding of discourse as a technology of power, we analyse Jefferys' ethnographic images as visual practices that served Visual Nationalism not merely by recording but categorizing, hierarchizing, and ultimately controlling colonized populations.[58] In this sense, Visual Nationalism borrowed from anthropology — from French missionary accounts to British-Canadian ethnographic collections — which consistently transformed complex societies into scientific specimens, expressing what postcolonial scholarship characterizes as the "colonial gaze"[59] that legitimized European governance through claims to empirical authority. This study adapts analytical frameworks from imperial visual culture studies[60] to expose how settler Canadian representations operated through systematic cultural othering, constructing images of Indigenous difference, exoticism, and primitiveness that served colonial political and economic interests rather than reflecting cultural realities.[61] The colonial gaze embedded in these visual practices promoted violence by scrutinizing Indigenous existence under ethnographic pretenses, while denying colonized peoples the *right to look,*[62] ensuring representations remained exclusively produced by colonizers for colonizers.

Finally, I employ the concept of visual economy as a complementary framework to visual culture, emphasizing the material dimensions of image production, circulation, and consumption. While visual culture addresses shared meanings, symbols, and identity formation, visual economy illuminates how pictures functioned as commodities within

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[58] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001). 51-82

[59] While Said did not use the term "colonial gaze" specifically, this concept has been developed by postcolonial scholars building on his analysis of orientalist discourse. See particularly Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories* (Oxford: Berg, 2001) and Hunt, T., & M. Lessard. *Women and the Colonial Gaze*. (Springer, 2002). Following Mitchell's understanding of images as having "social lives," I acknowledge that the "colonial gaze" represents one moment in an image's history, and that subsequent circulation and appropriation can alter meanings.

[60] A specific application of this analysis over mechanically reproduced visual representations is Malek Alloula's use of the concept of "colonial gaze", aligned with this discussion on the use of visual archaeology as a method of control. Alloula identified a voyeuristic component in the colonial gaze regarding Algerian women photographed for French postcards, demonstrating how colonial photographers framed North African subjects as sexually available and culturally backward, reinforcing myths used to legitimize French rule. See: Malek Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, trans. Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986). P. 92

[61] This analysis builds upon Edward Said's foundational work on Orientalism as a discourse of power, alongside subsequent scholarship examining how Western imperial enterprises deployed visual culture to construct and control colonized populations. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978)

[62] This concept draws from Nicholas Mirzoeff's work on visuality and the "right to look." See Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

systematic networks of commercial exchange.[63] This approach reveals how standardized, mechanically reproduced pictures responded to market demands across the British imperial space and between Canada and the United States. Although these nations resisted cultural convergence, they participated in a shared visual economy where artists like Jefferys operated as cultural producers serving transnational markets. The concept of visual economy thus extends Anderson's analysis of print-capitalism,[64] demonstrating how editorial practices shaped nationalism through the intersection of economic interests and ideological constructs, driving historical consciousness and collective imagination of both settler colonial identities and settler perspectives on Indigenous peoples.

Sources

The nation-building enterprise undertaken after Confederation was enabled by a technological revolution in mechanical image reproduction that fundamentally transformed print media's capacity to disseminate pictures of national identity. Through ephemera, illustrated textbooks, children's picture books, institutional publications, illustrated periodicals, and specialized printed materials, a vast corpus of visual culture proliferated between 1867 and 1945, creating the material foundation for circulating a hegemonic understanding of the past that could foster national identification.[65] These sources make it possible to examine how this convergence of nationalist ideology, historical consciousness, and print technology established visual practices of Canadian national identity, analysing the networks of institutions, patrons, and cultural producers who transformed selective historical narratives into widely circulated images.

By prioritizing visual sources as primary evidence for understanding the construction and dissemination of Canadian national identity, this study adopts an interdisciplinary framework that integrates visual studies methodologies with conventional historical analysis.[66] This approach acknowledges that visual culture functions not merely by illustrating

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[63] Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History, vol. 13 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) 8-12.
[64] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 37-46.
[65] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London and New York: Verso, 2006.
[66] While the integration of visual and textual analysis in historical research has distinguished precedents dating to the mid-twentieth century, it is still a growing field in mainstream historiographical practice. This tradition can be traced to pioneering scholars such as Arnaldo Momigliano and Ernst Gombrich, who demonstrated the necessity of combining historical contextualization with visual analysis for understanding cultural phenomena. See Arnaldo Momigliano, *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966); Ernst H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the*

historical phenomena, but by actively shaping historical consciousness, requiring analytical tools capable of addressing visual properties, technological processes and their cultural significance within nation-building projects. In this respect, illustrated periodicals and magazines from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries occupy a relevant position as source material, alongside corporate illustrated booklets and commercial calendars. These materials demonstrate how historical images were appropriated as cultural capital through C.W. Jefferys' curatorial practices and the broader Visual Nationalism framework, establishing widely circulated symbols of Canadian identity that transcended traditional scholarly audiences.

The foundation of this research is Charles William Jefferys' three-volume work, *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, published between 1942-1950, from which I have identified, tracked, and analysed this nation-building project. This publication constitutes a comprehensive visual compendium that includes thousands of reproductions of paintings, illustrations, and photographs created from the early colonial period through contemporary publications of Jefferys' lifetime, alongside his numerous original pictures. The collection encompasses notable historical events, landscapes, architecture, material culture, and representative Canadian figures, forming a significant catalogue of Canadian visual culture through 1950. *The Picture Gallery* was a successful editorial enterprise, evidenced by its sustained demand across nearly three decades: Volume I reached its 14th printing by 1970, yet it represents only one dimension of Jefferys' broader impact on Canadian historical consciousness. His influence operated primarily through the wide diffusion of his images in educational materials, extending across the decades following its publication through the Imperial Oil portfolios. Nevertheless, as it functions as both a comprehensive retrospective of his work and a systematic catalogue of Canadian visual culture, it provides an essential case study for analysing the interconnectedness of historical consciousness, visual culture, and the publishing market in advancing Visual Nationalism.

Lastly, sources from colonial travelogues, early antiquarian practices, and twentieth-century institutional publications occupy a distinct analytical position in this research especially in chapter 3. The genealogy extends from Baron de Lahontan's *New Voyages to North America* (1703) and Joseph-François Lafitau's comparative ethnography

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Psychology of Pictorial Representation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960); and Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1982). For more recent contributions to this methodological tradition, see Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001); and Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

(1724) through nineteenth-century adventurer-artists like George Catlin and Paul Kane, culminating in systematic institutional publications such as Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* (1865), David Boyle's *Notes on Primitive Man in Ontario* (1895), and Harlan I. Smith's *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* (1923) from the Victoria Memorial Museum. First, their reproduction within Jefferys work constitutes a distinct visual epistemology emphasizing scientific representation over his narrative historical scenes, widely circulated in history textbooks. Second, these sources provide evidence of persistent colonial visual practices spanning three centuries, demonstrating adaptations and sophistications while maintaining chronic operations of otherness, appropriation and delegitimization that prioritized mechanical reproduction over Indigenous agency in cultural representation. Finally, twentieth-century institutional publications reveal a coordinated national project that, while claiming scientific objectivity and cultural preservation, actually deployed mechanically reproduced pictures of material culture as technologies for controlling Indigenous voices while mobilizing their cultural productions as markers of Canadian distinctiveness against American and British identities.

Modes of Presentation

The Picture Gallery of Canadian History represents a challenging typology of illustrated history book, as it integrates pictures drawn from many different visual practices, sometimes within the same page. The three volumes contain all of Jefferys' notable illustrations of historical events in Canada previously reproduced in school textbooks — what he called "dramatic events". However, the collection goes beyond historical illustration, assembling pictures of material culture, landscape, architecture, blueprints, and advertising, an emblematic expression of Jefferys' comprehensive career in Canadian print media. Moreover, it constitutes a descriptive inventory of Canadian records, gathered and selected by Jefferys over decades of research, filtered from a vast collection of magazine and book scraps, photographs, postcards, copies of artwork and original sketches made by observation. In this "*attempt to put into visual form the past life of Canada*,"[67] Jefferys appears to conceive visually the experience of a picture gallery adapted into a book, employing different presentation patterns to create spatial relationships with the pictures.

In this sense, this analysis identifies six distinct **modes of presentation** that structure the plates of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. These modes function as analytical

[67] C.W. Jefferys. 1936. Pg. 258

categories to examine the epistemological effects created by the artist, or different visual practices deployed to construct Canadian historical consciousness. Primarily, these modes of presentation contribute to simulating distinct types of galleries in the book, transposing the experience of visualizing pictures in museums to a smaller, individual, printed format. As noted above, Jefferys draws on different design techniques from his printing experience to visually emphasize aspects of the objects he is depicting. The volumes are a sum of many galleries, but they are also a picture gallery in itself, one with images specifically conceived to integrate with it, carefully organized, and displayed according to their particularities. Designed for mass reproduction and circulation through educational networks, these modes of presentation functioned as vehicles for disseminating what this study identifies as the hegemonic settler Canadian nationalist narrative.

Considering Jefferys' systematic practice as a collector and curator of visual culture — interacting with, adapting, and reproducing images to serve a project of Visual Nationalism — this analysis advances the modes of presentation as coordinated technologies of nation-building. While also existing scholarship examines individual images or general iconographic themes, this framework reveals how systematic combinations of presentational strategies create coherent nationalist worldviews that claim authority through multiple epistemological channels simultaneously, as each mode mobilizes different forms of cultural legitimacy. Visual Nationalism operates precisely through this coordinated deployment of different modes of presentation — transforming Jefferys' Picture Gallery from a mere collection of illustrations into a comprehensive apparatus for constructing national historical consciousness. This theoretical framework demonstrates that nationalist visual culture functions not only through what is presented, but through how presentational practices naturalize particular visions of national identity while marginalizing alternative perspectives. The modes thus constitute mechanisms of historical consciousness that determine not only how Canadian history should be visualized, but what can be known and remembered about the national past.

By simulating different institutional viewing contexts (museum exhibition, fine arts salon, architectural survey, ethnographic observation, technical documentation), Jefferys mobilizes the cultural authority associated with each domain while adapting their visual conventions to serve nationalist pedagogical objectives:

a. *The Museum Exhibitor*: in this mode of presentation, each plate is planned as an exhibition showcase, a stand, or a wall of hanging items, as in an antiquarian cabinet

[Figures 4, 5 and 6]. Individual elements retrieved from different sources are arranged together according to Jefferys' taxonomic criteria, creating a new argument based on the repetition or the familiarity between elements. Employed in pictures representing artifacts and techniques, they are drawn according to an optimal viewing angle, often with standard measurements, and extracted from their cultural contexts as if their referents were arranged in a series specifically for exhibition purposes. The sections regarding Indigenous cultures overuse this pattern, but it is also employed to visually present clothing, furniture, documents, weaponry, and weaving patterns, that is, material culture rendered constitutive of a Canadian lifestyle by Jefferys. Graphics, maps, and scientific illustrations are often associated with the main themes. The surrounding text is elementary and brief, functioning as captions that identify specific details or interpretations of the artifacts. In terms of print media, this mode resembles natural science atlases, museum collection catalogues, and anthropological journals, all of which are usual sources for Jefferys.

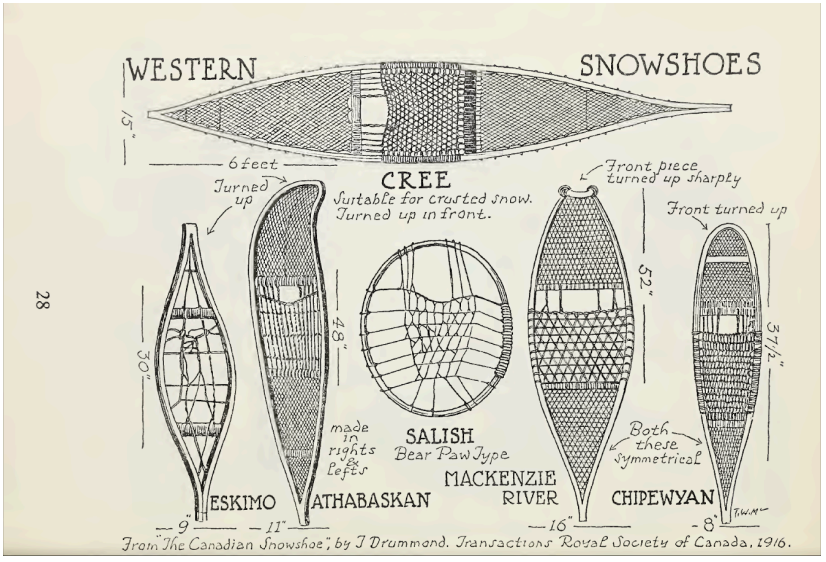

Fig.5 - C.W. Jefferys. *Western Snowshoes.* Page 28 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

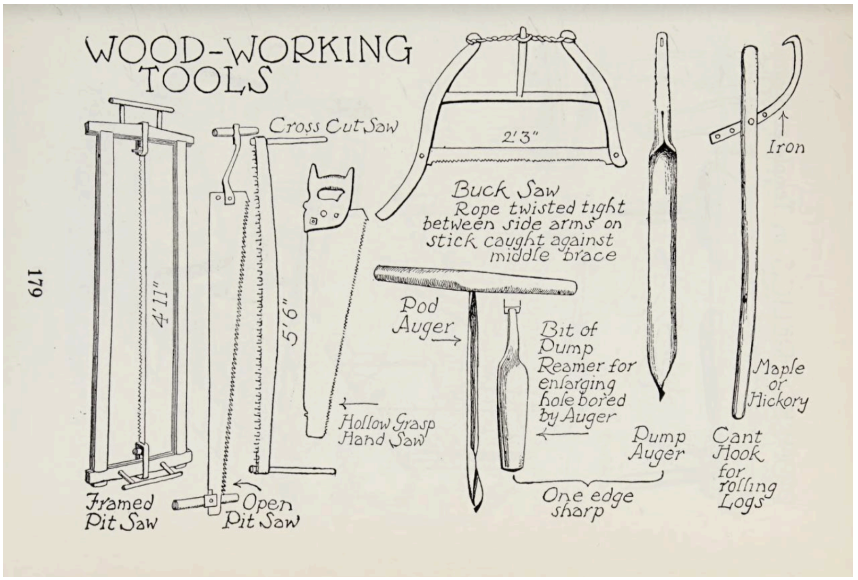

Fig.6 - C.W. Jefferys. *Wood-Working Tools.* Page 179 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol III,* c 1950. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

b. *The Salon Wall*: emulating the experience of looking at traditional European salon painting in a national gallery or a museum of fine arts, this pattern is appropriated by Jefferys for depicting historical events. Aside from a few occasional exceptions, *The Salon Wall* shows us the canonical events of Canadian national history with prominence, marked by settler colonial narratives and European exploration. The pictures are usually prints made from Jefferys' most notable historical illustrations, some of the originals done in watercolour, oil, or mural painting, but redrawn in black pen over paper and mechanically reproduced for *The Picture Gallery*. Often, Jefferys reproduces historical illustrations made by renowned artists, and employs the *Salon Wall* to grant them pomp and reverence. These images are larger, occupying an entire page for themselves, framed with black lines, and accompanied by subtitles, dates, and titles that function like gallery labels. They stand out for their detail and the intricacy of the printmaking techniques, as their larger canvas allows Jefferys a more elaborate artistry. [see figures 1 and 7]

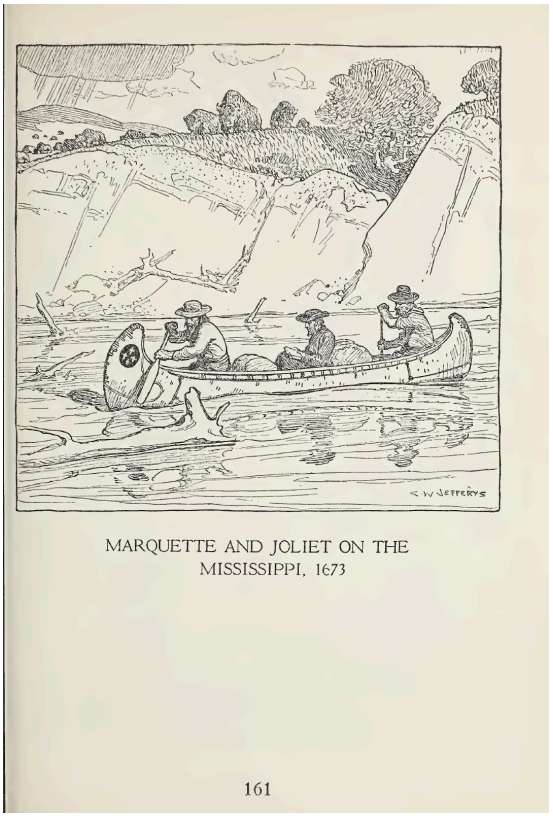

Fig.7 - C.W. Jefferys. *Marquette and Jolie on the Mississippi.* Page 161 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

c. *The Window*: this is a mode of presentation that explores the possibilities of seeing spaces, buildings, and landscapes, evoking the illusion of a primary sense of the word **gallery**, a long room opened to the sides by windows or apertures. It emulates the experience of looking out of a window and contemplating a building or natural scenery. Consequently, this pattern is employed in two different objects of representation:

a. *buildings and cityscapes* — adequate for the display of architecture, Jefferys employs this mode to represent notable buildings or architectural styles of either French or British colonial enterprises. The *window* can be used to portray different buildings in a city, a style that repeats throughout different cities, and sometimes even a same building is pictured in different angles and placements within the city, but always constituting a composition of 3 or 4 pictures. This pattern becomes more common as the colonial projects advance chronologically in the three volumes, becoming more frequent as more mansions, city halls, courts and churches were built. Archival research has

proven that Jefferys drew directly over photographs of buildings, rarely altering details or perspectives, what I associate with his efforts at accuracy. [see figures 8 and 9]

b. *landscapes* — At the beginning of his career, Jefferys was a leading figure in the artistic genre of landscape painting in Canada, and deploys this mode especially when representing the natural resources and portraying a romantic idea of a country not touched by men. That's why landscapes are depicted without human interference, disregarding Indigenous cultures' interventions in the natural scenario. This pattern goes in the opposite direction of the *window to cityscapes*, becoming rarer in the third volume, where settler Canadian action and progress over the land is emphasized. It is also used in combination with other styles, like maps or portraits of the Europeans that first registered the explorations of that territory. [see figure 10]

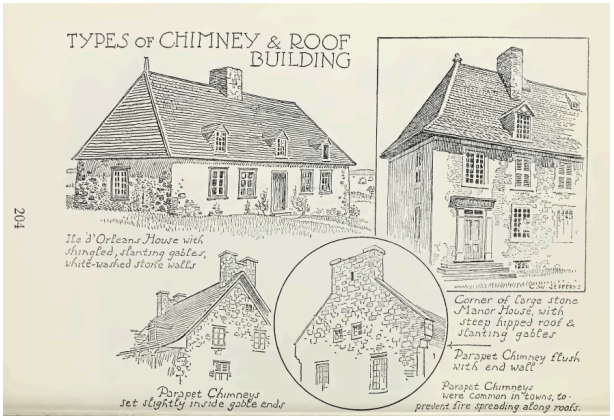

Fig.8 - C.W. Jefferys. *Types of Chimney & Roof Building.* Page 204 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

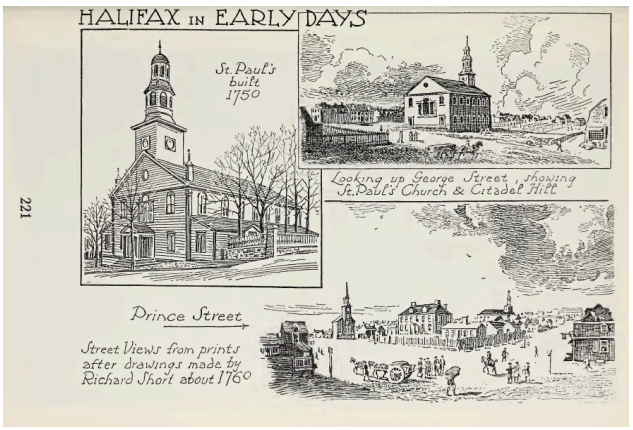

Fig.9 - C.W. Jefferys. *Halifax in Early Days.* Page 221 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

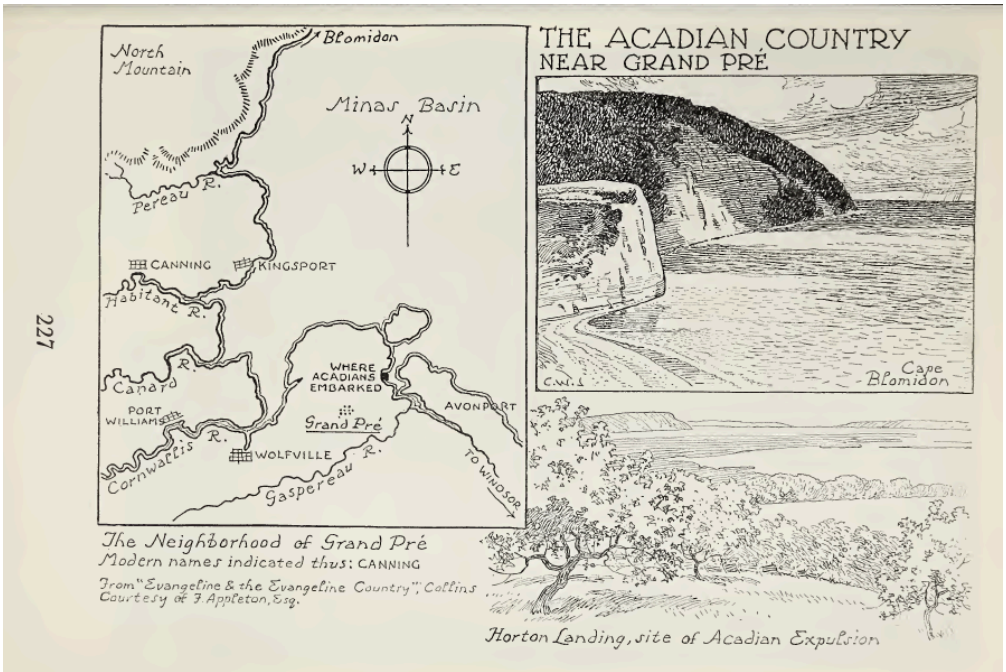

Fig.10 - C.W. Jefferys. *The Acadian Country near Grand Pré.* Page 227 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

d. *The Peeping Eye*: this pattern is unique compared to other picture galleries or illustrated history books analysed in this research. Here there is a narrative use of the images, either when they are arranged in sequence, as if striding through a corridor, or when the individual scenes they depict are actually telling stories. This mode is mainly used to represent ethnographic aspects of Indigenous peoples from an anthropological perspective, as the viewer could observe societies without their awareness of being observed. It is also employed in the later volumes to depict settler daily life. While the images in *The Salon Wall*, *The Museum*, and *The Window* were predominantly static and still, here, they seem as though they want to move. Jefferys arranges the pictures in sequence to build visual narratives, such as the Creek strolling down a river, or early settlers in their daily routine. To construct the narrative effect, these images portray actions and practices, rather than objects, figures or scenarios (although these integrate the scene). When viewing a plate designed with this mode in predominance, the aesthetic similarity between the *window* pages and comic book layouts is striking, which corresponds with the fact that this book was produced during what has been called the

Golden Age of comics in Canada.[68] Thus, visual conventions derived from comic books can be identified — or strategically employed by Jefferys — as narrative devices. These include: panels structuring temporality; text boxes and caption panels providing contextual information; varying degrees of cross-hatching to emphasize specific elements; and even figures that breach panel borders, thereby transcending linear temporality or spatial constraints. [see figure 11]

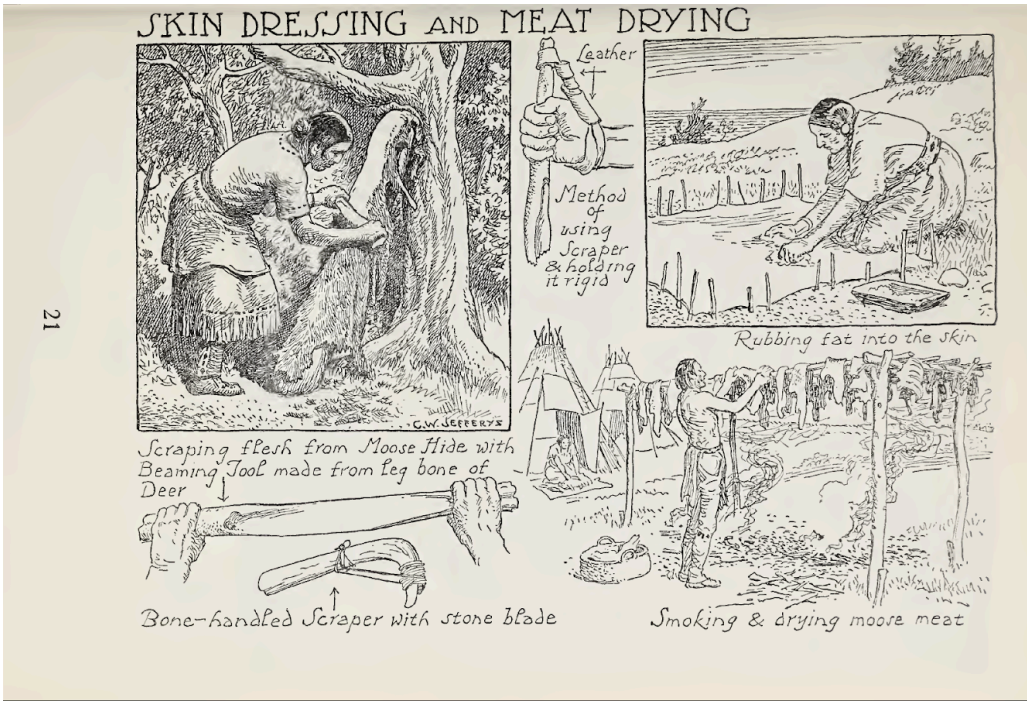

Fig.11 - C.W. Jefferys. *Skin Dressing and Meat Drying.* Page 21 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

e. *The Blueprint*: this pattern of pictorial representation is employed to depict machinery, tools, and technical details of architecture. It is composed of cross-sections, layouts, plans, and diagrams of complex objects and places. These representations are typical imagetext combinations, supported by architectural and technical symbols supplementing drawings and technical captions. It is not a depiction of how things appear to the eye, but abstractions of how things work and how to build them. This kind of picture may require some technical expertise to be fully understood or decoded, demanding familiarity with

[68] John Bell. "Comic Books in English Canada." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published February 07, 2006; Last Edited July 08, 2015.

the objects they represent, even though the captions are more elaborate and comprehensive than in previous modes of presentation. Their documentation and descriptive character aligns with Jefferys' effort to capture and record vanishing elements of Canadian culture, also making possible their reconstruction, something very dear to the artist. The idea of *pictorial record* underscores the inclusion of reproduced blueprints from obsolete machines, or cross-sections of demolished buildings, in his effort to capture vanishing practices and technologies. [figure 12]

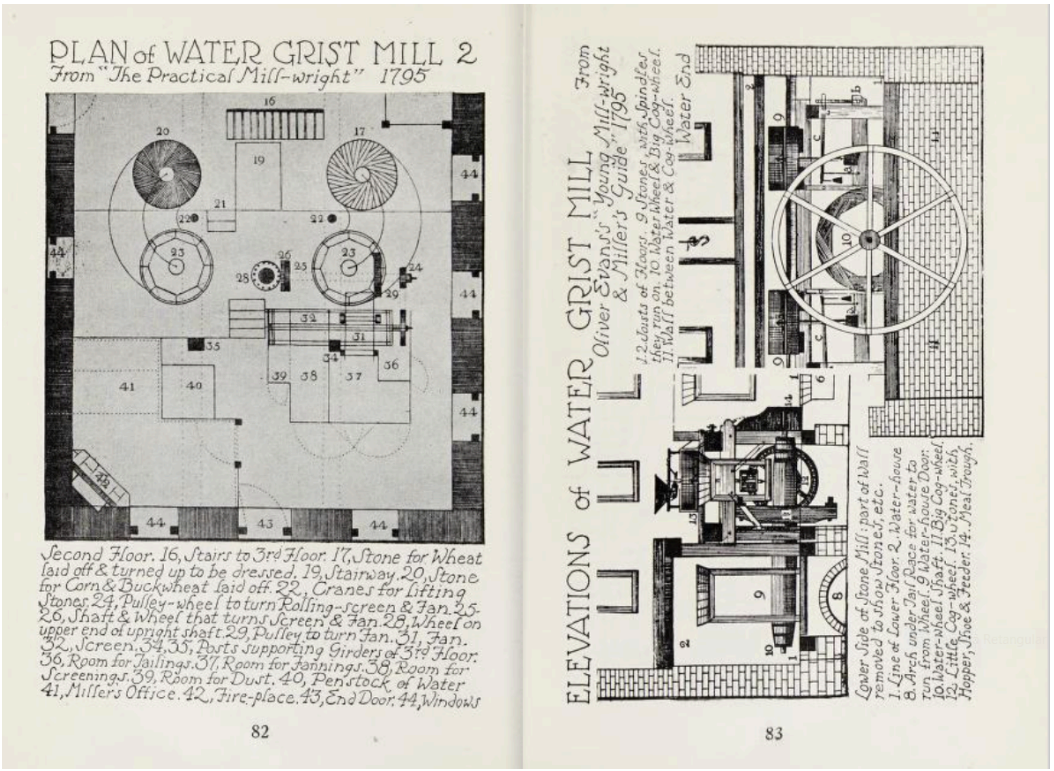

Fig.12 - C.W. Jefferys. *Plan and Elevation of Water Grist Mill.* Pages 82-83 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

f. *The Pantheon:* portraits are fundamental pictorial elements in *The Picture Gallery,* presented in this mode of presentation that recalls the pantheon tradition. In Jefferys' work, it transforms individual historical figures into national symbols, constructing national identity through collective biography. Often, the *Pantheon* emphasizes individual action and heroism, presenting history as a product of great figures rather than social forces. Leaving small room for Jefferys' imaginative pictures, the portraits in the volumes are mostly reproductions or drawings of contemporary portraits, containing a

significant number of photoengravings in comparison with other modes. *The Pantheon* employs conventional formal portraiture — predominantly three-quarter view and frontal poses of male figures in ceremonial or professional dress — arranged either in collective groupings of three to five portraits per page that reinforce the pantheon tradition, or as individual bust-length portraits within medallion formats that integrate with maps and cityscapes, creating a visual metanarrative that positions these figures as the heroic agents of territorial and civic development. The portrait gallery transposed in book format predominantly affirms settler colonial action and entrepreneurship, but reveals a troubling genealogy when depicting Indigenous subjects: it suggests influence from anthropometric representation and rogues' galleries to present individuals from outside the settler Canadian national narrative. The reproduction of these figures, identified by *typologies* they represent rather than individual names, circulates scientific categorization into wider networks of popular consumption. This visual practice highlights the tension in representing cultures through the colonial gaze. French and British nobles are presented according to selective criteria, wearing formal or military attire, with carefully prepared hairstyles, poses and complexion, crafting idealized representations presented as objective and realistic depiction of their character. [see figures 13,14 and 15]

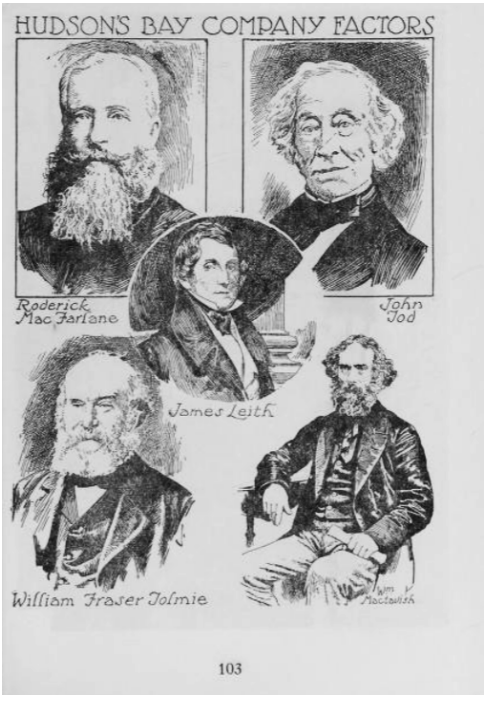

Fig.13 - C.W. Jefferys. *Hudson's Bay Company Factors.* Page 103 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol III,* c 1950. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

Fig.14 - C.W. Jefferys. Page 232 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of oil paintings.

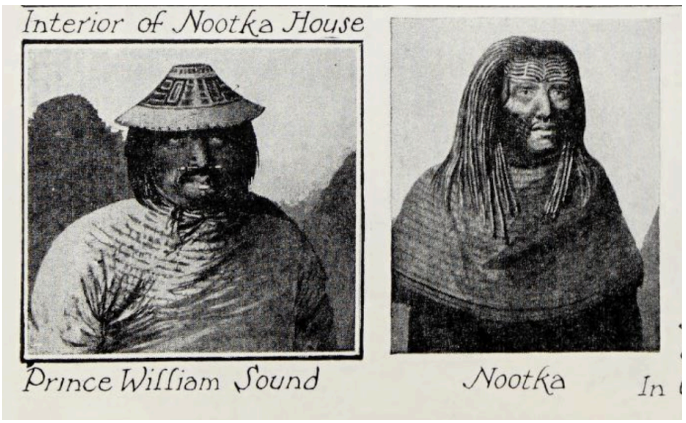

Fig.15 - C.W. Jefferys. Detail of *West Coast Natives.* Page 18 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol II,* c 1945. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

Jefferys's approach of emulating diverse visualization practices in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* accomplishes a great deal in fostering historical consciousness by operating as a comprehensive visual compendium that synthesizes heterogeneous image sources — from fine art painting to commercial advertising, graphic design, and comic book illustration — into a deliberate montage. By selecting and reproducing images from different media within Canadian visual culture, Jefferys transcends conventional historical illustration to appropriate the credibility, rigour, and institutional weight of other modes of visual

presentation, including scientific discourse, cartography, and art history. As his final major work, *The Picture Gallery* represents the culmination of his career-long engagement with Canadian print media, producing a sophisticated visual synthesis that invites analysis of the performative dimension of visual presentation, specifically how the act of displaying knowledge actively constructs what can be known about the past.

Furthermore, each mode of presentation serves to advance historical consciousness and the settler Canadian nationalism in which Jefferys participated. The *Museum Exhibitor* positions Indigenous alongside settler artifacts, creating a display of Canadian heritage resources and naturalizing cultural appropriation, while claiming ethnographic documentation. The *Salon Wall* elevates settler colonial events as foundational moments, naturalizing exploration and land dispossession, using the fine arts tradition and Jefferys' recognition as a history scholar to simulate an eyewitness effect. The *Peeping Eye* naturalizes the colonial gaze, constructing imagined Indigenous cultures as objective knowledge, presenting Indigenous peoples as exotic objects for observation, not historical agents. *The Window* makes possible visualizing territorial possession and economic development, claiming documentary survey while reinforcing the wilderness myth. *The Blueprint* celebrates technological progress and Canadian engineering, using technical expertise as a symbol of settler superiority. Lastly, *The Pantheon* constructs a genealogy of national heroes, establishing settler colonial models of leadership while claiming biographical documentation. Through the interplay of these modes of presentation, systematically organized Canadian visual culture propagates through editorial practices, shaping settler Canadian historical consciousness.

Rather than neutral presentational choices, these modes function as coordinated epistemological strategies revealing how visual culture actively defined how Canadian history should be visualized, enabling Jefferys to claim authority by engaging with established visual practices (scientific, artistic, architectural, ethnographic). Drawing on visual discursive formations, these modes of presentation circulated through educational materials — Imperial Oil reproduced some of *Picture Gallery's* plates and distributed them across the country — and reinforced mythical constructions of "primitiveness" through the *Museum Exhibitor* or of "heroic exploration" through the *salon wall*, also working to negotiate tensions with Indigenous cultures while determining what forms of Indigenous knowledge could circulate through a settler colonial lens. While these modes are employed in combination, with specific adjustments to reinforce or silence particular values, and contain exceptions and particularities that exceed these analytical categories, their systematic deployment reveals Jefferys' curatorial

authority in shaping historical consciousness. This classificatory framework illuminates how Jefferys not only organized existing knowledge but actively reproduced the parameters through which Canadian history should be visualized, understood, and remembered.

Methodology

1. Digital Research and Archival Access

This research draws extensively on both digitized sources and original, unpublished archival materials. While C.W. Jefferys serves as the central figure guiding this analysis, the documentary corpus encompasses published materials from artists, cultural institutions, companies, and periodicals within the Canadian context, supplemented by broader imperial and North American sources. Canada's comprehensive digitization initiatives — including Canadiana Online, university repositories through Internet Archive, and University of Toronto publications in association with the National Gallery of Canada[69] — enabled this study to be conducted from Brazil while accessing extensive primary sources. Secondary sources were accessed through the Encyclopedia of Canada and the Dictionary of Canadian Biography.[70] The family-operated C.W. Jefferys website provided digitized reproductions of his pictures, published articles, and comprehensive reproduction lists, proving essential for investigating this prolific artist's visual practices.[71] This digital accessibility revealed numerous sources requiring further investigation and integration into Canadian scholarship.

Since *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* has a central position in this study, I purchased physical copies to properly investigate material conditions, printing technologies, and cross-reference details with available digital versions. However, since digital sources predominated, it was necessary to develop a digital workflow that facilitated organization, consisting primarily of Google Workspace for analysis and cataloguing, and Tropy for image

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[69] Sources are accessible via: National Gallery of Canada Review, University of Toronto Press, https://ngcr.utppublishing.com/toc/ngcr/8; Canadiana Online digital collections, https://www.canadiana.ca/; and Internet Archive Government Publications, https://archive.org/details/governmentpublications.

[70] Secondary sources are accessible via: The Canadian Encylopedia, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca; and Dictionary of Canadian Biography, https://www.biographi.ca/en/ .

[71] The C.W. Jefferys website provides comprehensive digitizations of each plate from *The Picture Gallery*, including complete references to previous and subsequent reproductions. The site also contains extensive bibliographic references to Jefferys scholarship, enabling access to nearly all secondary literature on the artist. The primary limitation encountered was restricted access to the Imperial Oil portfolios, for which only textual references were available through the website. The family's maintenance of this scholarly resource proved invaluable, including direct correspondence that provided guidance to relevant archival sources. See: https://www.cwjefferys.ca/

organization.[72] This initial stage involved descriptive summaries of sources and the construction of a network chart connecting agents around Canadian visual culture within the study's timeframe. Following initial research at the Art Gallery of Ontario in October 2023, it became necessary to catalogue more than 2,000 photographs of letters, financial records, and other textual materials available at the E.P. Taylor Library.[73]

This research employed an English-language methodology to engage directly with Canadian scholarship and primary sources, facilitating integration with established frameworks in Canadian visual culture studies.[74] Digital research coordination required systematic language support and AI integration to ensure scholarly precision and expand analysis capacity, while maintaining methodological rigour.[75] The international research context necessitated developing protocols that balanced technological assistance for editing and revision with scholarly integrity, following established academic guidelines for digital research tools while maintaining full authorship accountability throughout all stages of the research process.[76] Furthermore, this digital research framework facilitated the integration between the digital corpus and the photographed documentation of images and documents from Canadian archives, expanded after a second visit in January 2025 to the Robarts Library in Toronto and the Library and Archives Canada.[77] The two intensive visits to Canadian archives, supported by digital tools, enabled a hybrid physical-digital approach that relied on

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[72] Tropy is a research photo management application designed for archival research, enabling the creation of image series, metadata management, and systematic cataloguing of images. Google Workspace provided cloud-based organization for textual analysis and spreadsheet cataloguing, integrating writing workflows with calendar scheduling and reference management. Direct integration with Zotero facilitated comprehensive bibliography control throughout the research process.

[73] The E.P. Taylor Library at the Art Gallery of Ontario houses the C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, containing extensive correspondence, financial records, and documentation of Jefferys' career and artistic networks.

[74] Language support software (Grammarly, LanguageTool, DeepL) provided grammatical assistance without altering argumentative structure

[75] AI integration (Claude Premium, 2025) assisted with terminology consistency, data volume analysis, and reference management, while maintaining complete authorial control over content and argumentation.

[76] Ethical protocols followed guidelines established by the University of Toronto and King's College London for doctoral research using AI tools, ensuring transparency and academic integrity. See: '*Guidance on the Appropriate Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence in Graduate Theses*', University of Toronto, https://www.sgs.utoronto.ca/about/guidance-on-the-use-of-generative-artificial-intelligence/; '*AI Guidance for Doctoral Assessment*,' King's College London, https://www.kcl.ac.uk/about/strategy/learning-and-teaching/ai-guidance/doctoral-assessment. The University of Brasília had not yet established formal AI guidelines at the time of research.

[77] Research at Robarts Library involved systematic reading, cataloguing, and photographic documentation of rare editions and specialized bibliography unavailable in Brazil. At Library and Archives Canada, intensive archival research examined the C.W. Jefferys fonds donated by Imperial Oil in 1972, providing access to Jefferys' comprehensive visual culture collection, original publication plates, and extensive unpublished materials. All photographic documentation followed institutional research guidelines, and reproductions used in this study comply with copyright and usage policies established by both institutions.

more than 3,000 photographs of original material, books and articles not available in Brazil, and publicly available sources through digital databases.

The archival research revealed Jefferys' previously understudied role as a systematic collector of visual culture, uncovering an extensive archive of photographs, postcards, fragments of illustrated books and magazines, and copies of illustrations from diverse sources. Existing scholarship has focused primarily on Jefferys as artist rather than curator, overlooking this crucial dimension of his visual practices. While time constraints prevented comprehensive analysis of this collection (spanning more than twenty archival boxes), photographic documentation of samples from each container revealed several significant patterns that advance our understanding of Canadian Visual Nationalism. First, Jefferys maintained systematic collecting practices, organizing materials with detailed annotations and typological classifications. Second, the collection contains a substantial proportion of U.S. American sources,[78] evidencing the transnational visual economy that informed Canadian nationalist image-making despite rhetorical anti-American sentiment [Figure 16]. Third, pictures of Indigenous cultures appear with striking frequency throughout the collection, suggesting both widespread market demand for these pictures, and Jefferys' active participation in circulating them.

[78] Figure 15 represents a photograph by Frank Cousins, whose work contributed to early 1900s preservation efforts in the U.S. by documenting buildings and architectural styles threatened with demolition. This exemplifies the type of visual culture Jefferys systematically collected under his concept of "pictorial records", a preservation project to document vanishing buildings, artifacts, and practices that he considered essential to Canadian historical consciousness.

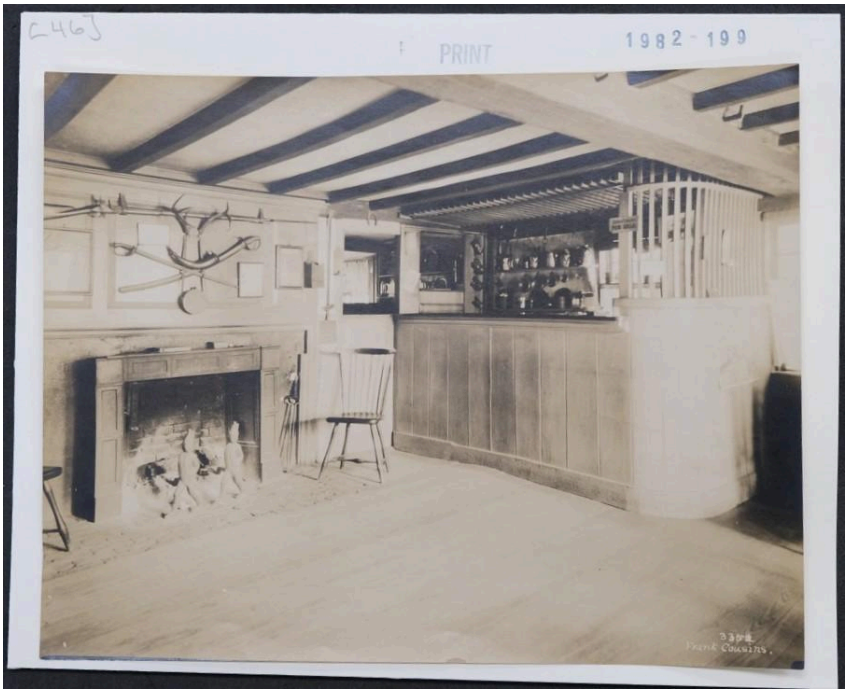

Fig. 16 - Jefferys' systematic collecting practices: photograph from his collection with handwritten attribution to U.S. American photographer "Frank Cousins" and serial cataloguing number. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, MG30-D217, Box BW PRINTS 3641, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Fig. 17 - Assembled plate prepared for *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, showing a newspaper clipping integrated with pen-drawn design elements, handwritten title, and pencil reproduction marks. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, MG30-D217, Box A624-01, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Most significantly, the archives revealed the reproduction technologies employed by Jefferys: he systematically cut out, drew over, and assembled plates using direct reproductions from print media sources [Figure 17]. This surprisingly free appropriation methodology reinforced how visual culture operated through adaptation and recirculation in that context, illuminating the material processes underlying Visual Nationalism. In addition to original creation, Jefferys' appropriation of print media underscores that historical consciousness was constructed through coordinated collecting and systematic curatorial practices.

2. Visual Analysis Framework

This study employed a flexible visual analysis approach, operating through complementary analytical stages, rather than a fixed methodology applied uniformly to all images. When considering each image, a cohesive set of questions regarding production, content, and audience was employed, following Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies*, which involves the *technological*, the *compositional*, and the *social* dimensions of image analysis.[79] However, given the profusion of sources to analyse and their diverse nature — original pictures, reproductions, photographs taken by Jefferys, by contemporaries or by me, digitized illustrations, printed illustrations, and many other formats — this research adopted four complementary stages of analysis, adapted to each source and its specificities.

Starting from *The Picture Gallery* plates, a systematic content and circulation analysis traced the origins and subsequent reproductions of images, later expanded to other sources and contemporary pictures. In this first stage, images were catalogued by thematic clusters — "Indianness," "Canadianness," "Nordicity" — drawn from existing literature, revealing patterns of recurrence and opposition within the settler Canadian nationalist project.[80] This process enabled analysis of circulation patterns and thematic entry points from scholarship, documenting networks and categories through which visual culture operated in that context. The second stage consisted of comparative thematic analysis, emphasizing similar visual practices, themes, and techniques across different artists, publications, and contexts. Key

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[79] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, 4th ed. (London: SAGE Publications, 2016). Pg. 5-32 and 188-189

[80] Based on scholarship: "Indianness" refers to the artificial European creation of a homogenized Indigenous identity that collapsed "hundreds of different cultural groups...into the same artificial idea," as analyzed by Devon A. Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities* (SCB Distributors, 2010). "Nordicity" draws from Louis-Edmond Hamelin's concept in Nordicité canadienne (1975), critically examined by Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2002). "Canadianness" is analyzed through Leen d'Haenens, ed., *Images of Canadianness: Visions on Canada's Politics, Culture, and Economics* (University of Ottawa Press, 1998). These concepts represent artificial constructs that are malleable and strategically deployed according to different political needs and historical contexts, rather than fixed cultural essences.

studies included the Jefferys-Julien analysis (Chapter 2), archaeological illustration traditions (Chapter 3), and educational versus fine art applications of the same images.

After expanding the corpus from Jefferys' work to encompass Visual Nationalism, the third stage involved theoretical application suited to different visual practices. W.J.T. Mitchell's theories proved essential for analysing *Picture Gallery* plates, textbook illustrations, and anthropological periodicals.[81] This analysis involved visual/verbal relationships and revealed how imagetext formations worked within institutional contexts in connection to broader cultural frameworks of nation-building. Alternatively, Roland Barthes' mythological analysis illuminated nationalist constructions, specifically regarding the aforementioned myths of "northernness", or "primitiveness", for example, that transformed historical contingencies into naturalized national characteristics.[82] Daston and Galison's framework addressed scientific visual epistemologies in archaeological contexts, providing insight into image-making technologies during the mechanical reproduction revolution examined here.[83] In the last stage, the study developed six analytical categories — Museum Exhibitor, Salon Wall, Window, Peeping Eye, Blueprint, and Pantheon — to examine how different modes of presentation constructed historical consciousness and served nationalist purposes. These categories emerged from established patterns within Canadian visual culture, providing a framework for understanding how presentational strategies naturalized particular visions of national identity.

Summaries and Conclusion

Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive analysis of C.W. Jefferys' career, epitomized by *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* but influential in Canadian historical consciousness through dozens of illustrated textbooks. This chapter traces his connections to print media networks and examines the process through which Jefferys became regarded as both scholar and authority in Canadian history. By examining his extensive collection of visual records,

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[81] My application of Mitchell's framework followed a systematic three-step process: first, identifying imagetext relationships between visual and verbal elements; second, examining how pictures acquired different meanings as they moved across institutional contexts (what Mitchell terms the "social life of images"); and third, analysing metapictorial moments where images reflected on their own representational processes. When none of these analytical approaches proved applicable to specific materials, I shifted to alternative theoretical frameworks better suited to the particular visual practices under examination.

[82] Barthes' framework contributes to distinguish first-order denotative meanings from second-order mythical constructions. It's employed here with focus on how documentary practices transform cultural artifacts into ideological vehicles.

[83] Their analysis of the tension between "mechanical objectivity" and "trained judgment" is valuable for understanding why drawing or photography were employed on specific images.

this chapter contributes to existing scholarship by revealing Jefferys' previously understudied role as a curator of visual culture, illuminating the visual practices he engaged with to establish scholarly authority and position himself within academic circles. Chapter 2 moves from Jefferys to the broader networks enabling mass circulation of Visual Nationalism. First, it analyses his integration into the first generation of explicitly nationalist artists, examining the *Toronto Art Students' League* as a Visual Nationalism production centre fuelled by revolutionary image-making technologies and the professionalization of artists to serve market demands. This second chapter also examines networks of patrons and corporations that funded Visual Nationalism in Canada to shape historical consciousness while advancing their economic interests. Through a comparative case study of Jefferys' work alongside Henri Julien's role in Quebec, the chapter demonstrates how competing nationalist traditions ultimately reinforced shared settler colonial frameworks, concluding with analysis of image circulation within editorial markets.

The third chapter focus in archaeological and anthropological publications in Canada, investigating the visual practices involved in transforming Indigenous artifacts into scientific specimens, later appropriated by the settler colonial nation-building project. To understand the interactions of these scientific disciplines with visual culture, we examine their visual epistemologies and trace their visual practices through the evolution of antiquarianism and museological institutions in Canada. Finally, *The Picture Gallery* serves as a roadmap for identifying three distinct phases of colonial visual anthropology, contributing to understanding Jefferys' work as a compilation of colonial sources and a contribution to that tradition of representing Indigenous cultures for settler societies.

Although this study provides a thorough examination of Visual Nationalism in Canada between Confederation and *The Picture Gallery* through extensive sources and encompasses areas within Canadian visual culture previously unconnected, it could not provide deep examination of Canadian art history much beyond Jefferys and the Toronto Art Students' League, which later developed into the Group of Seven — an aspect that would certainly illuminate many areas of this research. The development of these processes in subsequent decades requires examination to analyse ongoing perspectives or ruptures in the patterns identified here. However, Jefferys' work enables understanding of Canadian visual culture beyond art history, and, supported by the original analytical framework of modes of presentation, this study makes an original and valuable contribution to Canadian scholarship on historical consciousness, the settler colonial perspective, and the role of Visual Nationalism in fostering hegemonic ideologies.

Chapter 1 - Drawn and collected by C.W. Jefferys: Artist-Historian in the Service of Canadian Visual Nationalism

1.1. From Artist to Expert: Jefferys' Claims to Historical Authority

Charles William Jefferys was among the most influential artist-historians in Canadian history. He contributed illustrations to hundreds of textbooks throughout the twentieth century, actively participating in shaping historical consciousness in Canada during a period when nation-building was a central enterprise. Drawing from his extensive repertoire of historical illustration and print media collection, Jefferys also achieved prominence with his own illustrated books, beginning with *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's History* (1930) and *Canada's Past in Pictures* (1934), culminating in his magnum opus *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950). This work was released in three volumes that represent a lifetime of dedication to collecting authentic sources and promoting Visual Nationalism and historical consciousness. Jefferys accomplished this by harnessing the power of images drawn from diverse visual media, carefully assembled through his expertise in printing and illustration. On the back cover, he asserts his authority as a connoisseur of visual culture: "*Illustrations drawn & collected by C.W. Jefferys.*"

C.W. Jefferys' work was part of a national project that envisioned the construction of historical consciousness through visual culture.[84] Crafted by cultural elites after Confederation (1867), this collective and institutional project blossomed during a moment that fostered national imagination, demanding Canadian autonomy in the face of British and U.S. American intervention, while also reconciling with the country's colonial past. This enterprise took advantage of a technological revolution unfolding in image reproduction by the end of the nineteenth century, through both the popularization of woodcut and lithography as illustration technologies, and the widespread use of photography and photomechanical reproduction in Western countries. This printmaking apparatus was mobilized by the rapidly expanding capitalist class and corporate interests, whose growing influence within the state infrastructure made possible a profusion of printed pictures in Canada. Following Benedict Anderson's concept of *print-capitalism*, companies, patrons, and institutions created a

[84] Some of the discussions regarding the use of images for instilling historical consciousness in that context are covered in: *Ontario Educational Association. Proceedings of the forty-second annual Convention*. Toronto, 1902.; WRONG, George M. *Suggestions to Teachers*. Toronto: Morang & Co., 1905.; Lorne Pierce. *New History for Old. Discussions on aims and methods in writing and teaching history*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1931; JEFFERYS, C.W. *The Visual Reconstruction of History*. In: The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XVII, Toronto, 1936.

competitive market for artists employed in crafting nationalistic images. During that surge at the beginning of the twentieth century, Jefferys began to occupy a leading role in producing historical illustration, or, deploying Bleichmar and Schwartz' category, Jefferys dedicated his pen to *visual history*,[85] shaping collective consciousness and social action while promoting a set of hegemonic historical narratives in the country.

Existing scholarship on C.W. Jefferys has consistently acknowledged that his work created widely recognized and frequently reproduced images that shaped a dominant historical narrative in Canadian textbooks.[86] Previous studies have reinforced that his illustrations played a significant role in fostering historical consciousness, aligned with broader national efforts at visually representing the country. Canadian scholarship has largely concentrated on this nation-building aspect of his work, as it intersects with key themes in the country's historiography. However, my analysis focuses on a specific dimension of visual culture: the representation of Indigenous peoples of North America, collectively labelled as 'Indians' through the lens of Jefferys' European, settler colonial perspective. While this study examines how those multiple cultural groups appear romanticized in his depictions of "dramatic events," it primarily investigates how Jefferys employed visual practices borrowed from anthropological and ethnographic discourse to represent Indigenous peoples and their relationship with the natural world.

These representations claimed scientific objectivity through systematic decontextualization, standardized presentation, and taxonomic classification that echoed contemporary archaeological and museum practices. Yet this apparent objectivity masked deep ideological constructions that served the settler Canadian national project. By analysing both Jefferys' anthropologically informed illustrations and their source materials, this study reveals how the convergence of artistic interpretation and scientific authority created a particularly powerful form of visual mythology — a core mechanism of Visual Nationalism, whereby pictures claiming objective veracity become instruments of nation-building. While frameworks of cultural nationalism demonstrate how art and history construct collective identity, they cannot fully address how claims to scientific objectivity functioned as vehicles for colonial ideology within Canadian visual culture. Visual Nationalism reveals how mechanical reproduction technologies, institutional endorsement, and epistemic authority

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[85] Daniela Bleichmar, and Vanessa R. Schwartz. "Visual History: The Past in Pictures." *Representations* 145, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2019.145.1.1.

[86] *"Regularly used in history textbooks for much of the twentieth century, many of his illustrations helped shape how generations of Canadians perceived the past*". McLaughlin, Mark. The State as Alternative. In: The Canadian Alternative: Cartoonists, Comics, and Graphic Novels eds. Grace, Hoffman. University Press of Mississippi, 2017. P. 29

enabled mass circulation of settler colonial narratives, transforming individual illustrations into shared symbols that shaped — and constrained — the public imagination of the Canadian nation.

Existing Canadian scholarship has approached Jefferys' work through an interdisciplinary combination of analyses that could be categorized into two main lenses: a) Literary and publishing studies, with authors like Sandra Campbell and Brian Osborne who have emphasized his role in romantic nationalism, mythmaking, and Anglophone identity, underscoring the dissemination of his work through illustrated magazines, textbook illustration, and children's picture books; b) Recent contributions that questioned Indigenous representation, like those from Marylin McKay and Jaleen Grove, who have critiqued his colonial stereotyping and praise of settler Canadian heritage. Both approaches locate the central impact of Jefferys' illustrations in their depiction of major events in the European colonization of Canada, reinforcing a narrative of development and progress centred on the settlers and their descendants. This perspective supports a hegemonic conception of Canadian history, promoting historical narratives infused with ideological constructs that celebrate the country's colonial past while positioning Indigenous cultures as inferior or hopelessly vanishing.

Sandra Campbell's *Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press* (2013) provides a comprehensive study of Jefferys' work within Ryerson Press' nation-building editorial endeavour. The Methodist publishing house distributed hundreds of his pictures, in addition to publishing his individual books.[87] Campbell situates his illustrations within a broader movement that idealized the Canadian past, characterizing them as central to the editor Lorne Pierce's "*romantic vision of nationhood*."[88] *Both Hands* also emphasizes the close personal connection between Jefferys and Pierce, highlighting their friendship and Pierce's role in persuading Jefferys to undertake *The Picture Gallery* as a visual history of Canada. Campbell's central argument can be summarized as follows:

> The two men shared a proselytizing vision of Canada's past which Jefferys drew and Pierce successfully marketed. Jefferys's textbook illustrations — as well as the Ryerson volumes devoted exclusively to his historical depictions — offered tens of

[87] E. Cook and J. Lee "Artists C.W. Jefferys and Thoreau MacDonald." In:*Imprinting Canada: the McGraw-Hill Ryerson Press Collection* Accessed June 19, 2025. https://imprintingcanada.library.torontomu.ca/chapters/chapter-6/essays/artists-c-w-jefferys-and-thoreau-macdonald/.

[88] Sandra Campbell. *Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. P. 318

> thousands of Canadian readers, particularly schoolchildren, a romantic, epic, and whiggish vision of Canadian history, the incarnation of a nationalist ideology shared by author and publisher.[89]

That is the primary view of Jefferys's work, closely associated with the publishing market and Lorne Pierce's efforts at Ryerson Press in advancing a heroic national history through textbooks and publications aimed at young readers. The work of Gail Edwards and Judith Saltman, *Picturing Canada: A History of Canadian Children's Illustrated Books and Publishing* (2010), briefly abridges that perspective of a romantic and epic narrative of the Canadian past, while advancing that Jefferys' images "*powerfully encouraged the reader to construct a seamless metanarrative of progress that transformed the wilderness of New France into a civilized settler space,*"[90] supporting a nationalist unifying history pointed out by Sandra Campbell.

Brian S. Osborne, a prominent scholar of geography analysing Jefferys representations of Canadian identity, also recognized Jefferys' dedication to crafting a widely accepted narrative of Canadian history. In his chapter *A Few Acres of Snow: Literary and Artistic Images of Canada* (1992), Osborne's analysis of Jefferys' work within "the iconography of communications" reveals a systematic approach to understanding how pictures functioned as technologies of national identity formation. Osborne's framework positions Jefferys' landscape painting and historical illustration as deliberate instruments of cultural construction, employing what he terms "mythmaking" power, "storytelling" qualities, and "didactic art."[91] The distinction is significant: where Campbell's "romantic history" suggests emotional attachment to an idealized past, Osborne's terminology — particularly "mythmaking" and "didactic art" — implies a more calculated deployment of visual culture to serve specific ideological purposes.

Art historian Jaleen Grove's analysis offers a crucial intervention in understanding Canadian cultural nationalism by examining its frequently conservative articulation, often defined in opposition to American cultural influence. Applying this perspective to Jefferys' career, Grove traces how this nationalist positioning shaped his work from his earliest professional activities. She demonstrates that Jefferys' anti-American cultural stance was evident as early as 1902 in *The Moon*, a satirical periodical he helped launch, and continued to

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[89] Campbell. 2013. P. 318
[90] Edwards and Saltman. 2002. P. 50
[91] Brian S. Osborne. "The Kindling touch of Imagination": Charles William Jefferys and Canadian. In: Simpson-Housey, Norcliffe, eds. A Few Acres of Snow: Literary and Artistic Images of Canada. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1992. P. 33-36

influence his artistic development through his connections within the *Toronto Art Students' League*. Through her examination of his formative years and institutional networks, Grove identifies a nuanced evolution in how Jefferys and his contemporaries articulated Canadian identity in deliberate contrast to American cultural models. Initially, these artists drew inspiration from American Transcendentalists such as Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, using their ideas to inform a distinct national identity through landscape painting. However, over time, they shifted away from a continentalist perspective, increasingly emphasizing Canadian exceptionalism and affirming ties to British heritage. Furthermore, as Grove notes, C.W. Jefferys, along with many of his peers in illustration, mastered the pen-and-ink technique during his near decade working in the New York Herald,[92] and "*brought their American training and knowledge of American markets home and used it to strengthen Canadian nationalism.*"[93] Hence, Grove situates Jefferys' illustrations within a broader effort to popularize Canadian sentiment, reinforcing a distinct Canadian identity while countering the cultural dominance of the United States.

Recent scholarship on Indigenous representation has illuminated the problematic nature of Jefferys' colonial visual narratives. Mary F. Holahan, with contributions from Jaleen Grove and others,[94] has demonstrated how Jefferys' heroic images systematically elevate European settler figures while offering no insight into Indigenous motivations or agency, instead reinforcing colonial perspectives that characterize Indigenous peoples as savages. Art historian Marylin McKay's analysis reveals how his depictions perpetuate reductive stereotypes, particularly through visual oppositions that contrast Indigenous "religion and mysticism" with European "science and progress," placing Indigenous peoples in a timeless, mythologized past rather than recognizing them as contemporary actors in Canada's historical development.[95] Eric Weichel has further examined this dehumanizing approach, showing how Jefferys depicted Indigenous peoples as indistinguishable masses rather than individuals — referring to them with derogatory terms like "howling Mohawks" while providing detailed, respectful descriptions of European figures as distinct individuals.[96] This differential

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[92] Jefferys, quoted in Robert Stacey, C. W. Jefferys (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985),15.

[93] Jaleen Grove. A Cultural Trade? Canadian Magazine Illustrators at Home and in the United States, 1880-1960. State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2014. Pg. 221

[94] Grove Doyle, & Sherman, Eds. History of Illustration. Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. Pg. 306

[95] Marylin Mckay. "Canadian Historical Murals 1895-1939: Material Progress, Morality and the 'Disappearance' of Native People". Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien 15, nº 1 (1992): 63–83. also: Marylin J. Mckay. *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s - 1930s*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

[96] Eric Weichel. "An 'Artist of Standing': C.W. Jefferys and Historical Illustration in Canada | Digital Collections @ Mac." Accessed May 19, 2025.

treatment, Weichel argues, reveals the calculated nature of Jefferys' representational strategies, contrasting with his dignified portrayals of Victorian statesmen. Together, these scholars have established that Jefferys' illustrations, despite their claims to historical accuracy, functioned as powerful vehicles for colonial ideology, systematically marginalizing Indigenous perspectives and agency.

Building on this historiographical debate, the examination of Jefferys' work illuminates the broader settler Canadian visual culture, shaped by a European, white, and Christian worldview that artificially groups Indigenous cultures within a hegemonic historical narrative. Through close analysis of Jefferys' visual and textual output, this chapter advances an interpretation that emphasizes a distinct tension between art and science in the representation of Indigenous peoples and their relationship with the natural world. This tension becomes visible through examination of his pictures produced with anthropological and ethnographic intent, supported by source materials with the same purpose. While existing frameworks of literary history and cultural nationalism offer fundamental insights, they alone cannot fully encapsulate the complexities of this dynamic. Recent scholarship has illuminated the prevalence of stereotypical and idealized portrayals within Canadian visual culture that reinforced dominant nationalist ideologies, but this perspective also manifested in a strikingly racialized manner within illustrated anthropological journals published by national scientific institutions. By analysing how Jefferys deployed ostensibly objective visual conventions to legitimize colonial narratives, this chapter reveals how the convergence of artistic interpretation and scientific authority created a particularly powerful form of mythology in Canadian cultural formation.

The convergence of art and science in Jefferys' work becomes particularly evident when examining his ethnographic illustrations. Pages 8 and 9 of *The Picture Gallery*, titled "Hunting the Bison," serve as a representative example of how Jefferys employed ostensibly scientific visual conventions to legitimize colonial perspectives [Figure 1.1]. Through careful analysis of these plates, we can interpret how he combined natural history illustration, anthropological observation, and museum-style presentation to create an authoritative discourse that simultaneously elevated Indigenous knowledge as constitutive of Canadian identity while stigmatizing these same practices as primitive and prehistoric. It contains eight individual pictures that Jefferys assembled into a cohesive unit spread across two pages.

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https://digitalcollections.mcmaster.ca/hpcanpub/case-study/artist-standing-cw-jefferys-and-historical-illustration-canada.

Jefferys employs multiple visual conventions to organize the images, using frames and captions to demarcate boundaries between pictures while simultaneously constructing a visual narrative. The viewer encounters first a title that indicates action and human engagement with nature, ostensibly representing practices and technologies of hunting under the homogenizing term *Indian*.

In the first picture, Indigenous hunters demonstrate courage and ingenuity by disguising themselves as wolves to approach bison, while in the pictures below, another group shoots bison while wearing snowshoes illustrates diverse hunting tactics. These scenes appear to celebrate Indigenous knowledge while actually diminishing it to folkloric curiosity for a "primitive" spectacle that confirms European assumptions about Indigenous peoples being naturally integrated with the wilderness. The elevated, omniscient, bird's-eye view positions the viewer as a distant observer, surveying practices depicted as timeless, neutral and decontextualized.

Fig.1.1 - C.W. Jefferys. *Hunting the Bison. Pages 8-9 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

Furthermore, these pages reveal a fundamental epistemological tension through their juxtaposition of hunting scenes (depicting activity) with material culture (presented as artifacts). The bottom page displays various Indigenous tools and implements arranged in a systematic, catalogue-like formation removed from their cultural context, creating an interplay between text and image wherein textual elements reinforce the scientific authority of the visual presentation while diminishing Indigenous knowledge systems. Through documentary, descriptive patterns of graphic choices, this imagetext formation frames Indigenous hunting activities as prehistoric rather than as living cultural practices, depicting objects as scientific specimens or "pictorial records" while relying on colonial sources for the action scenes — namely *Hennepin's Travels* (1685) and *George Catlin* (1837) — rather than acknowledging the sophisticated cultural knowledge systems that informed the creation and use of these tools.

This arrangement exemplifies the combination of what I've termed the "museum exhibitor" mode of presentation, wherein artifacts are presented as taxonomic specimens, with a pattern that suggests narrative, field observation of action in the hunting scenes. The layout further reveals Jefferys' construction methodology through the arrangement of pictures he collected, as he often appropriated illustrations from earlier print media, redrawing or reproducing them to create his comprehensive visual gallery of Canadian history. This approach, common in early twentieth-century archaeological and ethnographic illustration, simultaneously preserved visual records of material culture while reinforcing colonial hierarchies.

This tension between representing artifacts, landscape, ethnography, and history with "accuracy" and "objectivity" on one side, and artistic prowess, beauty, and heroism on the other, will be analysed in this chapter through examining Jefferys' formation as an artist-historian and his lifelong effort to collect visual records. By understanding Jefferys' position within Canadian visual culture and the institutional setting of the early twentieth century, this study addresses a significant gap in historical visual studies. Specifically, it examines how Jefferys constructed cultural authority by drawing upon multiple epistemological frameworks — critical history, museums, anthropological publications, the colonial art historical canon, and scholarly networks — thereby revealing how images functioned as vehicles for articulating and naturalizing particular forms of national historical consciousness.

1.2. Training the Eye: Jefferys' Formation as Visual Historian

Charles William Jefferys was an artist who put his work at the service of history. Born in Kent, England, in 1869, he emigrated with his family to Toronto at the age of twelve, where he would spend the majority of his life. From a young age, Jefferys demonstrated an interest in historical illustration,[97] a passion he cultivated further through formal education at the Ontario School of Art and Design and the Ontario College of Art. By the age of sixteen, he had begun working as an illustrator for design and advertising firms, later obtaining commissions from prominent Toronto newspapers such as *The Globe*, *The Telegram*, and *The Toronto News*.

Jefferys' artistic maturity became evident during the 1890s and 1900s, as he expanded his repertoire to include watercolour, charcoal drawing, and oil painting, alongside achieving remarkable proficiency in pen-and-ink illustration. Historical illustration remained the cornerstone of his career, leading to increasingly significant mural commissions for prestigious patrons. This trajectory culminated in the publication of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* between 1942 and 1950, a three-volume achievement that represents decades of meticulous research and artistic dedication. Through this major project, Jefferys aimed to offer a comprehensive gallery of visual sources of Canada's past, solidifying his role as a pivotal figure in Canadian historical art.

The successful editions bring together thousands of Jefferys' illustrations, created over decades and spanning various media, into a novel format for Canada, which he refers to as a **gallery**. Drawing more inspiration from the spatial features of physical galleries, museums, and collections than from existing picture-gallery book typologies, Jefferys invites us to view his gallery much like one might explore the Royal Ontario Museum. It is presented as a "*pictorial collection*,"[98] intended to foster interest in the material culture of Canada's past and to make these images (and the artefacts they depict) accessible to the general reading public. Additionally, the work is designed for professionals who engage with the "*pictorial representation*" of Canada's history in fields such as drama, pageantry, oral teaching, and similar activities. "*It may be a guide and a time-saver*,"[99] Jefferys suggests, highlighting the book's didactic purpose, which is deeply rooted in the extensive research he conducted throughout his career.

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[97] Manuscript from 1945. In: Robert Stacey. Charles William Jefferys 1869-1951: exhibition catalogue, Kingston, Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1972.
[98] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. V
[99] C.W. Jefferys. 1942. P. V

The distinction between Jefferys' work and traditional illustrated history books is explicitly articulated in his own words: "*This is in no sense a history of Canada, nor a substitute for one.*"[100] This statement underscores his deliberate decision to limit text to brief captions and callouts interspersed among or over the images, supplemented by a few pages of condensed commentary at the end of each section. Moreover, it reflects the organizational principle of the work: the book — or gallery — is structured around images rather than a textual narrative. The first volume conveys a sense of thematic cohesion, but the subsequent two volumes move further away from an attempt at a coherent chronological narrative. While each volume corresponds broadly to a historical time period — **I.** *Discovery to 1763*, when the Royal Proclamation recognized the territories and peoples of the North, in opposition to the U.S. upheaval*;* **II.** *1763 to 1830*, the period of a stronger British ordinance*;* **III.** *1830 to 1900,* when colonial reforms and movements demanding autonomy rise — the sections within the volumes organize images thematically. This arrangement mixes pictures of objects, events, and practices in a manner resembling the approach of a curator assembling a collection in a museum gallery.

A collector's spirit is evident when one browses through *The Picture Gallery*, as it represents a lifetime's accumulation of images. Jefferys spent his career gathering illustrations and pictures from books, magazines, newspapers, postcards, and other printed media, meticulously organizing the thousands of references to serve as a research basis that he harnessed for *The Picture Gallery*. Archival examination of the C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds confirms the scope of this collecting practice, containing hundreds of clipped illustrations, photographs, and annotated references systematically catalogued by subject and chronology [Figure 1.2]. Friends and scholars contributed to his collection, sending him images of objects, people, places, and practices they encountered in their studies, as Jefferys valued every visual record of the past. Using this collection as a foundation, he redrew and reorganized the material for inclusion in the gallery.

Many of these images were created to capture the unique characteristics of specific objects, methods, and locations, as Lorne Pierce highlights in the preface to the third volume. Jefferys treated "*exceptional pieces*"— masterpieces crafted for "'*his majesty*' or '*his grace*'" from materials like ivory and gold[101]— on equal footing with ordinary, everyday objects used

[100] C.W. Jefferys. 1942. Pg. VI
[101] C.W. Jefferys. 1936. Pg. 258

by common people.[102] The archival materials reveal his methodical approach: hand-copied sketches from museum visits, correspondence with collectors, and meticulous notes on source authenticity [Figure 1.3]. His quest for the particular guided his work, as he sought out "*local variations*" of birchbark canoes, snowshoes, stoves, and tools, which he joyfully sketched after hours of hiking. Conversely, he often spent days engaged in "*long and almost fruitless searches through technical books of the time*"[103], striving to reconstruct objects, practices, and landscapes that had long since disappeared. In this sense, Jefferys was both a collector and a creator of pictorial records, preserving and popularizing the material culture of Canada's past through his art.

Fig. 1.2 - Examples of visual materials from C.W. Jefferys' personal collection, showing postcards of typical Canadian natural scenes on the left and Indigenous men in the Calgary Stampede, on the right. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, MG30-D217, Box BW PRINTS 3641, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

[102] He was aware of a similar movement starting to happen in the domain of the written document, mentioning a parallel between the preservation of "universally characteristic objects" and the research based on "account books and bills of lading". JEFFERYS, C.W. 1936. Pg. P. 257

[103] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950. V. 3 - Biographical note.

Fig. 1.3 - Archival evidence of Jefferys' collecting methodology: correspondence and visual materials from C.W. Jefferys' personal collection, including a postcard from contributors "Albert & Rose" and a mounted photograph with cataloguing notations, demonstrating the collaborative network that supplied Jefferys with visual references. The photographs and prints contain detailed notes, references, and descriptions written by Jefferys on their reverse sides, illustrating his systematic approach to documenting and organizing source materials for *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, MG30-D217, Box BW PRINTS 3641, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

To characterize what kind of historical representation *The Picture Gallery* constitutes, since Jefferys insists it is "*not a history of Canada*", we must employ Hayden White's analysis of the tension between the *practical past* and the *historical past* that emerged from late nineteenth-century historicism.[104] White expands Michael Oakshott's conceptual distinction, defining the practical past as a version of the past deployed in the present to help us judge situations, solve problems and respond to challenges imposed by contemporary institutions. The historical past, by contrast, is that constructed by professional historians: an object of impersonal, objective and neutral scrutiny, studied "for its own sake" without interest in practical application.[105] The friction between these two modes arises from professional historians' disregard for a practical use of the past, which they characterize as subordinating factual rigour to present concerns. Hayden White's claim is that historical literature (especially twentieth-century historiographic metafiction) occupied this void in historical representation by openly using the past as a space of experience. Paradoxically, professional historiography shared with literature narrativisation as its central mode of representation,[106] despite claims to objective documentation.

C.W. Jefferys' *Picture Gallery* constitutes a special case that blurs the boundaries between practical and historical pasts, while also complicating White's concerns with the predominance of narrative. *The Picture Gallery*, through its visual character, can mobilize the authority of the historical past without employing narrative, while simultaneously suggesting a practical past without troubling professional historians' quest for objectivity. Jefferys' static, museum-like exhibitions of carefully curated *pictorial records* are grounded in the same attitude that constructs the historical past: that of an objective collector, allegedly neutral, refraining from interpreting those records, their authenticity accredited by other professional historians and published within scholarly networks.[107] The deployment of *The Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation for material culture appears to break with narrative through juxtaposed elements that intentionally defy linearity and conventional temporal frameworks. This visual methodology positions Jefferys as a visual historian, one who generates historical meaning through pictorial rather than textual discourse, capitalizing on the epistemological status of images as evidence or eyewitness testimony.[108]

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[104] Hayden White, "The Practical Past," *Historein* 10 (2010): 10-19.
[105] Michael Oakeshott, *On History and Other Essays*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999, 1-48.
[106] Hayden White, "The Practical Past," *Historein* 10 (2010): 15;
[107] Jefferys' collaborative networks with professional historians and archaeologists is analysed in this dissertation, specially in Chapters 2 and 3.
[108] On visual history as a distinct mode of historical representation, see Daniela Bleichmar and Vanessa R. Schwartz, "Visual History: The Past in Pictures," *Representations* 145, no. 1 (February 2019): 1-31,.

However, Jefferys' work demonstrates an unquestionable practical concern: that of nation-building and the shaping of historical consciousness, amplified by the mass circulation of his mechanically reproduced pictures through educational networks and popular print media such as postcards or calendars. The practical dimension is further revealed by Jefferys' stated intention of providing a guide with curated, accurate, *pictorial records* for professionals outside historical scholarship, practitioners not necessarily engaged with the nationalist project he served, but interested in creating historical representations proper to a practical mode, such as theatre, cinema and pageantry. Even while claiming the authority of the historical past — through objective documentation, critical examination of sources, and collaborating with acknowledged scholars as Charles M. Wrong and C.T. Currelly — Jefferys' work fundamentally operates as practical past serving ethical, pedagogical, and nationalist demands. This is precisely the paradox White identified in nineteenth-century historiography: professional historians condemned practical uses of the past while serving the interests of the nation-state, their work deployed in the training of educators, politicians, imperial administrators, and both political and religious ideologues in manifestly practical ways.[109]

1.2.1 Drawing by observation: Jefferys becomes an illustrator

Since 1906, when he was first commissioned to create historical pictures, C.W. Jefferys has dedicated his life to what he called "*visual reconstruction*" of the past.[110] *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* is the culmination of this lifelong project. His approach extended beyond painting and illustration to encompass efforts in preserving historical sites, as was the case with the reconstruction of the *Habitation de Port-Royal* in the 1920s and 30s. Jefferys refined his expertise through collaborations with the Ontario Board of Education, contributing illustrations to history manuals and working alongside renowned historians such as George Wrong and James Kenney. Over his career, he completed hundreds of commissions for illustrations, supported by extensive research and detailed notebooks that guided his artistic choices. By the 1930s, Jefferys began publishing illustrated books and articles on Canadian history, combining his comprehensive archive with the recognition he had achieved

[109] White, "The Practical Past," 17. White writes: "Professional historiography was set up (in the early nineteenth century) in the universities to serve the interests of the nation-state, to help in the work of creating national identities, and was used in the training of educators, politicians, imperial administrators and both political and religious ideologues in manifestly 'practical' ways.

[110] C.W. Jefferys. *The Visual Reconstruction of History*. In: The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XVII, Toronto, 1936. P. 249

for creating pictures of historical events. His publications were informed by his active engagement with archaeologists and archivists, as he participated in debates and collaborated with scholars on the interpretation and preservation of historical materials. However, before gaining recognition as Canada's leading historical illustrator, Jefferys underwent a long period of artistic development, beginning with advertising lithography and newspaper illustration. During this formative stage, he crafted a defining characteristic of his style: drawing through direct observation.

At 16, in 1885, Jefferys began working for the Toronto Lithographing Company as an apprentice. Four years later, he started as a freelance illustrator for newspapers such as the Globe and the Toronto Telegram, sketching scenes of daily events and incidents. This early work provided a means of financial support and established his foundation in pen-and-ink drawing. The demands of newspaper illustration encouraged a dynamic and naturalistic style, which he later adapted to his historical representations. This approach became a defining feature of his illustrated works, including *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, where his pictures maintain an immediate, dynamic and sketchy character [Figure 1.4].

> The depiction of the crowded life of the Present — fires, political meetings, murder trials, society happenings, ceremonials, riots — was a startling and unwelcome change from the romantic imaginings of the Past. Before long it dawned upon me that here was the best training for the job that I wanted to do. I realised that yesterday was as alive as today and that the accurate and intensive observation of how people acted now and here was the best way to understand how they acted in the past.[111]

Jefferys carried the discipline of his newspaper illustration work into his later historical projects, guided by the *Toronto Art Students League*[112] motto, "*never a day without a line*." This principle reinforced his commitment to observing reality with intensity and rigour, a habit he cultivated through diverse artistic pursuits during his formative years.

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[111] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. III. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950. Bookjacket.

[112] The Toronto Art Students' League, founded in 1886, promoted both Canadian illustration and nationalism through its annual souvenir calendars (1893–1904). These publications featured decorative borders, lettering, and illustrations on explicitly Canadian themes after 1895, with contributions from artists such as C.W. Jefferys, C.M. Manly, and J.E.H. MacDonald. The calendars showcased the artists' skills and the quality of contemporary printing techniques, reflecting both international influences and a distinct Canadian visual identity. See: Stacey, Robert. "Art Illustration". *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 08 July 2015, *Historica Canada*.

Fig. 1.4. - C.W. Jefferys, *Brock's Midnight Gallop* . c1908. Illustration from original watercolour.

Brock's Ride to Queenston

Fig. 1.5. - C.W. Jefferys, *Brock's Ride to Queenston*. 1934 Canada's Past in Pictures, p.114.

The representation of Major-General Isaac Brock's gallop exemplifies how Jefferys's newspaper illustration training shaped his approach to constructing Canadian national mythology [Figures 1.4 and 1.5]. Brock was frequently portrayed as a symbol of resistance to American influence and Canada's ties to the British Empire, but Jefferys's visual treatment reflects his mastery of the dynamic, immediate style developed through years of sketching for newspapers. In this early watercolour, Brock rides alone toward a brighter horizon, the scene rendered with the same sense of captured movement that characterized journalistic illustration. The composition is deliberately unrefined and spontaneous, contrasting with the serene natural setting — a strategy that transforms a static historical moment into lived, observable action. This painting represents one of Jefferys's early attempts to apply his observational methodology to historical reconstruction, treating "yesterday as alive as today."

The transformation of this scene into Jefferys' definitive pen-and-ink style demonstrates how his newspaper illustration techniques became powerful tools for nation-building through print-capitalism.[113] The later version, characterized by intricate hatching and dynamic composition, strips away colour to focus entirely on Brock as the archetypal Canadian hero [Figure 1.5]. Here, the lone rider gallops across an uninhabited

[113] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006). Anderson's analysis of print-capitalism focused primarily on textual media — newspapers and novels — as vehicles for creating shared temporal experience among dispersed populations. The mass reproduction of nationalist images in textbooks, illustrated periodicals, and educational materials represents a logical extension of this framework, demonstrating how mechanically reproduced visual culture functioned alongside print-capitalism to construct imagined communities.

prairie landscape — a visual metaphor that reinforces Canada's mythology of an empty wilderness awaiting heroic settlement. Jefferys's pen-and-ink technique was ideal for mechanical reproduction in textbooks and popular publications, as its simplicity facilitated mass production and adaptation across print media. This version was recurrently reproduced throughout the twentieth century,[114] demonstrating how Jefferys's technical mastery of print media enabled the mass circulation of nationalist pictures that shaped Canadian historical consciousness.

Beyond the demands of journalism, Jefferys actively contributed to artist groups and refined his skills by exploring Canadian landscapes, sketching the western wilderness, and studying the country's flora. These experiences not only deepened his technical abilities but also informed his approach to historical illustration, where he applied the same observational precision to artefacts, clothing, and settings, grounding his reconstructions in meticulous detail. *The Art Students League*,[115] where Jefferys refined his craft, emerged as a result of classes led by G.A. Reid, a prominent artist known for his pioneering efforts in observing and depicting the Canadian landscape. Reid's influence extended beyond technique, fostering a deep appreciation for the natural world and encouraging the use of pen-and-ink drawing for quickly sketching in the field. This background likely shaped Jefferys' later assertion that nature was his best teacher, reflecting the formative role these early lessons played in his artistic development. The emphasis on direct engagement with the environment, instilled by Reid and the League, resonated throughout Jefferys' career, from his watercolours of Canadian wilderness to his detailed historical illustrations. "*My real art school was the Ontario countryside, its woods and fields and lake shores*", Jefferys wrote.[116]

> My teachers were the wild flowers, the weeds, the pinetops against the sky. They taught me something of line drawing, of silhouette, of mass, of perspective and the third dimension, in the projection and recession of twigs and leaf stems spiralling around the central branch. Anatomy too was one of the lessons; for I learned that all

[114] For examples of this image's reproduction across the twentieth century, see Walter R. Nursey, *The Story of Isaac Brock: Hero, Defender and Saviour of Upper Canada 1812* (Toronto, 1908), 135; Charles W. Jefferys, *Canada's Past in Pictures* (Toronto, 1934), 114 and *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, vol. 2 (Toronto, 1945), 156; John Bassett and Roy Petrie, *Laura Secord* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 18; Dennis Duffy, "Art-history: Charles William Jefferys as Canada's Curator," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 11, no. 3 (November 1976): 14; Marian Ogden Sketch, *Ten Moments in Canadian History (1759–1900)* (Victoria: Campbell's Publishing, 1980), 29; Jonathan Kay, "Don't Let Politicians Misinform You: Learn About Canada's True History for Yourself," *National Post*, 1 July 2024.

[115] The League's calendars are analysed in Chapter 2.

[116] C.W. Jefferys, "My Art Education", September 16, 1947, unpublished manuscript. William Colgate Papers, Archive of Ontario. qtd. in: C.W. Jefferys and images of Canadian identity in school textbooks.M.A. Queen's University at Kingston, 1990.

> growth was from the inside, and that decoration was also in the curriculum; for subconsciously, with growing knowledge of forms of growth came the perception of connecting and unifying pattern…
>
> Finally the conviction of Nature's endless fertility of invention made (me) realize how limited was man's power to create new shapes; a score of patterns and he was at a dead end.[117]

Jefferys developed his ability for observation for years until what Brian S. Osborne, an eminent geography scholar who wrote a chapter on *A Few Acres of Snow: Literary and Artistic Images of Canada* (1992), called "*a well-trained eye for the Canadian landscape and the distinctiveness of environmental setting*,".[118] By observing colours, shapes, shades, and scenes of inner Canada, instead of sticking to European references, Jefferys reached a new level regarding the country's representation and set a standard that was influential to The Group of Seven and helped establish a national art. Jefferys' prominence among the first generation of explicitly nationalistic Canadian painters was recognized as early as 1913 in *Maclean's Magazine*. An article titled "*C.W. Jefferys: Painter of the Prairies*" described him as unparalleled in his depiction of Canada's untouched landscape, stating that "*no other painter comes near him in exact portrayal of the virgin soil of Canada.*"[119] This recognition came decades before he established himself as the country's leading historical illustrator.

Fig.1.6 - C.W. Jefferys, *A Prairie Trail ("Scherzo")*, 1912 A Prairie Trail ("Scherzo"), 1912, oil on canvas, 90.8" x 128.9". Courtesy of: Art Gallery of Ontario.

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[117] C.W. Jefferys, "My Art Education", September 16, 1947, unpublished manuscript. William Colgate Papers, Archive of Ontario. qtd. in: C.W. Jefferys and images of Canadian identity in school textbooks.M.A. Queen's University at Kingston, 1990.

[118] Osborne.1992. P. 35

[119] Staley, J. Edgcumbe (1913), Jefferys - Painter of the Prairies, MacLean's Magazine.

In *A Prairie Trail*, Jefferys creates a bucolic scene of rural Canada, a recurring nationalist theme in his oils and watercolours made before specializing in historical illustration [Figure 1.6]. The composition demonstrates clever visual storytelling through its careful balance of natural elements and human narrative. The painting's foreground features vegetation rendered in an Impressionist manner — loose brushstrokes capturing the texture of prairie grasses and wildflowers that reflect the influence of late nineteenth-century landscape painting techniques. However, Jefferys diverges from pure Impressionist concerns with light and atmosphere, unlike the empty, sublime vistas favoured by some of his contemporaries who emphasized the overwhelming scale of the Canadian wilderness [Figure 1.7]. Instead, he constructs a deliberately structured composition that guides the viewer's eye through different spatial planes, incorporating a dynamic human element to suggest productive engagement with the landscape. The focal point is not only the lone horseback rider traversing the middle distance, but the long trail crossing the prairies. The rider's positioning creates a diagonal movement across the canvas that connects foreground and background, while the well-defined trail itself functions as both compositional device and cultural metaphor for civilizing progress through the prairie landscape.

The painting's spatial organization reveals Jefferys' commitment to naturalistic representation over purely aesthetic concerns. The middle ground features carefully observed details of prairie topography — rolling hills that recede convincingly into the distance through atmospheric perspective, while the background establishes a broad horizon line that emphasizes the characteristic vastness of the Prairie provinces. The poles that accompany the trail are irregular, crooked, in yet another adherence to the naturalism of the scene. This attention to regional geographical specificity aligns with the broader artistic philosophy of "drawing by observation" and reflects his belief that authentic Canadian art must emerge from direct engagement with distinctly Canadian environments.

Fig 1.7 - Arthur Lismer, *Lake*, 1914, oil on canvas. Photo credit: https://thegroupofseven.ca/arthur-lismer/

During the 1910s, a first wave of distinctively modern Canadian art began to emerge,[120] which drew aesthetic influence from late nineteenth-century Scandinavian landscape painting and the Impressionist movement, particularly in its focus on vast, uninhabited northern landscapes [Figures 1.6 and 1.7]. Jefferys' approach in *A Prairie Trail* reveals his distinctive position within this artistic movement. While he adopts some modernist techniques — loose brushwork in the foreground vegetation and a simplified earth-tone palette — he remains fundamentally committed to naturalist principles. His focus on regional themes, human activity within the Canadian landscape, and direct observation of nature, places him firmly within naturalist traditions that valued documentary accuracy over aesthetic experimentation.

Jefferys's art adheres to naturalistic representation, leaving little room for abstraction in both his landscape painting and his later historical illustrations [Figure 1.8]. The transition between these genres is evident in his illustrations for *Old Man Savarin Stories* (1917), published five years after the prairie scene, where we see the naturalistic and dynamic style he developed through newspaper illustration. The folkloric scene depicts Canadian war veterans commemorating the British victory in the Crimean War (1853-1856). Jefferys creates a dramatic night scene illuminated by the veterans' torches, with smoke blurring the background

[120] Alexandra Roza. *Towards a Modern Canadian Art, 1910-1936*. McGill University, Montreal, 1997. Pp. 7-32

boundaries and even the print's edges, enhancing the dynamic, instantaneous effect. The loose contours of the crowd and background building create an impression of spontaneous capture rather than careful construction. Meanwhile, the veteran leader Old John appears in meticulously detailed military attire, emphasizing his authority and prominence within the British Empire.

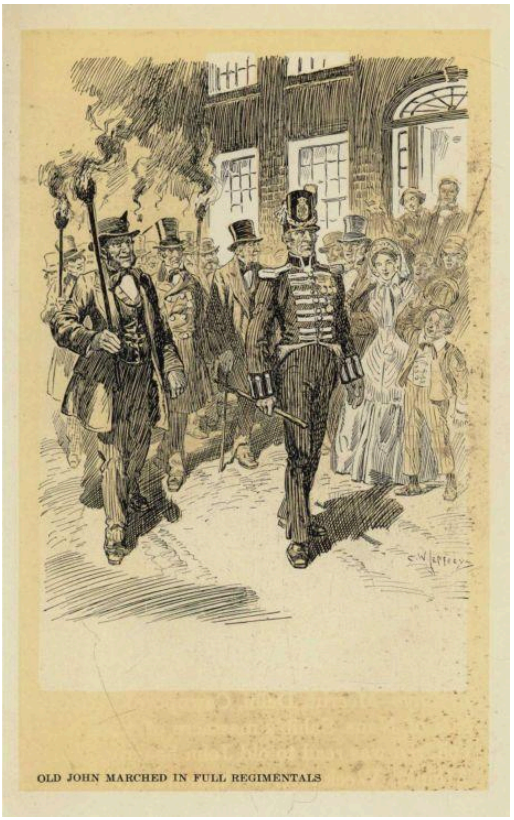

Fig. 1.8 - C.W. Jefferys. *Old John Marched In Full Regimentals*. Print included in E.W. Thomson. *Old Man Savarin Stories: Tales of Canada and Canadians*. Pg. George H. Doran Company, 1917. Public domain.

This illustration exemplifies the mythical construction underlying nationalist publications: the transformation of specific veteran sentiment into a broader national narrative linking Canada to Britain's glorious military past. By depicting the Crimean War — where France and Britain fought as allies — as part of Canadian heritage, Jefferys reinforces a narrative of harmony and cooperation between the two colonizing nations. The image thus serves the broader project of constructing Canadian identity through association with European imperial achievements, even when Canada's direct involvement was minimal.

His artistic approach does not fit neatly within nineteenth-century academic painting or the modernist tendencies of the early twentieth century. While he acknowledged the influence of Scandinavian landscape painting in his early development, and scholars associate

the pioneering work of the Ontario Society of Artists (where Jefferys collaborated with artists later associated with the Group of Seven) with Impressionism and other modernist approaches[121], his work grew apart from those tendencies. Likewise, despite his focus on material conditions and everyday life, his art does not fully align with the politically charged realism emerging in early twentieth-century North America.Brian S. Osborne's interpretation of Jefferys' work (*the well-trained Eye*, aforementioned) aligns closely with that of Robert Stacey (accomplished art historian and archivist who happens to be Jefferys' grandson), who highlighted a similar quality in Jefferys' art in the biography accompanying the catalogue for his posthumous 1976 exhibition. Stacey asserted: "*The basis of Jefferys's success, then, lay not in theory but in practice. The artist learns through experience not only of his craft but of the world it is his duty to interpret.*"[122] This emphasis on direct observation is further reinforced by Stacey when he compares Jefferys' representations of historical events to his drawings of nature and landscapes, remarking that "*his own genius lies in particularization.*"[123]

Jefferys himself echoed this virtue in a lecture at the Ontario College of Art, transcribed in Stacey's biographical catalogue, where he advised aspiring artists to study the individual plants of the field and forest floor with microscopic intensity, "*sketching à la Ruskin*."[124] This reference to John Ruskin underscores Jefferys' engagement with Ruskin's educational philosophy, which emphasized the importance of visual learning and material practice, particularly the role of sketching in developing perception. Ruskin's influence on Jefferys extended far beyond education, shaping his views on nationalism, art history, Protestant morality, artistic practice, and even the conceptualization of *The Picture Gallery*, where Ruskin's advocacy for the book as the ideal medium for art appreciation is fully realized.[125] More recently, historian Kevin Plummer has provided an interpretation of Jefferys' work that aligns with Jefferys' own reflections on his formative years and dynamic approach to drawing: "*Jefferys's greatest skill — learned in his newspaper days — was in bringing his human characters to life with their expressive emotion and the suggestion of movement.*"[126]

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[121] Ross King. *Defiant Spirits: The Modernist Revolution of the Group of Seven*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010.
[122] Stacey. 1972. P. 19
[123] Stacey. 1972. P. 19
[124] Jefferys (1917) apud Stacey. 1972. P. 19
[125] E. Helsinger. Ruskin and the Politics of Viewing: Constructing National Subjects. Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1, Ruskin and Turner (Autumn, 1994), pp. 7-26.
[126] Kevin Plummer. Historicist: Sketching Cultural Nationalism". The Torontoist, July 18, 2009.

Furthermore, recent scholarship has increasingly emphasized a different dimension of the generation of artists engaged in cultural nationalism[127]— their connections through illustration, commercial design, and printing firms. Jefferys' most distinctive and significant artistic trait lies in his adaptation of market-oriented design and illustration conventions for historical illustration. He played a distinctive role within this group, which first emerged in the artistic department of Grip Ltd., a Toronto-based design firm where he served as art director in 1901. The group later formalized as the *Canadian Society of Graphic Arts*, while also contributing to the annual calendars of the *Toronto Art Students' League*, a project Jefferys had been involved with since 1893. The key figures of this artistic generation, examined in Chapter Two, made significant contributions to Canadian illustration, book publishing, and commercial design — fields that Jefferys strategically employed in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, one of the most widely recognized works of its kind in Canada.

He had been specializing in illustration since 1906, forging closer ties with publishing companies for children's books, and adapting his art to meet the demands of the editorial market and the growing need for illustrated works. The best example of that turn to illustrated books was *Uncle Jim's Canadian Nursery Rhymes for Family and Kindergarten Use* (1908), a picturebook published by the archaeologist David Boyle[128] (1842–1911) in cooperation with Jefferys. The book consists of playful nonsense rhymes accompanied by colourful illustrations, presented as writings by the fictional character Uncle Jim for young children. This marked Jefferys' first major role in book publishing and was clearly a carefully crafted artistic endeavour. Its visual style reflects the influence of Arts & Crafts aesthetics,[129] hand-lettered typefaces, ornamental decorative motifs, and pages designed with woodblock-style illustrations [Figure 1.9]. The layout was conceived in doubles: the left pages showcase symbolic elements of the Canadian wilderness — such as peaches, acorns, and a woodpecker — while the right pages contain illustrated poems. These natural motifs function as conventional symbols, establishing Canada's distinctive flora and fauna as foundational to national identity. Each pair was printed in a limited palette of two or three colours, creating systematic imagetext relationships that reinforce the symbolic content. This

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[127] Jaleen Grove. "Bending Before the Storm: Continentalism in the Visual Culture of Canadian Magazines", [s.d.].

[128] Boyle is a pioneering archaeologist in Canada, a very relevant figure for understanding the institutional settings for archaeology and ethnography in the late nineteenth century, and identifying the visual conventions in such publications. His career is thoroughly analysed in Chapter 3.

[129] J. Saltman and G. Edwards. Towards a history of design in Canadian children's illustrated books. In. Canadian Children's Literature, no 107. Fall. Aut. 2002. P.14

compositional strategy establishes a pattern later developed in Jefferys' career: the deployment of carefully selected natural visual elements to construct pictorial discourse about Canadian distinctiveness, positioning wilderness as both authentic national symbol and pedagogical resource for young readers.

Fig. 1.9 - David Boyle. *Uncle Jim's Canadian nursery rhymes for family and kindergarten use*. Toronto, Musson Book Company, 1908. P. 14–15 Illustrations by C.W. Jefferys

While working for Grip Ltd. and collaborating with other printing companies, Jefferys became one of Canada's most versatile illustrators, skilled in editorial, book, newspaper, and advertising work. Engaging with the various media that shaped Canadian visual culture in the early 1900s, he was already developing a scholarly interest in Canadian history. During this time, he also began collecting what he termed "*pictorial records*,"[130] carefully analysing, selecting, and archiving images sourced from the same diverse media in which he was involved. Beyond this systematic collecting practice, Jefferys began cultivating relationships with prominent historians, archaeologists, and cultural institutions, while simultaneously developing a theoretical framework that positioned pictorial testimony as essential historical evidence. This dual approach — combining meticulous documentation with strategic institutional engagement — would prove crucial as Jefferys sought to distinguish his work from mere commercial illustration and establish his authority within Canada's emerging cultural establishment.

[130] Jefferys, 1950. P. I

1.3. The Picture Gallery as Scientific Collection

We can also interpret Jefferys' work as that of an intellectual who employed visual culture and material artifacts to disseminate knowledge and cultivate historical interest among younger generations, thereby bridging the domains of art, science, popular practices, and cultural heritage.[131] Jefferys constructed cultural authority by strategically drawing upon multiple epistemological frameworks — anthropological publications, museum practices, the art historical canon, and extensive scholarly networks — that extended far beyond conventional historical illustration. As a collector of images and descriptions of vanishing practices, objects, technologies, and cultures, he positioned himself at the intersection of emerging scientific disciplines, collaborating with archaeologists like Charles T. Currelly and ethnographers while simultaneously engaging with contemporary debates in visual anthropology and material culture studies.

This methodical approach, which combined the documentary rigour of scientific illustration with the aesthetic authority of fine art traditions, aimed to confer scholarly legitimacy upon his artistic production, distinguishing it from other history manuals and positioning him for recognition in serious historical enterprises. By mastering the representational techniques of museums, scientific publications, and academic institutions, Jefferys created a hybrid practice that claimed both artistic excellence and scientific objectivity — a dual authority that proved particularly powerful in legitimizing his romanticized historical narratives. As a cultural nationalist, his project of knowledge dissemination, interwoven with this multi-institutional approach to visual authority, was of utmost importance for fostering national identity formation.

Beyond his visual work, Jefferys was an avid reader who remained engaged with contemporary research across multiple academic fields, including geography, anthropology, art history, and, most notably, history. He also had direct access to cutting-edge scholarship through his collaborations and friendships with key figures in Ontario's intellectual circles. Among them was archaeologist and museum curator Charles T. Currelly — who contributed to *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* and was a pioneering figure in the collection and preservation of historical artefacts in Canada as the director of the Ontario Museum. Another significant connection was humorist, economist, and historian Stephen Leacock, an influential writer and proponent of Canadian imperial ties with Britain.

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[131] Angela de Castro Gomes; Patrícia Hansen. Intelectuais Mediadores: Práticas Culturais e Ação Política. Introdução, páginas 11-15. Civilização Brasileira, 2016.

The most significant professional connection came through his first major commission for illustrated history textbooks in 1921 for the Ryerson Press, when editor Lorne Pierce brought him together with historian George M. Wrong, founder of the Department of History at the University of Toronto. Together, they developed a pair of public school histories for Canada and Britain, aligning with the growing demand for historical textbooks in Ontario's expanding school system under the province's Department of Education.[132] Sandra Campbell writes in the *Journal of Canadian Studies:* "Jefferys's art proved even more potent than the prose it illustrated, and Pierce was quick to capitalise."[133] Historical illustration became Jefferys' primary occupation as Pierce commissioned Jefferys to create over two hundred illustrations, maps, and charts for the Ryerson Canadian History Readers, between 1925 and 1931. Over time, he developed a strong friendship with the editor, and together they would devise Jefferys' major work, among other illustrated books about Canada's past.

The result of this work embracing Visual Nationalism was his first book, *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's History* (1930), a collection of his illustrations since the 1910s. The images in this volume reflect the same sentiment later found in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, depicting major historical events with a heroic, dramatic, and romanticized portrayal of European settlers as they explored and claimed the Canadian landscape (all of them presented through the *Salon Wall* pattern). Some of these illustrations were later reproduced in Jefferys' subsequent works with Ryerson Press and various Canadian history textbooks, reinforcing a historical consciousness that framed figures like Frontenac, Champlain, and Maisonneuve as "*pious devotees, who planted this outpost of the Christian faith in the heart of a savage, heathen world*."[134] This flattering tone was intentional:

> My aim has been merely to pick out from the great mine of Canadian history a few fragments that may suggest its richness in human interest and its wealth of picturesque and dramatic incident.[135]

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[132] The partnership between Jefferys and editor Lorne Pierce (1890-1961) at Ryerson Press proved instrumental in advancing Visual Nationalism through educational materials. Pierce transformed the publishing house into a centre for patriotic illustrated textbooks that shaped Canadian historical consciousness. The Ryerson Press textbooks, their role in nation-building, and Pierce's nationalist vision will be analysed in Chapter 2.

[133] Sandra Campbell. *From romantic history to communications theory: Lorne Pierce as publisher of C. W. Jefferys and Harold Innis*. Journal of Canadian Studies ; Toronto Vol. 30, Ed. 3, (Fall 1995)

[134] C.W. Jefferys. *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story*, 1930. Toronto : Press of the Hunter-Rose Co. Pg. 21.

[135] C.W. Jefferys. *Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story*, 1930. Toronto : Press of the Hunter-Rose Co. Preface.

Although the economic hardships of the Great Depression may have limited the commercial success of *Dramatic Episodes* — with Pierce even distributing complimentary copies to underfunded school districts[136] — Jefferys' work remained esteemed within the Canadian historical community. He was widely recognized as a popularizer of history, celebrated for his ability to engage young audiences through evocative, nationalistic images. "*Canada is fortunate in having in Mr. Charles W. Jefferys an artist who joins to skill with pencil and brush a wide reading and knowledge of Canadian history, a zeal for accuracy, and a high sense of the dramatic*"[137], wrote historian and librarian Fred Landon for the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1930. "*This is the sort of book that may with great profit be put into the hands of boys and girls, and with not less enjoyment into the hands of their elders."*[138] The dual perception of Jefferys' work, as both aimed at children and executed with scholarly rigour, followed him throughout his career. Determined to establish himself as more than just an illustrator for children's books, he actively pursued a more serious academic standing. This effort led to his later contributions to the *Canadian Historical Review* and his collaborations with scholars on projects such as the reconstruction of Port-Royal. The strong association between historical illustration and the children's market at the time underscored a prevailing belief that visual storytelling was essential for engaging young audiences and dramatizing historical events.

As noted in Fred Landon's review of Jefferys' first solo publication, the artist was often regarded as a scholar and expert in history within Canadian intellectual circles.[139] This reputation was, to a great extent, cultivated and reinforced by his close collaborators, particularly Lorne Pierce, who described Jefferys as "*not only historian, but antiquarian and archaeologist*" and placed him among the leading figures who had worked "*to preserve the records of our own past*."[140] In addition, Jefferys' scholarly rigour was also recognized by other academics. In 1935, Reginald Trotter, in his review of *Canada's Past in Pictures*, emphasized that "*Dr. Charles W. Jefferys have long been recognized as combining in unusual*

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[136] Kevin Plummer. *Historicist: Sketching Cultural Nationalism*. The Torontoist, July 18, 2009.
[137] Fred Landon. Review of Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 11 no. 3, 1930, p. 274. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/567710
[138] Fred Landon. Review of Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 11 no. 3, 1930, p. 274. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/567710.
[139] Fred Landon. Review of Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 11 no. 3, 1930, p. 274. *Project MUSE*, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/567710.
[140] Lorne Pierce. Preface. P. XIV. In: C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. III. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950.

degree the accuracy of the careful scholar with graphic effectiveness as representations of scenes and incidents. As scholar he has been an assiduous and critical student of contemporary evidence, documentary and literary as well as visual."[141] Similarly, the esteemed Québécois ethnographer Marius Barbeau (1883-1969), in another review of Jefferys' published work, described *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* as "*obviously a labour of love, and the best legacy that a historian can leave behind him for others to benefit by and enjoy.*"[142]

Although Jefferys was recognized as a historian, Barbeau's review may have been a source of frustration for him, as it criticizes the first quarter of *The Picture Gallery*, which Jefferys referred to as "*the Indian Section*", analysed in this study. Overall, Barbeau disapproves of Jefferys' tendency to depict objects from museum collections, arguing that these artifacts are largely contemporary and fail to account for the transformations Indigenous cultures underwent following European contact. "*Unfortunately the author was under the misapprehension that museum specimens and insufficient records of the dim past had raised the curtain upon prehistory".*[143] The ethnographer then dedicates nearly three pages to identifying specific errors in Jefferys' depictions, challenging the authenticity of objects, the influence of European technology, and the accuracy of dates assigned to various practices and cultural traits. While acknowledging Jefferys' efforts, the critique ultimately undermines his role as a mediator of ethnographic knowledge.

In December 1942 (3 months before Barbeau's review), C.W. Jefferys had received an unpublished series of inquiries concerning the section intended to depict Indigenous cultures, with many overlapping features with the review from March 1943. These questions were forwarded by Lorne Pierce's secretary just a few months after Volume I had been released and was already achieving both commercial success and critical acclaim.[144] The typewritten list of 17 questions and critiques was submitted anonymously, which greatly unsettled Jefferys. In response, he prepared a comprehensive reply for Pierce to share. Jefferys highlighted his focus on the visual and succinct qualities of his work, clarifying that it diverged from a purely historiographical method.

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[141] Reginald G. Trotter. Review of Canada's Past in Pictures, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 16 no. 1, 1935, p. 88-89.
[142] Marius Barbeau. Review of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. Vol. I. Discovery to 1763, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 24 no. 1, 1943, p. 57
[143] Marius Barbeau. Review of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. Vol. I. Discovery to 1763, by Charles W. Jefferys. *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 24 no. 1, 1943, p. 58
[144] Lorne Pierce, "Letter to C.W. Jefferys," December 03, 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 10-10, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.

The list of queries opens by questioning: "*Are we justified in assuming the following cultural features as at all ancient*"[145]. This is followed by a series of notes on the types of clothing, shoes, fabric patterns, and other cultural elements of the Cree, Algonquins, and Eskimos (thus used). In response to this, Jefferys raises a conceptual discussion on the terms *ancient*, *prehistoric*, and *primitive*, pointing out that the term *ancient* may not mean *prehistoric* due to the very nature of the sources used for its representations.[146] Part of these sources are the accounts of white men who had the first contacts with the natives "*living in a primitive way*" and, for Jefferys, they constitute a limitation for the knowledge of pre-European life and its representation. On the other hand, Jefferys has used the terms loosely in the first chapter of *The Picture Gallery*, where "*primitive Indian life"* and "*pre-historic Indian culture*" both mean the ways the natives lived before European influence.[147]

Lorne Pierce also noted this in a letter from February 1943, while organizing a new edition of the first volume. Pierce expressed concern about criticism of the section on Native Americans and suggested revising the text to use broader and less definitive language. Pierce also urged them to be rigorous in depicting the cultural traits of Native peoples, distinguishing the peoples whenever possible, and providing clear indications of the regions they inhabit. In March, probably after Barbeau's review, a series of small adjustments were made to the first volume of *The Picture Gallery.* The list of queries contributed to enhancing the first volume and refining the overall structure of Volume II. Notably, some passages referenced in Pierce's letters were rewritten to make the text less incisive or to specify differences between cultures. Also, the first batch of amendments proposed by Jefferys on December 30, 1942, were included. In the preface, Jefferys included acknowledgments for C.T. Currelly and T.W. McLean and his wife, possibly to enhance credibility by highlighting the group of experts he consulted. Jefferys also requested the inclusion of a note indicating that he had altered drawings "*in accordance with information supplied by readers and critics*."[148] In addition, for a note on page 102, Jefferys provided commentary indicating that excavation work was ongoing in 1942, highlighting his awareness of the latest research developments.

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[145] Ryerson Press, "Letter to C.W. Jefferys," December 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 10-30, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.
[146] Ryerson Press, "Letter to C.W. Jefferys," December 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 10-30, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.
[147] C.W. Jefferys *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. Pg. 1
[148] C.W. Jefferys, "Letter to Lorne Pierce," December 30, 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 6-2, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Pg. 2

Overall, the exchange between Jefferys, Lorne Pierce, the anonymous critics, and Barbeau underscores a tension between their efforts toward scientific accuracy and the limitations imposed by their Eurocentric worldview. As the pictorial material reveals, this cohesive group of actors position Indigenous ways of life as undeveloped, employing colonial terms like “ancient,” “prehistoric,” and “primitive.” Pierce’s emphasis on distinguishing peoples whenever possible further reflects an impulse to categorize and compartmentalize Indigenous identities, reducing them to a European ethnographic checklist. The absence of any critique regarding the use of deeply problematic colonial sources — included under the veil of a supposed accuracy — highlights the epistemological limitations of this social circle in recognizing that indigenous narratives were excluded from the debates about their own history, while colonial accounts were given prominence.

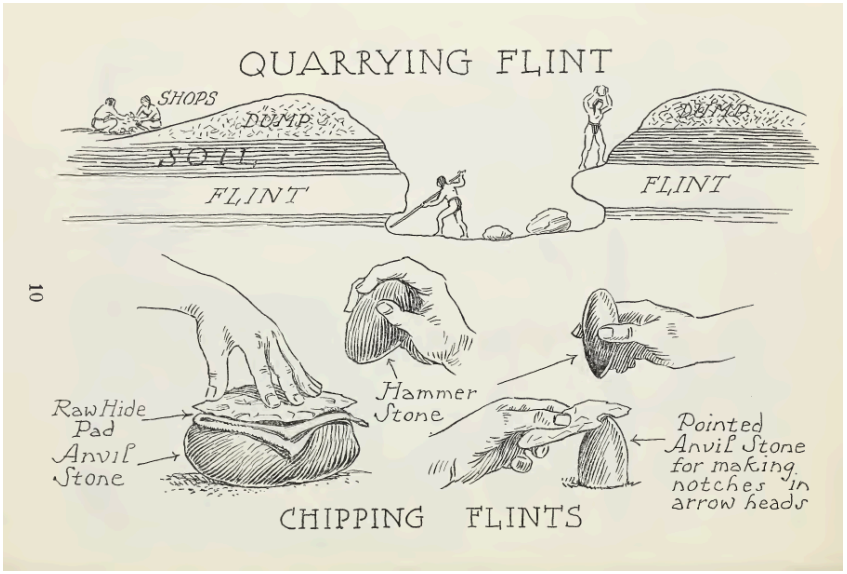

Fig.1.10 - C.W. Jefferys. *Quarrying Flint. Page 10 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

A relevant example of both Jefferys' inadequate generalizing view of Indigenous cultures as primitive, and his construction of authority through established visual practices and prominent networking, is the plate dedicated to flint shaping [Figure 1.10]. Inserted between plates depicting subsistence practices — namely "Indian hunting" and "Indian agriculture" — this plate employs a cross-section view typical of architectural or technical drawings, creating a systematized, scientific presentation of Indigenous practice. While ostensibly acknowledging inventiveness and technological skill, the plate's placement within this sequence constructs a discourse of "primitiveness" and "prehistorical" development, reinforced by the simplified rendering of Indigenous figures and their minimal clothing.

The imagetext combination emphasizes individual flint artifacts and manufacturing techniques, while decontextualizing their historical use and cultural significance. This approach transforms specific Indigenous technologies into specimens for scientific observation, effectively collapsing thousands of years of cultural development into a timeless, "prehistoric" category. By presenting these practices through the visual conventions of archaeological illustration, complete with technical cross-sections and specimen-like arrangements, Jefferys appropriates the authority of emerging scientific disciplines to legitimize his colonial perspective.

Furthermore, the building of authority is demonstrated in the introductory text for this section of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, where Jefferys emphasizes the significance of data obtained through archaeological excavation, a point he reaffirms in the aforementioned letter addressing the queries. This archaeological expertise is showcased in the illustrations sourced from contemporary scientific magazines, and is further supported by his connections with prominent academics in the field — "*The methods of flint shaping are drawn from recognized archaeological works",* he writes. Jefferys claims to have discussed this with Professor Thomas McIlwraith[149], head of anthropology at the University of Toronto, who had established a department encompassing archaeological, linguistic, physical, and ethnological anthropology. McIlwraith was also a noted scholar on the effects of change on Canadian native peoples,[150] having become associate director of the Royal Ontario Museum[151]. The acquaintance between Jefferys and McIlwraith, although not disclosed by the artist in his picture gallery, was part of a friendly remark to Pierce, refuting criticism and deploying institutional credibility to transform artistic interpretation into seemingly objective scientific documentation.

In his efforts to integrate academic research, Jefferys drew heavily upon sources within early twentieth-century anthropology, deploying their claims to scientific objectivity as vehicles for constructing epistemological authority around his nationalist visual project. However, the appearance of neutral documentation actually served as discursive formation (in Foucault's terms) that legitimized colonial appropriation of Indigenous knowledge and material culture. Rather than just documenting Indigenous practices, these scholarly sources functioned as mythical constructions that naturalized capitalist progress and Christian

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[149] C.W. Jefferys, "Letter to Lorne Pierce," December 31, 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 6-2, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Pg. 5

[150] Tom McFeat. "Thomas Forsyth McIlwraith." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published May 19, 2008; Last Edited December 16, 2013.

[151] Biographical history. Access on March 15, 2025. https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/thomas-forsyth-mcilwraith-fonds

supremacy. This epistemological construction reinforced a binary distinction that represented Indigenous peoples as belonging to a pre-modern temporality, thereby justifying their displacement by the "inevitable" march of settler Canadian civilization.

Furthermore, paradoxically, he also incorporates accounts of early settlers and explorers and their initial encounters with the New World, as well as the beginnings of ethnographic expeditions aimed at documenting what were perceived as vanishing exotic cultures. Jefferys' role primarily involved popularizing specialized knowledge, and there's a great effort at drawing from his contemporary sources. From the late nineteenth century, various museums and institutions dedicated to natural history, anthropology, and material culture were established across North America, with the Royal Ontario Museum being a key example, led by Charles Thomas Currelly, who also contributed to *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. These institutions focused on collecting and displaying materials, but also on developing methodologies and theories in historical and anthropological studies[152], which Jefferys drew from in his work.

Building upon earlier modes of anthropological representation, the early twentieth century saw a refinement in the media used to present ethnographic images. The production process took on a more scientific character, with specialized journals, rather than solely galleries or travelogues, emerging as key venues for sharing these prints within institutional settings. This shift reflects a growing emphasis on scholarly dissemination and validation. Jefferys reproduced illustrations from sources such as *Bulletin 37 of the Anthropological Series of the Victoria Memorial Museum* (1923) and the *Anthropological Papers of The American Museum of Natural Histor*y (1915), among others [Figure 1.11]. These publications present images in a manner reminiscent of a collection or exhibition, categorizing objects such as spears, clothing, vessels, and pipes. The images are often stripped of context and perspective, rendered in two dimensions with a simplified technique that gives the impression of dissection [figure 1.12]. They are emblematic of the *Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation, referencing a visual experience similar to an antiquarian cabinet or a museum display.

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[152] G. Killan. *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983. M. Hamilton. *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

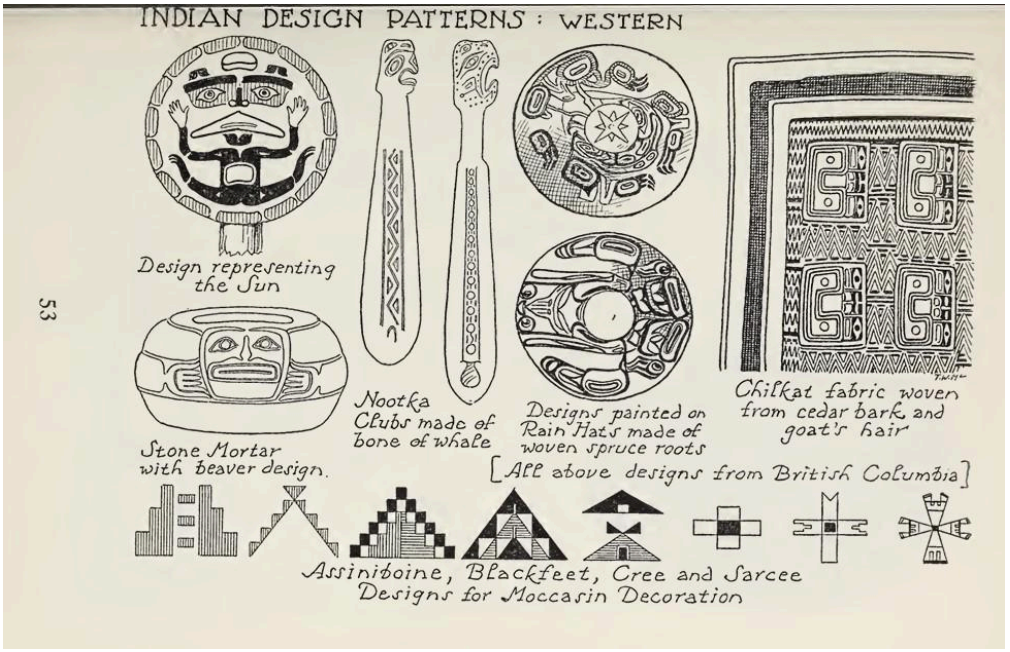

Fig. 1.11 - C.W. Jefferys. *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History Vol. I.*, 1942. p. 53. Original held in the University of Alberta Libraries, Alberta. Digitized from the original. Public domain.

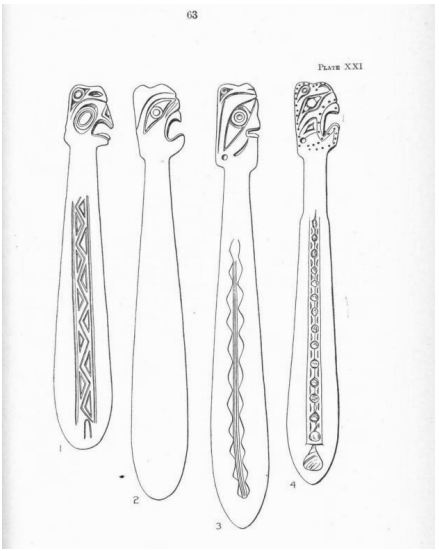

Fig. 1.12 - Harlan I. Smith "*An album of prehistoric Canadian art*" by, published in *Bulletin 37 of the Anthropological Series of the Victoria Memorial Museum*, 1923, p. 63. Original held in the Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa. Digitized from the original. Public domain.

Drawing on Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's analysis of scientific objectivity, the apparent contradiction between mechanical reproduction and trained judgment actually served as a powerful resource for building epistemic authority in early twentieth-century visual culture.[153] While mechanical objectivity ostensibly eliminated subjective intervention through purely mechanical reproduction, the practical realities of image production still required what

[153] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 309-318.

Daston and Galison term "trained judgment" — the expert capacity to identify essential characteristics and communicate them through skilled artistic techniques.[154] This hybrid epistemological virtue created a paradoxical authority: images could simultaneously claim the objectivity of mechanical reproduction while benefiting from the interpretive expertise of trained specialists. In Jefferys' appropriation of illustrations from Harlan I. Smith's *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* (1923) for his "Indian Design Patterns" plate, this contradiction becomes a strategic advantage [Figures 1.11 and 1.12]. The archaeological provenance of Smith's images provided them with the legitimizing authority of scientific documentation, while Jefferys' artistic skill in adapting and reproducing them demonstrated the trained judgment necessary to make specialized knowledge accessible to popular audiences. This dual authentication — scientific and artistic — enhanced the cultural capital of these representations beyond their formal aesthetic qualities.

The "Indian Design Patterns" plate exemplifies how the nation-building project strategically appropriated Indigenous visual culture to construct a distinctly Canadian identity that could differentiate itself from European traditions. As demonstrated in the third chapter of this research through detailed analysis of Smith's *Album*, Indigenous motifs were systematically extracted from their original cultural contexts and reframed as national design resources suitable for industrial application.[155] While Jefferys deserves recognition for incorporating Indigenous visual culture into his vision of Canadian heritage, the reduction of complex ceremonial and spiritual artifacts to mere "design patterns" exemplifies the colonial practice of appropriating Indigenous cultural production as aesthetic resources while omitting their embedded social meanings, ceremonial functions, and worldview significance.

This process of cultural appropriation operated through what Michel Foucault would recognize as a colonial "discursive formation" that transformed sacred or ceremonial objects into aesthetic specimens, legitimizing their commercial exploitation through scientific classification.[156] Jefferys' reproduction of these patterns served the dual function of preserving what settler Canadian discourse characterized as "vanishing" Indigenous cultures, while simultaneously rendering their visual elements available for incorporation into a

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[154] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 318-321. The authors demonstrate how "trained judgment" emerged as a hybrid mode where expert intervention was selectively permitted to enhance scientific representation while maintaining claims to objectivity.

[155] Harlan I. Smith, *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*, Bulletin 37 of the Anthropological Series of the Victoria Memorial Museum (Ottawa: Department of Mines, 1923), iii. Smith's prefatory note explicitly addressed "the industrial world," promoting the exploration of Indigenous visual practices for commercial manufacturing.

[156] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 31-39.

settler-colonial national aesthetic. The archaeological mediation provided by Smith's institutional authority stripped away potentially troubling spiritual associations, rendering Indigenous motifs safe for Protestant Canadian consumption while positioning Canada as the rightful inheritor of continental cultural resources.

1.4. Indigenous Images and Settler Nation-Building

The systematic representation of Indigenous peoples in Canadian visual culture functioned as a crucial technology of settler identity formation, operating through what Philip Deloria identifies in the American context as the paradoxical process of "playing Indian" — the appropriation and reimagining of Indigenous identities to construct white national belonging.[157] In the Canadian context, this process manifested through the reproduction of standardized visual stereotypes that claimed documentary objectivity while serving the ideological requirements of settler Canadian Visual Nationalism. C.W. Jefferys' illustrations exemplify how the colonial imagination transformed diverse Indigenous cultures into a homogenized category of "Indianness,"[158] deploying ostensibly ethnographic visual conventions to naturalize settler claims to the landscape while positioning Indigenous peoples as either noble relics of a vanishing past or primitive obstacles to civilizational progress. This section examines how Jefferys constructed these imaginative Indigenous images through two complementary strategies: the reproduction of visual stereotypes that reduced complex cultural diversity to easily recognizable markers of otherness, and the production of ethnographic illustrations that claimed documentary authority while actually functioning as "imaginative pictures" designed to make visible a romanticized pre-contact world that served settler fantasies of territorial inheritance. Through detailed analysis of representative illustrations from *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, this section demonstrates how these visual practices constituted a form of cultural violence that systematically appropriated Indigenous knowledge while denying Indigenous peoples agency in their own history.

The representation of Indigenous peoples of North America in visual culture has long been shaped by the visual conventions established in illustrated books and magazines of the nineteenth century. These publications reached unprecedented distribution through technological advances in printing: steam-powered presses, lithography, and later, photoengraving. Such innovations democratized access to visual media, enabling the widespread dissemination of narratives and images to mass audiences rather than elite readers

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[157] Philip J. Deloria. *Playing Indian*. Yale University Press, 2022. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv2g5918z.
[158] Devon A. Mihesuah. *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*. SCB Distributors, 2010.

alone. This was the visual culture with which Jefferys was interacting and intermediating, being himself a collector and producer of illustrated pictures for popular consumption.

The artist possessed a substantial knowledge of earlier colonial pictures of Indigenous peoples in America, having studied and reproduced images made by Lafitau, Hennepin, and Captain Cook, among others — representatives of a pictorial genre that I term *first contacts*, the descriptive renderings produced by European missionaries and explorers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [Chapter 3]. However, it was primarily through stereotyped portrayals circulating in far-reaching print media such as *Harper's Weekly* and *Canadian Illustrated News* — representations further reinforced in history manuals for expanding public school systems — that a hegemonic, idealized, visual construct of the '*Indian*' became established in Canadian (and broader North American) visual culture.

The prevailing and idealized images of '*Indians*' manifested through various patterns and stereotypes, unified by notions of otherness and difference in relation to Euro-Americans and Euro-Canadians. Typically overlaid with dramatic "Indianness", the pictures emphasized presumed racial characteristics conformed by a contradictory duality: the "good Indian" (the noble savage, innocent, superstitious and subject to European paternalism), or the "bad Indian" (violent, cruel, without morals or religion). The multiple expressions of this visual construct of otherness were analysed extensively by John M. Coward in *Indians Illustrated: the Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press* (2016). Examining major illustrated periodicals from the late nineteenth-century United States — many with substantial circulation in Ontario, present in Jefferys' personal collection, and with which he actively collaborated as an illustrator during his time in New York and later in Toronto — Coward argues that these Indian illustrations were always constructed artifacts, resulting from a series of journalistic and artistic decisions shaped by ethnocentric perspectives that routinely reaffirmed Indigenous inferiority. These stereotypes, repeated throughout the illustrated press for decades, had a significant impact on the North American imagination and constituted a visual vocabulary from which Jefferys drew.

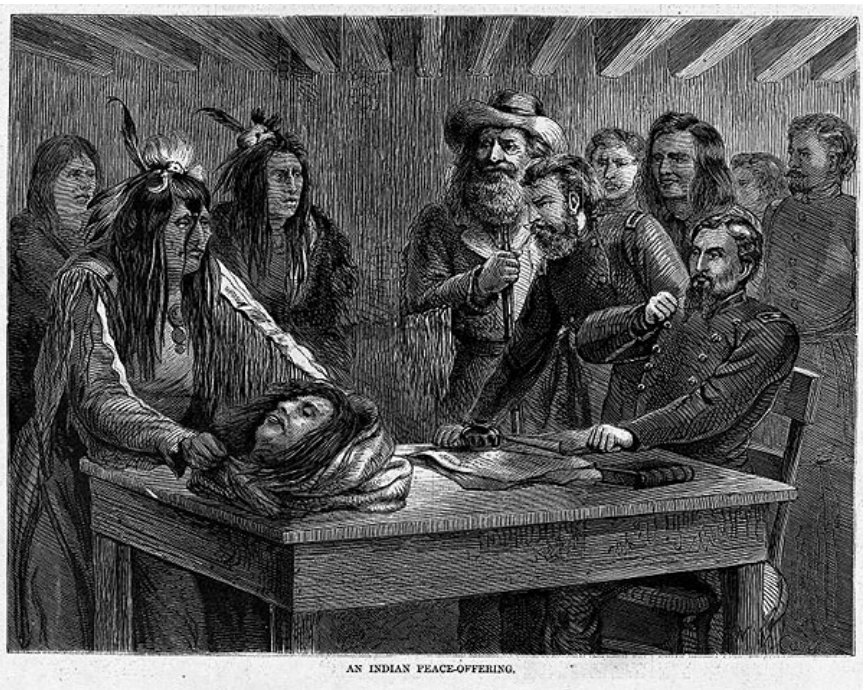

Fig. 1.13 - Cary, William de la Montagne. *An Indian Peace-Offering*. Published by Harper's Weekly Magazine, July 1870, New York, by Harper & Brothers. Offset print.

An allegorical visual trope abundant in North American print culture from the late nineteenth century depicted Indigenous peoples negotiating peace and advantageous alliances with white settlers [Figure 1.13]. As a complex iconological theme, these illustrations operate as what Barthes terms a second-order semiological system, where denotative meanings become signifiers for broader mythical constructions.[159] At the denotative level, the image positions Indigenous and white leaders on opposite sides, demarcating difference. While they may appear at the same level, the artist includes visual markers of hierarchy, using symbols of civilization such as regalia, books, and furniture to establish settler superiority. The Indigenous figures are fewer in number, wear traditional clothing marked as exotic, and display facial expressions suggesting submission. In this particular image, they carry a decapitated head of another Indigenous leader — a token of sincerity and submission, as they finished with an enemy of American expansion who had killed white settlers.[160]

Through this mythical transformation, the picture creates the binary of the "good Indian" who eliminates the "bad Indian," serving American imperial expansion despite being marked by supposed savagery and exotic practices. Applying Barthes' framework, these

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[159] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 109-159

[160] John M. Coward. *Indians Illustrated: The Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press*. University of Illinois Press, 2016. P. 199

visual elements exemplify the depoliticization process whereby historical and political contexts — the violent dispossession of Indigenous lands — become naturalized as inevitable civilizational progress. The myth empties the complex realities of Indigenous-settler relations and refills them with a naturalized meaning of Indigenous dependency and settler benevolence, making visible both the historical encounter and its ideological reinterpretation.

For his part, Jefferys appropriates and engages with this widespread mythological construction of cooperation between indigenous peoples and colonisers, drawing from the visual conventions of newspaper illustration. One exemplary instance, *Meeting of Brock and Tecumseh, 1812*, was first published as a frontispiece for Ethel Raymond's biography of Tecumseh in the *Chronicles of Canada* series,[161] and reproduced many times in the following decades [Figure 1.14]. It portrays British General Isaac Brock meeting with Shawnee leader Tecumseh in a romanticized, imagined, coloured scene. The encounter appears to happen in a military setting, with maps over the table and British officers in the background. Brock stands tall and confident, dressed in full military costume, his leading role reinforced by the surrounding officers, while his gesture suggests benevolence. Tecumseh is shorter, wears a stereotypical "*Plains Indians*" fringed buckskin attire (inaccurate for a Shawnee leader), and is depicted in a slightly subordinate position.

This illustration reinforces a particular narrative about the alliance of the two leaders, one that emphasizes British military leadership, with Indigenous allies in a supporting role. It also minimizes the complex political motives that drove Tecumseh to form this alliance and his sophisticated political agency during the conflicts with the US. The image exemplifies how Jefferys' work, even while depicting Indigenous-European cooperation, subtly perpetuated colonial hierarchies through visual composition. Here, Tecumseh is the model of the 'good Indian' cooperating and dignified by the British alliance, fitting the Canadian national narrative of harmonious Indigenous-settler relations.

[161] Ethel Raymond. *Tecumseh*. Wrong & Langton, Eds. Chronicles of Canada Series, Brook & Company, Toronto & Glasgow, 1915.

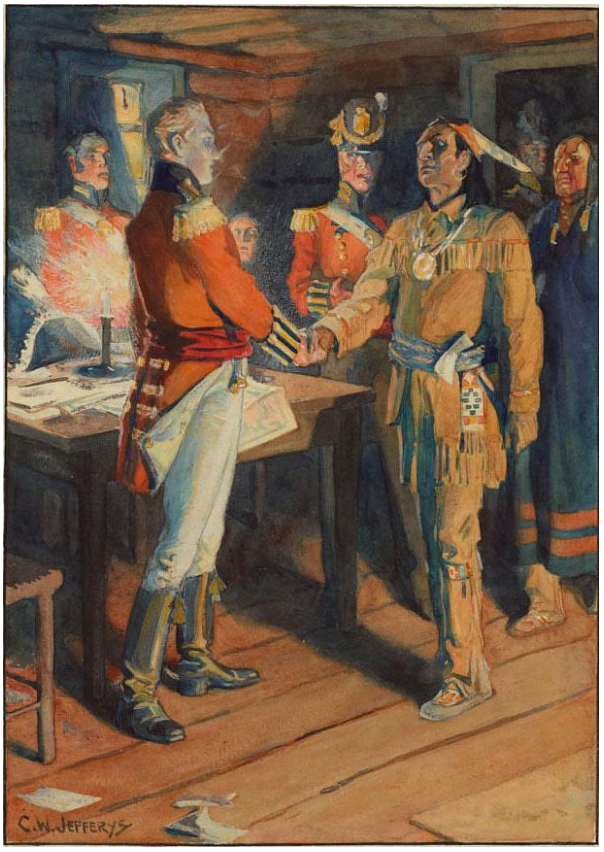

Fig. 1.14 - C.W. Jefferys, *Meeting of Brock and Tecumseh, 1812,* c1915. Watercolour. Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1972-26-1360.

The visual vocabulary that Jefferys deployed in constructing these colonial relationships can be traced directly to the illustrated press conventions that Coward identifies.[162] The evolution of his Brock and Tecumseh representations over nearly two decades reveals how these newspaper-derived stereotypes became naturalized within seemingly scholarly historical illustration, demonstrating the persistent operation of colonial visual frameworks even within claims to increased historical accuracy. The adaptation becomes evident in a second rendering of the historical meeting between General Isaac Brock and Tecumseh, created nearly twenty years after the first version [Figure 1.15]. It presents a more balanced relationship between the two leaders compared to the earlier depiction. Tecumseh is shown with his arm extended, in an active posture, centralized in the picture, now accompanied by a proper delegation of Shawnee leaders. Brock remains in formal military attire, but his posture suggests an equal interest in the alliance, instead of a dominant

[162] The stereotypical representation of the "good Indian" and the simplifying depiction of Indigenous agency is extensively analysed in: John M. Coward. *Indians Illustrated: The Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press*. University of Illinois Press, 2016.

position in the watercolour from 1915. The spatial arrangement of the figures and the table with maps visually reinforces the idea of a formal, equal, negotiation between the parties.

Fig. 1.15 - C.W. Jefferys, *Brock and Tecumseh,* c1934. Pen and black ink over paper. Credit: Canada's Past in Pictures, p.108.

While still operating within colonial representational frameworks — evident in Tecumseh's "Plains Indian" attire and the emphasis on the military alliance against the U.S. army — this version slightly modifies the power dynamic, suggesting more of a strategic alliance between distinct military leaders. This shift may reflect a broader cultural change, of which Jefferys was a participant, crafting a narrative of colonial alliance that accommodates reciprocal portrayals of Indigenous agency. The "good Indian" archetype is not challenged by the 1934 revision, but actually refined, suggesting how historical illustration stereotypes evolved to accommodate changing nationalist needs while maintaining their essential ideological function. The visual evolution from subordination (1915) to apparent partnership (1934) demonstrates the development of more subtle representational strategies, satisfying changing demands for historical accuracy and Indigenous recognition while maintaining colonial narratives. This visual evolution actually reinforced the mythological construction by

suggesting Canadian exceptionalism in respecting Indigenous agency in willingly participating in this British national enterprise.

1.4.1. The construction of Indianness

A central reference for the study of stereotypical Indigenous representation is Choctaw scholar Devon Miheshua.[163] She has written extensively about colonization, Native women, "Indian" rights and identities, and has produced the essential work *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities* (1999). One of the common misrepresentations of Indigenous groups comes from the wrong idea that they are all alike. Since the European creation of the concept of Indian, tracing back to the first contacts of explorers and then from the colonial wars, hundreds of different cultural groups are woven into the same artificial idea. Visual symbols are assigned to this idea of "*Indianness*", such as the tipi huts, carved totem poles, buckskin attire, moccasins, and feather headdresses, obscuring radical differences between such heterogeneous category. If those symbols came from the nineteenth century illustrated press, Jefferys helped spread most of them and lent his scholarly recognition to validate these stereotypes. His depiction of a Jesuit Missionary preaching to "*the Indians*" could be the epitome of a hegemonic representation of Indigenous as passive, uniformly open to European knowledge, with a "*typical Indian appearance*", and endorsed by dozens of reproductions in textbooks, encyclopedias and illustrated books from the twentieth century [Figure 1.16].

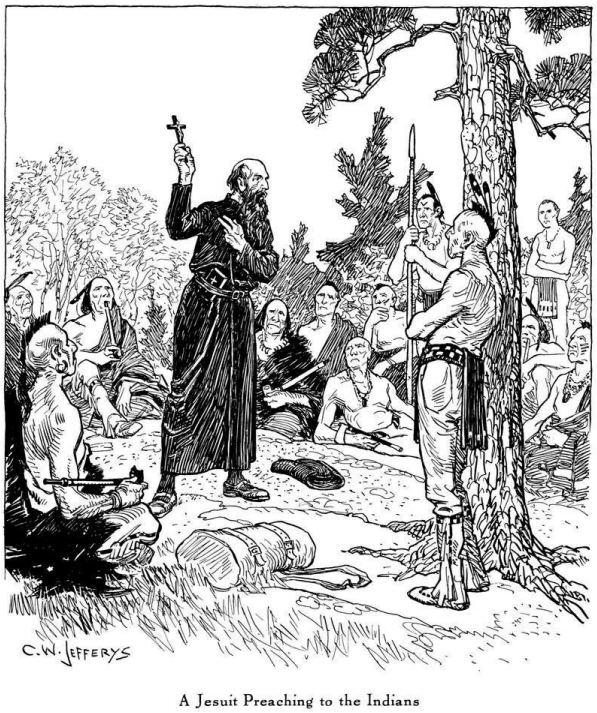

Fig. 1.16 - C.W. Jefferys, *A Jesuit Preaching to the Indians,* c1933. Pen and black ink over paper. Credit: Canada's Past in Pictures, p.34.

[163] Devon A. Mihesuah. *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*. SCB Distributors, 1999.

The original drawing from 1933 depicts a Jesuit missionary in the centre of the scene, surrounded by generalized "Indians", in a typical *Salon Wall* presentation. The priest stands taller than the other men, he holds up a cross and actively preaches to a group that mostly stands seated, passive, in a mix of curiosity and submission. The natives are not individualized, except through detailed clothing of a standardized "Indian" that predominantly reinforces an exotic, primitive, stereotypical image. Mostly shirtless, their facial features conform to an expected representation of Indigenous men. This visual narrative constructs a discourse of European superiority, where the missionary is framed in a civilizing mission that erases the complex spiritual traditions and cultural agencies of Indigenous societies. The picture simplifies Indigenous peoples' active engagement with and resistance to missionary encounters, contributing to the hegemonic settler Canadian narrative by depicting Indigenous conversion as willing participation in their own cultural transformation.

These visual conventions reinforce the central myth of Canadian formation — that European settlement proceeded through benevolent guidance rather than colonial domination, constructing cultural authority for Christianity while rendering Indigenous spiritual systems invisible. The colonial visual framework marked by objectification, exoticization, and a hierarchical positioning categorically subordinates Indigenous cultures while claiming documentary objectivity associated with "pictorial records".[164] Reproduced in dozens of textbooks commissioned by the Ontario Department of Education,[165] this representation became a powerful vehicle for shaping historical consciousness among generations of Canadian schoolchildren, naturalizing the narrative of Indigenous peoples as passive recipients of European civilization and Christianity as the foundation of Canadian national identity.

Another perspective on the problematic portrayal of Indigenous peoples in Jefferys' work emerges from an analysis of the same heroic images that glorify European settlers. These illustrations for textbooks, published by Ryerson Press as a collection in 1930, were praised by his contemporaries for their "accuracy" and "high sense of the dramatic".[166] Mary

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[164] The idea of pictorial records, developed by Jefferys in *The Visual Reconstruction of History* (1936) and in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* (1942-1950), is addressed in detail in section 1.5 of this chapter.

[165] For examples of this image's reproduction in Canadian textbooks, see Gilbert Paterson, *The Story of Our People* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1938), 73; Morden H. Long, *A History of the Canadian People: Vol. 1, New France* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), 129; and R. Douglas Francis, *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2009), 57. The image appeared consistently in Ryerson Press publications and continued circulating in educational materials into the 21st century.

[166] Landon, Fred. Review of Dramatic Episodes in Canada's Story, by Charles W. Jefferys. The Canadian Historical Review, vol. 11 no. 3, 1930, p. 274. Project MUSE, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/567710

F. Holahan, with contributions from Jaleen Grove and others, explored this issue in 2018. In Jefferys' *Dramatic Episodes of Canada* (1930), for instance, the depiction of Montreal's first governor, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, shooting a Mohawk warrior wielding a tomahawk illustrates this dynamic [Figure 1.17]. While Jefferys meticulously renders the clothing and weaponry with apparent historical accuracy, his visual narrative inherently elevates the settler figure. At the same time, it offers no insight into the motivations behind Indigenous resistance, instead reinforcing a colonial perspective that aligns with a characterization of Indigenous peoples as savages, according to Holahan.[167] This demonstrates how Jefferys' pursuit of visual accuracy, while genuine in its attention to material details, ultimately served the broader colonial narrative explored in this research, where artistic skill legitimized ideological representations of Indigenous-settler relations.

Figure 1.17 - C.W. Jefferys, *Maisonneuve's Fight with the Indians*. C. 1926, Pen and black ink over paper. Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1972-26-592

C.W. Jefferys' depictions of Native Americans have been critiqued for perpetuating reductive stereotypes in comparison to European technology, in two works by art historian Marylin Mckay.[168] Her critical perspective has revealed how Canadian mural painting

[167] Doyle, Grove, & Sherman, Eds. History of Illustration. Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. Pg. 306
[168] Marylin Mckay. "Canadian Historical Murals 1895-1939: Material Progress, Morality and the 'Disappearance' of Native People". Journal of Canadian Art History / Annales d'histoire de l'art

functioned to support nationalistic aspirations and political ideologies.[169] By analysing a set of murals commissioned to Jefferys in 1930 for the Château Laurier, in Ottawa, Mckay highlights a narrative of British superiority. Indigenous peoples are depicted blowing tobacco leaves in ritualistic homage to the spirit of the local Chaudière Falls, while English soldiers are represented using mechanical equipment for the building of the Rideau Canal [Figure 1.18]. This creates an opposition between religion and mysticism on the Indigenous side versus science and progress on the British side. Following established conventions of heroic and romanticized historical painting, Jefferys' depiction of Indigenous peoples paying homage to the spirit of the Chaudière falls reflects the stereotypical view of them as mystical and mainly spiritualized beings. The figures are positioned in dramatic stances, with idealized muscular bodies and facial painting, all vivified by bright colours and a striking landscape. These visual choices serve to place Indigenous peoples in a timeless, mythologized past rather than as contemporary actors in Canada's historical development.

Fig. 1.18 - C.W. Jefferys, *Indians Paying Homage to Spirit of the Chaudiere* c.1930. Oil on canvas. Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1973-16-1

Canadien 15, nº 1 (1992): 63–83. also: Marylin J. McKay. *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s - 1930s*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

[169] John O'Brian. Review of *National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s-1930s*, by Marylin J. McKay. McGill-Queen's University Press. Accessed 03/23/2025. https://www.mqup.ca/national-soul--a-products-9780773522909.php.

Whether created for print media or prestigious mural commissions, Jefferys' illustrations consistently reproduced stereotypical representations of Indigenous peoples as savage, vanishing, or purely mystical beings, constructing an evident opposition to the settler Canadian narrative that portrayed Europeans as civilized, technologically advanced, and agents of inevitable Christian progress. These images functioned as powerful mythmaking vehicles that continue to shape popular perceptions of Canadian history. As Roland Barthes demonstrated, mythmakers often remain unconscious of their service to dominant ideological structures,[170] and Jefferys exemplifies this dynamic perfectly. Despite his genuine pursuit of historical accuracy and scholarly rigour, his visual choices ultimately produced highly palatable icons of "*Indianness*" — frequently depicting Indigenous peoples as shirtless, violent, or engaged in seemingly primitive rituals — that naturalized their displacement in the face of European settlement and capitalist expansion.

1.4.2. Imaginative Ethnography of Indigenous Cultures

Beyond the analysis of historical illustrations of dramatic events, usually scrutinized by Canadian scholarship and placed within an art historical perspective, my contribution is to address another dimension of Jefferys' pictorial discourse. I analyse the visual conventions that Jefferys employs as evidence of Indigenous cultures, both with archaeological illustrations of artifacts and what he termed "*imaginative pictures*"[171] — illustrations he assembled based on textual accounts and elements he studied, collected and drawn. With a different intent, Jefferys moved further from heroic representations and grand moments from the Canadian historical narrative to adopt a particular, purportedly documental gaze. These illustrations demonstrate tension between artistic interpretation and scientific documentation, drawing on pictorial material coming from anthropological and ethnographical publications, with the goal of making visible a long, disappearing "natural" world of natives before contact with Europeans. Instead of the '*grand salon*' pattern of presentation usually employed in the pictures of dramatic events, he inaugurates what I have termed '*the peeping eye*' — an illusion that we could cut a hole through the fabric of time and gaze at the natives at work and within a wild nature.

That category of images is mostly present in the first volume of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, in Part One, that purports to contain "*a number of illustrations depicting*

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[170] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 142-145.
[171] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. VI

primitive Indian life"[172], being a set of images intended to evidence the culture of the native peoples of Canada at the beginning of European colonization. Spread across fifty pages, the section is preceded by a brief introduction and followed by eight notes regarding the sources of information and particular aspects featured in the chapter. From this extensive pictorial corpus, I analyse the imagetext relationships within representative plates that exemplify Jefferys' deployment of pictures as pictorial testimony and documentary evidence. This focused examination demonstrates the compositional principles employed by Jefferys and his systematic approach to constructing meaning within each unit of *The Picture Gallery*. My interpretative framework operates through two complementary analytical approaches: the modes of presentation previously identified in the introduction (*the salon wall*; *the museum exhibitor*; *the peeping eye*; *the window*; *the blueprint; the pantheon*) and the specific visual conventions governing the integration of textual and pictorial elements.

Here, the basic unit, pictures, are arranged in what we call a **plate**. Each plate occupies a single **page**, with the first chapter containing fifty plates (pages 5 to 54). This term originates from the printmaking tradition, where it refers to a thin metal surface that served as the printing matrix. In *The Picture Gallery*, each plate was conceived as a cohesive pictorial unit, often combining multiple **pictures** in different modes of presentation, arranged through design elements such as framings, typography, and layout patterns. The plates were primarily produced using pen-and-ink on coated paper, then cut and mounted onto Bristol boards. The boards would be photomechanically reproduced onto metal plates, a process that allowed for resizing to fit the book's dimensions. Then, the etched metal plates were transferred to rubber cylinders and printed in large quantities to compose the book.

This process allowed Jefferys to design each plate exclusively for the *Picture Gallery* without incurring significant financial costs, while also enabling swift corrections or additions. It exemplifies the technical advancements in early twentieth-century printmaking, showcasing an interplay between artistry and mass production. Jefferys was a master of this process, having worked with printing techniques for nearly five decades — from his early days at the Toronto Lithographing Company to his later work in newspaper illustration and advertising.[173] When reproducing images collected from various print media, including photographs, C.W. Jefferys would draw over cut-out pictures or redraw them with his own modifications, using white ink to hide unwanted elements. In Part One, I have also identified

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[172] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. I

[173] Robert Stacey. "From 'The Old Litho Life' to 'Never a Day without a Line' / De l'atelier de Lithographie Traditionnel à Celui Où Il Ne Se Passe « pas Un Jour sans Un Trait »." *National Gallery of Canada Review* 8 (June 2017): 99–134. https://doi.org/10.3138/ngcr.8.005.

five pictures that were directly reproduced using the photoengraving technique, recognisable by the grain of the halftone plates and the absence of the artist's trace. These images are presented in association with drawings in four plates, with one exception: where the photoengraving is alone on the page — a standalone photoengraving of a painting by Paul Kane (1810–1871), who is discussed in Chapter 3.

The first volume of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* was designed to be viewed sideways, with the right edge of the book always facing down, hence the plates are printed in that orientation.[174] The result is, first, that the viewer can browse through the pictures without the need to constantly rotate the book. Furthermore, the viewer's eyesight is simultaneously engaged with two plates. Jefferys appears to exploit this format when he creates plates that function both in pairs and individually. There are even sets of four plates arranged under the same title (notably, the *Indian Clothing* section). Titles are handwritten at the top of the plates by Jefferys in an *Art Deco* typeface, and only six of the fifty plates analysed here have no title, being considered in groups. Among those pictures with an ethnographic intent, Jefferys employs callouts pointing to specific details within the images, or annotations and labels identifying elements or contextual information. The result is an interplay of text and image that leads to an allegedly technical discourse, characteristic of museum displays and anthropological publications.

Most times, the plates function effectively as individual units, even though their pairs contribute to supplementing and expanding their informational content. Each print is conceived as a unit, with discourse constructed through the strategic assembly of images and the calculated placement of text around and between pictures, following deliberate design principles. Jefferys alternates between modes of presentation within the same plate (and across paired plates), matching styles and themes to create composite images that constitute complex visual narratives. Plates 12 and 13 serve as exemplary cases for analysing these representational techniques [Figure 1.19], as they embody the presentation modes identified throughout this research and demonstrate the characteristic features of what Jefferys refers as "*the Indian section*".[175] They exemplify the assumed objectivity in the representation of culture and nature, aspiring to a technical and museological discourse. The pair of plates contains an elaborate interplay of pictures in distinct presentation patterns, enhanced by

[174] The exceptions are a few reproductions of paintings either made by Jefferys or copies of renowned artists. They are always displayed in the *salon wall* style, framed and titled, and represent historical events considered important for the history of colonization. For these, you must turn the book upwards.

[175] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. Pg. VII

textual callouts and labels that collectively constitute a visual anthropology supported by scientific illustration.

On the first page, the title *Indian Vegetable Food Resources* frames the central picture, subtitled *Collecting Maple Sap*. It depicts a maple forest where a group of three Indigenous people is working on the production of syrup, as a birchbark container collects sap from a tapped tree. The scene is presented through a colonial lens, where Indigenous knowledge and technologies, although appreciated, are portrayed as prehistoric rather than a living tradition. The mode of presentation here is the *Peeping Eye*, the pattern frequently employed by Jefferys to depict cultural practices and ethnic singularities, as if viewers could return to those times and observe Indigenous peoples at work. These anonymous archetypal figures never return the viewer's gaze, their eyes focused on the activities they perform. The *Peeping Eye* is even more pronounced in the circular vignette at the bottom left, in which a woman digs for Camassia roots, framed by Jefferys' lens. Notably, there is a deliberate spatial construction to these scenes, an effort to situate human subjects within an environment that Jefferys conceptualizes as both natural and inherently Canadian.

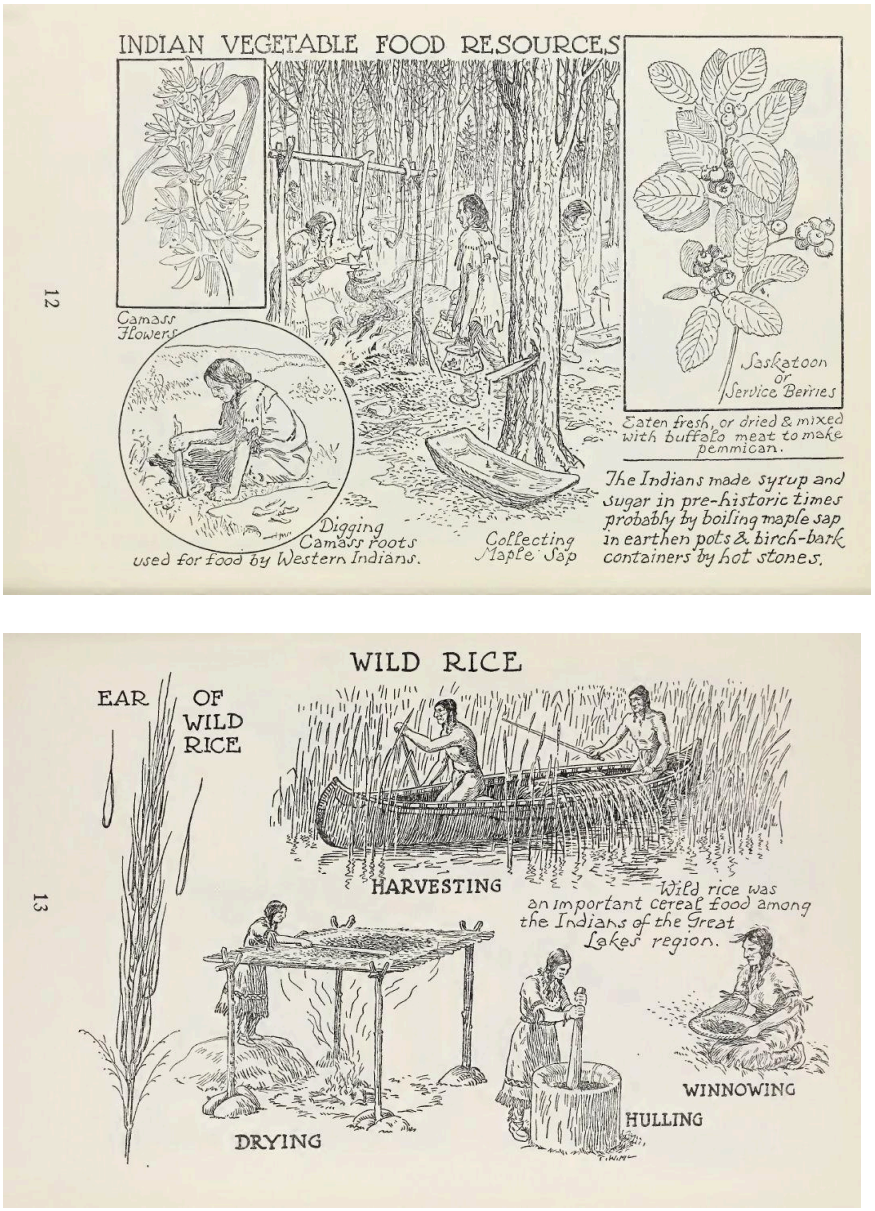

Fig.1.19 - C.W. Jefferys, *Indian Vegetable Food Resources*. C. 1942, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper. Pages 12 and 13 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History.

Enclosing the main picture are the illustrations of two plants: *Camass flowers* and the *Saskatoon*. They are framed in thin lines, as specimens represented in a botanical book (yet Jefferys subtly signals his artistic intention with the tip of a Camassia leaf transgressing the frame). The illustrative style exemplifies natural history books from the early modern period until the popularization of photography, wherein the typical, idealized specimen of a species is depicted removed from its natural context. These illustrations embody an epistemic virtue that Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison term *truth-to-nature*, a way of seeing a particular specimen and identifying a universal character applicable for the entire species[176] — analogous to Jefferys' approach to Indigenous societies of Canada. The Camass flowers depicted in this

[176] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2007, p. 369

plate stand as representatives of their entire taxonomic class. The accompanying text completes the visual meaning through a didactic and descriptive style that rarely ventures into narrative. On plate 12, there is no construction of sequence and each picture carries its individual captions describing the utilization of the depicted food resources. However, on plate 13, four of the images are tied together narratively, with text serving as the connecting thread between events. The text is rendered in bold, in capital font, and besides describing the images with active verbs, it connects them into a cohesive narrative detailing the stages of rice production among the cultures of the Great Lakes region.

Together, plates 12 and 13 construct a comprehensive discourse about an assumed prehistorical and "wild" Canada, incorporating traditional food practices into an anthropological narrative. This narrative simultaneously elevates Indigenous food techniques to constitutive elements of Canada's developing national identity, while paradoxically stigmatizing these same practices as primitive and rudimentary. The viewer's gaze is initially directed to the botanical specimens, arranged in framed boxes on both sides of the title, where the defined edges give these elements visual weight and guide our perception. The repetition of botanical representation continues in the lower plate, where the "ear of wild rice" stands isolated on the left, establishing a visual pathway and a rhythmic structure for observation. This visual rhythm is reinforced through the recurring human figure, presented with similar shape, size, and linear composition across both plates. The long hair culturally associated with "Indians" adds to the clothing style to signify a specific human archetype — one that labours in wilderness settings with repetition and diligence through outdated techniques. Gender roles are visually codified through the representation of bare-chested men in canoes, while women are depicted engaged in more delicate forms of labour, fully dressed. The borders of the plates enhance the sense of continuity between them, firstly because plate 13 establishes its boundaries through figural elements rather than linear demarcations, creating a visual connection to plate 12, as if it really was a sequence. Secondly, the strategic distribution of negative space reinforces this sense of a unified composition, with narrower margins between the plates and wider borders at the outer edges.

Most of the pictures from *The Picture Gallery*'s Part One derive from either anthropological journals or museum collections. Scenes depicted in Plates 12 and 13 were not directly witnessed by Jefferys, representing instead an idealized pre-European past. The illustrations are exercises in world-making,[177] actively constructing the widespread

[177] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 7-11

North-American myth of the "vanishing Indian", depicting supposedly fading Indigenous cultures and the presumed obsolescence of their practices.[178] These images and the visual histories they constitute actively reproduce a colonial gaze that racializes Indigenous societies and places them in need of the European knowledge systems[179] for documentation, preservation, or salvage as purportedly vanishing elements of a "wild" world. Furthermore, the use of ostensibly scientific, objective and institutionalized visual references enhances the perceived authority of the discourse created by this collection of pictures. It provides the European-descended audience a visual confirmation of preconceived notions, thereby shaping their contemporary perceptions of Indigenous cultures.

1.5. Visual reconstruction and National Imagination: Jefferys' framework

> I have said in a former volume, that the history of a country is to be read not only in the printed records. While these are of the greatest importance they do not tell us all we need to know. Often pictorial records are of equal importance, and sometimes even of greater value, being more reliable. A tangible object cannot lie or equivocate so successfully as a word.[180]

The idea expressed in this excerpt may represent the core of Jefferys's philosophy regarding the importance of visuality, images, and material culture for history. This idea first appeared in *Canada's Past in Pictures* (1934) and again in a 1936 article for the *Canadian Historical Review, The Visual Reconstruction of History*. It was further developed in the preface to the first volume of *The Picture Gallery* in 1942, and emphasized once more in the final volume in 1950. For Jefferys, printed records do not tell us all we need to know. In this context, the concept of the *pictorial record* becomes central to his theory of visual historical accuracy and to the role of the historical illustrator. Jefferys contends that when subjected to the same "*degree and quality of discrimination*"[181] applied to written texts, pictorial records constitute legitimate sources of historical knowledge. This perspective enables the "*pictorial*

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[178] Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982). For the Canadian context, see also Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), particularly chapters 1-3 on the "vanishing race" mythology.

[179] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). While Said did not use the term "colonial gaze" specifically, this concept has been developed by postcolonial scholars building on his analysis of orientalist discourse as a system of representation that constructs the colonized as objects of knowledge and control.

[180] C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. III. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950. P. I

[181] C.W. Jefferys, 1936. P. 249

illustrator of history"[182] "*to visually reconstruct the life of the past"*[183], according to his theoretical foundation. In his 1936 article, Jefferys explicitly identifies himself with these terms, a definition that underscores the intersection of artist and historian and reflects his efforts to establish a new domain within artistic illustration. This métier, as he describes it, involves *the critical examination* and *comparison of source-documents*[184], leading to the creation of either faithful copies of contemporary records or imaginative reconstructions, including museum displays or film scenography.

The establishment of a hegemonic strand of history, conditioned by objectivity, by the critical examination of sources, and exerted professionally through academic institutions, has been a well-documented area of historiography.[185] However, I argue that C.W. Jefferys participated in an image-making tradition that maintained a dialectical relationship with critical and academic historical practice,[186] engaging with scholarly methods for the production of pictorial representations of the past. His advocacy for a *critical examination* of *pictorial records* applied to historical image-making, the methodical compilation of visual sources that comprise *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, distinguish his work from artists who created representations of the past primarily for decorative purposes. His mastery of lithography and reprographic techniques further differentiates him from history scholars who relied on commissioned artists or external institutions to pictorialize their works. Therefore, Jefferys' venture constitutes a visual history that was "*correct in every detail*"[187] for scholarly standards of his time yet deployed artistic expertise to make it much more powerful for his audiences. *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* belongs to a tradition that recognizes pictures and material culture as epistemological domains distinct from written culture, yet equally essential for historical understanding. Moreover, this lineage of historical representation emphasized what its practitioners perceived as an inherent capacity for nation-building and patriotic duty in visual practice, in collecting, in the uniqueness of material culture, and in the systematic observation of the past.

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[182] C.W. Jefferys, 1936. P. 249.
[183] C.W. Jefferys, 1942. Pg. VI
[184] C.W. Jefferys, 1936. P. 249
[185] On that topic: Peter Novick. That Noble Dream: the "objectivity question" and the American Historical Profession. Cambridge University Press. New York, 1988. Also: Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison. Objectivity. New York: Zone Books, 2007.
[186] On Canadian Historiography in the first decades of the twentieth century, see: Carl Berger. The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English Canadian Historical Writing. University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 1986.
[187] Lorne Pierce. C.W. Jefferys, a Biographical Introduction. In: C.W. Jefferys. *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. III. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1950. pg. xiv

The concept of *visual history* offers a crucial theoretical framework for analysing Jefferys' artistic and scholarly enterprise from the perspective of historical studies. Daniela Bleichmar and Vanessa R. Schwartz have defined the concept in "*Visual History: The Past in Pictures"*, their introduction to the Winter 2019 edition of *Representations*. "*A pictorial account of the past*" in simplified terms, visual history not only contains meaning but actively generates it, giving shape to distinctive conceptualizations of history. Visual history — comprising images specifically created or repurposed to represent historical narratives, precisely Jefferys's craft — has developed its own genres and conventions, evolving alongside technological innovations in print culture. This specific category of historical representation, which privileges pictorial over textual communication, capitalizes on the epistemological status of images as evidence or eyewitness testimony, thereby constituting a privileged form of knowledge. Such assertions regarding the evidentiary value of images, while widely accepted in contemporary scholarship, held even greater currency among the cultural figures engaged in popularizing Canadian visual culture during Jefferys' era.

This theoretical understanding of visual history illuminates Jefferys's distinctive contribution to Canadian historical representation. When pictures were conceived as objective representations of objects, places, people, or practices, Jefferys demonstrably succeeded in providing authoritative pictorial records. He meticulously documented elements that were rapidly transforming with the advance of modern society and preserved valuable visual evidence of rare and otherwise inaccessible materials. Brian Osborne has admitted that Jefferys "*came to be recognized as a major source by museums, collections, schools, theatres, pageants, and all concerned with knowing the details of the past*."[188] Much of this recognition stems from his active engagement in collecting, categorizing, and arranging visual records — a practice born out of years of dedicated immersion in visual media and shaped by the proliferation of images within the historical visual culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As previously discussed, his book popularized many of these pictures as symbols of Canadianness, shaping national historical consciousness for the next decades. However, the overly idealized and amplified imaginative pictures, even if based on a critical examination, are now reckoned as romantic Canadian propaganda.

Beyond Jefferys' acknowledgment of his "*imaginative drawings*", *The Picture Gallery* functions as a *"selection of source material*"[189]. To validate this compilation, a final chapter in each of the three volumes is dedicated exclusively to sources and bibliography, demonstrating

[188] Brian Osborne, 1992. P. 44
[189] C.W. Jefferys, 1942. Pg. VI

his commitment to establishing the work's credibility as historical representation rather than merely art or fiction. It constitutes a deliberate and industrious attempt to portray the past "as it really was", excluding what is "*misleading and incorrect"*[190]. Beyond its self-designated status as a "*pictorial collection*" of Canadian historical material — that antiquarian vocation emphasized by Lorne Pierce — *The Picture Gallery* is also characterized once as a "*pictorial survey of our past"*.[191] The term **survey** here illuminates two central aspects of this study: a) the analytical, objective inspection of the past; b) the effort to see the past, invoking the sixteenth-century meaning of survey, to contemplate, to oversee, to examine.[192] This terminology reveals Jefferys' aspiration that the volumes serve not only as historical picture books for children and youth (even if it fulfils this role effectively, the sales confirm).

He asserted in the first volume that the work was also intended for professionals engaged in the visual practices related to the past, what he termed "*visual reconstruction*",[193] and in the third volume gives emphasis to "*its greater use in the teaching and study of history*".[194] Moreover, through his lexical choices, Jefferys reiterates that he is working primarily with pictures, not text. For him, this represents the deployment of vision and visuality for the development of national history, extending to history itself as a discipline. Considering what *visual reconstruction* meant for Jefferys in the contemporary debate he was partaking, the aforementioned primacy of the critical examination of sources stood for a broadening of scope for "*the pictorial illustrator of history*". Museum curators, painters and engravers, set designers and photographers should all be versed in history, ethnology, archaeology, and art history, according to Jefferys. Once again, the effort is to provide *pictorial records*, surpassing decorative or amusing intents.

Jefferys distinguishes between two categories of pictures in the book: imaginative pictorial reconstructions drawn by himself, and a selection of source material, comprising places, objects, persons, and events depicted by artists of the past, by himself, and contemporaries as historical witnesses. In the first category, "*imaginative pictures,*" Jefferys employs his artistic expertise in creating new visual interpretations of historical events, asserting that these creations are informed by scholarly research and meticulously documented sources, rendering Canada's past visible. As previously discussed, these images

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[190] C.W. Jefferys, 1942. Pg. VII
[191] C.W. Jefferys, 1942. Pg. VI
[192] Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "survey," accessed April 28, 2022, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/survey.; Harper Douglas, "Etymology of survey," Online Etymology Dictionary, accessed April 28, 2022, https://www.etymonline.com/word/survey.
[193] C.W. Jefferys, 1936. Pg. 258
[194] C.W. Jefferys, 1950. P. VII

make tangible a critical reflection on visual, textual, and material historical evidence. Significantly, he presents these reconstructions as provisional interpretations subject to scholarly examination and potential revision if new research contradicts them. On the other hand, when approaching the second category of illustrations, Jefferys assumes the role of a collector, critically evaluating the historical accuracy of pictorial representations from diverse sources. He conceptualizes his picture gallery as an orderly portrayal of a consensus regarding the authentic representation of Canada's historical narrative.

1.5.1. The Nationalist Modes of Visual Reconstruction

There is a claim to universality in this consensus, while fundamentally remaining exclusive to perspectives of European-descended men. It is stated right in the opening paragraph of the chapter, where Jefferys characterizes the sources of "*our knowledge*" as "*descriptions and drawings of white men who visited Indians living in primitive ways*".[195] The accounts of early European explorers such as Champlain or Lafitau add to representations produced in subsequent centuries by artists and scholars who deployed that same discourse of supposedly objective cultural representation, including museums and anthropological institutions. In essence, the sources for Part One can be interpreted as a historiography of the pictorial representations of Indigenous peoples of North America documented by their colonizers. Alternatively, they constitute a non-linear genealogy of the anthropological view itself, which will be analysed in Chapter Three.

C.W. Jefferys and Lorne Pierce conceived this collection of visual sources as a history of Canada despite apparent contradictions: an undefined temporal scope stretching to "prehistoric times", competing British and French colonial identities, and sources that blurred territorial or cultural distinctions between Canada and the US. Following Daniel Woolf's framework for analysing how "nation" functions as an organizing principle in historical writing, we must examine what Jefferys and Pierce understood as the Canadian nation by categorizing its constituent elements across Woolf's five modes of historiographical analysis.[196] This reveals the symbiotic relationship between nationalist historical consciousness and visual narrative construction through imagetext formations. The Modes of Presentation outlined in the introduction function as visual technologies of nationalism,

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[195] C.W. Jefferys, 1942. Pg.1

[196] Daniel Woolf. "Of Nations, Nationalism, and National Identity: Reflections on the Historiographic Organization of the Past" In: *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-cultural Approaches to Historiography. Essays in Honor of Georg G. Iggers* edited by Q. Edward Wang and Franz Leander Fillafer, 71-103. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.

reinforcing how the nation figures in visual history according to changing strategic requirements.

This analysis expands Daniel Woolf's five-mode framework — authorial affiliation, collective entity of analysis, temporal scope, constitutive factors, and integrative strategy — to Canadian Visual Nationalism as embodied in *The Picture Gallery*. Jefferys' visual history operates through multiple nationalist modes simultaneously, taking advantage of pictures' capacity to address different collective entities within single compositions in ways text cannot achieve. Woolf's categories are not rigid, so a comprehensive work like *The Picture Gallery* alternate between nationalist dimensions and employ distinct approaches within a same mode, emphasizing different historical aspects across plates. Crucially, Jefferys not only depicts or illustrates Canadian culture, but actively constructs different entities within dimensions of nationalism, a process enhanced by pictures' power to deploy multiple modes simultaneously and the multiplying effects of his carefully crafted visual montages.

Regarding authorial primary affiliation, *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* is a national history mostly shaped by territorial affiliation, hence the pervasive employment of *The Window* mode of presentation, especially in its landscape variant, supported by maps and romantic depictions of territorial claims. However, institutional affiliation proves equally significant through lengthy source descriptions, scholarly authority claims by Jefferys and his collaborators, and Ryerson Press's educational influence, establishing a hybrid scholarly-artistic institutional identity. The territorial affiliation directly reinforces sociogeographic constitutive factors through pictures representing manners and customs shaped by natural settings. This sociogeographic framework provides internal coherence to a true patchwork of constituent identities, often manifesting through economic activities that strengthen Canadian uniqueness in its association with natural resources, thus the recurrent visual motif of maple syrup extraction, for example. Weaving together customs, natural resources and economic ingenuity, *The Peeping Eye* makes visible to audiences the development of national traditions with early settlers taming a wild landscape, while *The Blueprint* showcases building practices and machinery that bind together scattered ancestry into unified Canadian identity.

The temporal scope operated through *ab origine* coverage, purporting to describe the total chronological span of Canadian existence. The settler Canadian national project thus has to deal with the fundamental contradiction of constructing historical continuity by including prehistoric times, which necessarily situates Indigenous peoples in that primeval temporality. However, Visual Nationalism resolves this contradiction by emphasizing early colonial

encounters as foundational milestones of Canadian identity, constructing constitutive narratives through European descent in contemporary nation-building. The effect of recognizing Indigenous peoples as original actors of this sociogeographic construction also legitimizes the appropriation of Indigenous material culture as legal tradition markers, transforming cultural artifacts into evidence of territorial inheritance rather than ongoing Indigenous sovereignty. This appropriation strategy demonstrates how *ab origine* temporal scope functions as a construct for naturalizing colonial possession.

The Picture Gallery's collective entity of analysis may be exactly what makes it so unique as a case of Visual Nationalism, because it encompasses all the entities outlined by Woolf: political, phenomenal, confessional, and social-cultural. Benefitting from visual media's aptitude for addressing different entities within the same plate, while also consistently reinforcing entities across the volumes, it constitutes a comprehensive nationalist synthesis. It is primarily driven by a political entity, which Jefferys names Canada and accommodates its British origins (yet I termed settler Canadian identity), frequently reinforced by *The Pantheon* and its gallery of political actors included for their contributions to nation-building. Nevertheless, a sociocultural entity is strongly addressed through recurring cultural themes like fur-trading, canoeing, and hunting, borrowed from Canadian visual culture with which Jefferys was engaging. The phenomenal entity is entwined with political and sociocultural dimensions, as *The Picture Gallery* displays archaeological and ethnographic scholarship through *The Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation, often constructing a history of material culture use by humans. Lastly, the confessional entity shapes the historical narrative and frequently positions Canadian history as a history of Christian conquest of North America, the conversion of Indigenous cultures, and the formation of the nation through the establishment of churches (and their associated "civilized" peoples) within a vast wilderness. Figure 1.20 demonstrates Jefferys' deployment of multiple collective entities within a single composition: the political entity through territorial claims at Tadoussac Harbour, the social-cultural entity through French-Indigenous trading relationships, the phenomenal entity through the altar artifact, and the confessional entity through church architecture — unified across three distinct visual elements, two of them employing *The Window* mode of presentation.

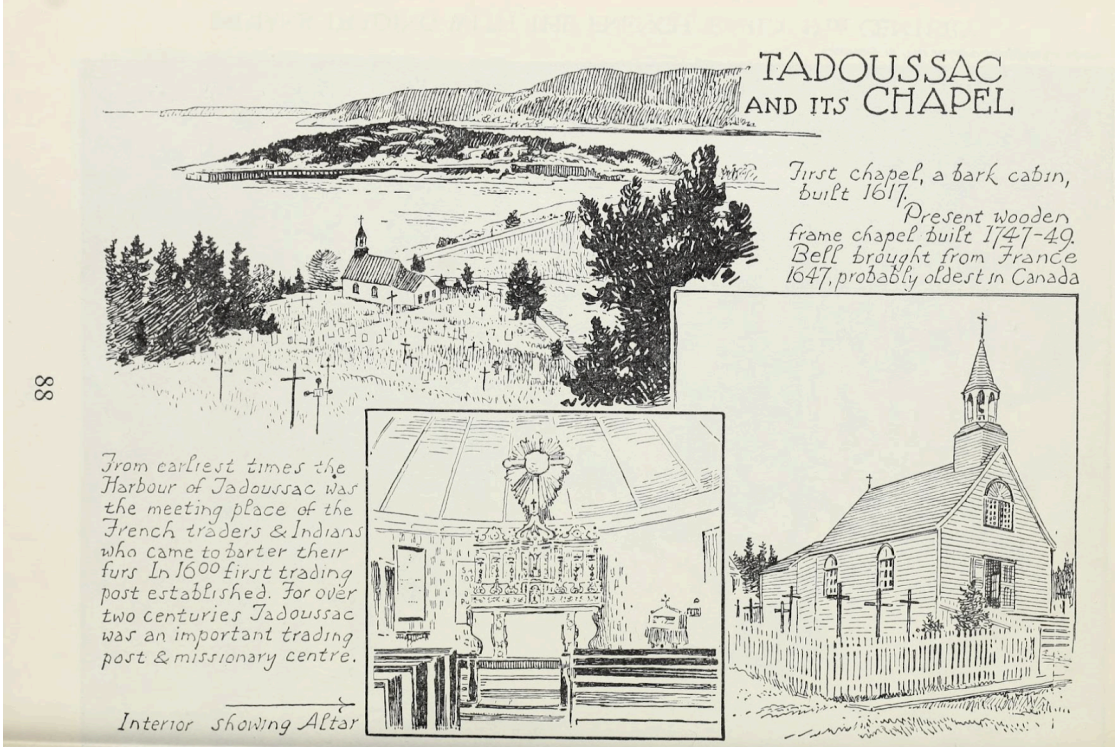

Figure 1.20 - C.W. Jefferys. *Tadoussac and its Chapel.* Page 88 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, vol I,* c 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

Jefferys' work, reflecting Canadian specificities, operates through multiple integrative strategies rather than adhering to a single approach. It primarily employs an exceptionalist strategy, positioning Canada as unique within the British Empire while adhering to imperialist integration through its civilizing mission toward Indigenous peoples, often used as a distinction marker from British identity. However, French colonial heritage complicates this framework, positioning the entity constituting this nation as exceptional and distinct from external others, even within British imperial bonds. This research contributes to defining settler Canadian identity in terms of a shared colonial attitude toward Indigenous peoples, and also a character that opposes U.S. American interference, thus reinforcing exceptionalism by distinguishing itself from both external and internal others. Paradoxically, as outlined through the sociogeographic constitutive factors, this opposition stance toward Indigenous cultures is neither conscious nor constant as an integrative strategy, since Indigenous integration can be strategically claimed as constitutive of the nation, according to shifting political and ideological demands.

This analysis through Woolf's framework reveals how *The Picture Gallery* operated as a sophisticated technology of Visual Nationalism, strategically deploying multiple modes to

construct a comprehensive yet ideologically coherent national narrative. Jefferys' ability to address diverse collective entities while maintaining territorial affiliation, employ *ab origine* temporal scope while diminishing Indigenous agency, and alternate between integrative strategies according to political contingencies, demonstrates the systematic nature of this nation-building project. Through visual history, Jefferys created a constructed "nation" by strategically alternating between different collective entities within single compositions and across volumes, weaving them into an apparently coherent national narrative. This systematic approach ultimately rested on a fundamental epistemological claim about the privileged status of visual evidence in historical reconstruction. Yet despite Jefferys' rhetoric of "*reconstruction*," his work fundamentally constructed both nation and past rather than recovered them.

The privileged epistemological status of images formed the foundation upon which Jefferys based his "*visual reconstruction of history*" — a meticulously curated collection of images assembled by an artist capable of critically examining historical sources, skilfully creating and reproducing them, and strategically displaying the most representative pictures of Canada's past in a compelling, sophisticated medium. In this process, Jefferys ultimately enacted a reconstruction distinct from his stated metaphysical intention of recreating the quasi-religious experience of pivotal events and landscapes from the nation's formative years. The reconstruction actually realized through Jefferys's pictures and volumes was that of Canadian historical consciousness itself — the popular understanding of Canadian identity and the visual culture constituting national belonging. This process aligns precisely with Anderson's concept of "imagined communities," as Jefferys's work provided dispersed populations across Canada's vast territory with shared historical images through which to envision themselves as members of a cohesive national collective. While Jefferys's significance in broader historical studies remains somewhat circumscribed and primarily confined to Canada, the project directed by Lorne Pierce and executed through C.W.'s draftsmanship exemplifies an enterprise that profoundly shaped historical consciousness throughout the nation.[197] His technical expertise in creating and reproducing pictures provided Jefferys with considerable leverage in the market for historical publications and in contemporary debates regarding historical illustration. Bolstered by the financial resources of a network of affluent figures deeply embedded within the state cultural apparatus, his

[197] *"Regularly used in history textbooks for much of the twentieth century, many of his illustrations helped shape how generations of Canadians perceived the past*". McLaughlin, Mark. The State as Alternative. In: The Canadian Alternative: Cartoonists, Comics, and Graphic Novels eds. Grace, Hoffman. University Press of Mississippi, 2017. P. 29

methodical efforts to "*critically examine*" visual sources and his strategic deployment of a combination of genres and patterns of representation consolidated through contemporary print culture converged to establish a dominant, ultimately triumphant historical narrative of Canadian national identity.

1.6. Conclusion for Chapter 1

This chapter has traced C.W. Jefferys' evolution from newspaper illustrator to Canada's foremost visual historian, demonstrating how his mastery of "drawing by observation" became a powerful technology for constructing national consciousness. Through his strategic positioning within Ontario's cultural networks and his methodical collection of pictorial records, Jefferys transformed the seemingly objective practice of historical illustration into a vehicle for settler Canadian Visual Nationalism. His approach to visual documentation combined artistic expertise with claims to scholarly rigour, enabling him to establish cultural authority that distinguished his work from mere commercial illustration. However, his visual history legitimized romantic historical narratives that celebrated European settlement as inevitable progress.

Jefferys' work reveals a problematic idealizing attitude toward Indigenous peoples that permeated early twentieth-century Canadian culture, drawing from traditions like anthropological studies and newspaper illustration. By reproducing stereotypes, these images consistently hierarchized Indigenous societies as inferior to European civilization. Jefferys contributed to shaping historical consciousness through the reproduction and popularization of his influential textbook illustrations of historical scenes, which carried and diffused settler Canadian values. His images consistently centred European settlement and the "taming" of Canada's wilderness, constructing colonization as an inevitable story of progress and achievement. Through a systematic visual practice, Jefferys drew scenes that transformed what were fundamentally violent processes of displacement and appropriation into celebrated moments of national heroism that would shape Canadian historical consciousness for decades to come.

Chapter 2 - A network for illustrating Canada

The process of consolidating the British North American dominion into an independent, autonomous nation required more than the political arrangement embodied in Confederation. The nation-building project that advanced in the last decades of the nineteenth century aimed at the systematic construction of historical consciousness and the standardization of nationalist images, fostering an inner recognition of Canada as a distinct British nation while celebrating a colonial past. In the period examined in this research, from the Confederation of 1867 to the publication of the *Picture Gallery* from 1942 to 1950, a network of artists, publishers, and cultural institutions created the pictorial foundations of Canadian nationalism, establishing visual narratives that continue to shape national identity today. This chapter examines how the convergence of print-capitalism, cultural patronage, and educational infrastructure produced a hegemonic settler Canadian nationalism that marginalized Indigenous peoples while celebrating European colonial appropriation as inevitable progress. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's analysis of the construction of the nation as an *imagined community*, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, and visual culture methodologies, this investigation reveals how seemingly objective historical documentation functioned as mythological construction serving settler Canadian nationalist interests.

The analysis of historical sources led to four interconnected processes. First, technological innovations in mechanical reproduction enabled mass circulation of standardized national images, supported by a growing professionalized artistic community that effectively created shared visual codes (Section 2.1). Second, cultural capitalists translated economic power into symbolic authority through strategic patronage of artists and institutions, establishing infrastructure for national identification through print media and the display of private collections (Section 2.2). Third, competing francophone and anglophone traditions negotiated different approaches to national representation, ultimately reinforcing a shared settler Canadian framework that constructed a complementary visual culture based on colonial values (Section 2.3). Finally, these processes achieved mass dissemination through educational materials. The combination of mass-circulated nationalist pictures, supported by cultural capitalists in association with the state, mobilizing homogenized historical narratives, reached a pinnacle in official textbook publishing, shaping historical consciousness across decades (Section 2.4). This coordination between technology, capital, and education created a powerful expression of Visual Nationalism in Canada — a systematic deployment of visual

culture that created the effect of a natural, harmonious and cohesive nation, thus serving hegemonic political interests.

2.1 The Print Revolution and Visual Nationalism

Fig. 2.1 - Cornelius Krieghoff, "*The Royal Mail Crossing the St. Lawrence"*, 1860. Oil on canvas, 43.2 x 61 cm. Library and Archives Canada.

Fig. 2.2 - Canadian Illustrated News, featuring the print: *Canoe with Mails and Passengers Crossing the St. Lawrence at Quebec, in Winter.* vol.I, no. 15., Feb. 12, 1870 p. 232. Photoengraved reproduction (Leggotype process)

A dramatic winter scene depicting eleven travellers crossing the St. Lawrence River in a Royal Mail canoe appeared in a December 1870 edition of the Canadian Illustrated News, demonstrating how mechanical reproduction transformed individual artworks into standardized nationalist images. The print, reproduced in black and white through the pioneering Canadian halftone process, enabled the translation of Cornelius Krieghoff's original oil painting into a form suitable for mass circulation across the expanding Canadian reading public [Figures 2.1 and 2.2]. This technological transformation exemplifies Benedict Anderson's concept of print-capitalism, though extended to encompass visual standardisation. Just as Anderson demonstrated how mechanical reproduction enabled the standardisation of vernacular languages through mass-circulated books and newspapers[198], the halftone reproduction process standardized visual codes of Canadian identity, making identical nationalist pictures simultaneously accessible to diverse reading publics regardless of linguistic or regional differences.[199] This visual dimension of print-capitalism created shared pictorial vocabularies essential for fostering national consciousness across Canada's heterogeneous population. The scene embodies the Canadian concept of "northernness" — a profound national mythology that frames Canadian identity through its relationship with a harsh, unforgiving northern landscape. The men are depicted in an ordinary but fundamental activity for the developing nation, exalted in their efforts to overcome severe climatic conditions. Dwarfed by massive ice formations, the canoe and human figures are simultaneously diminished and celebrated for their resilience, while the colonial heritage receives visual acknowledgment with the British flag.

Krieghoff's original compositional narrative employed vibrant hues and warm colours of the men in the canoe contrasting with the cold whites and blues of surrounding ice formations, contributing significantly to the visual mythology of frontier life in Canada and the settler image of bravery and resilience. However, in this mass-produced reproduction, the vivid palette was translated into standardized halftones, with no attribution to the original painter — a transformation that reveals how print-capitalism prioritized circulation over artistic authorship. The composition suggests Indigenous influence, as the figures' ethnic

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[198] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 37-46.

[199] Gerald Friesen analysed the development of print-capitalism in Canada as the third stage in the evolution of nationalism through communication systems, following the 'oral-traditional' and 'textual-settler' stages that provided the foundation for print-capitalism. He identifies a fourth stage, 'screen-capitalism', as a contemporary development that emerged from the print-capitalist system which dominated Canadian nationalism from Confederation through World War II. See: Gerald Friesen, *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

identity remains ambiguous and the canoe design references autochthonous maritime technology, yet this acknowledgment operates within a colonial framework that appropriates Indigenous knowledge while celebrating settler achievement. Four pages later in the publication, the voyage is described in meticulous detail, emphasizing the skill and bravery of the Canadian crew in manoeuvring their fragile canoe through dangerous conditions.

The coordination between standardized visual practices and narrative demonstrates how print-capitalism enabled Canadian cultural elites to construct national identity through visual culture. *The Canadian Illustrated News* exemplifies this enterprise: networks of writers, artists, and publishers circulating shared visual conventions to foster national consciousness across diverse populations. This cultural project was dominated by Protestant, British-descended intellectuals who shaped key cultural institutions from Confederation onward,[200] but accommodated other Euro-Canadian perspectives. Ontario served as the epicentre of this anglophone cultural nationalist ideology, establishing the primary production centres for illustrated periodicals, textbooks, and cultural institutions that would disseminate standardized national images. However, since the 1860s, Ottawa rose to prominence as the dominion's capital, also creating material conditions to become a visual nation-building centre, strengthening the unifying process.[201]

This Ontarian hegemonic nationalism secured its dominance over Canadian historical narrative by leveraging established political control and economic advantages, although negotiating persistent tensions with Franco-Catholic Quebec.[202] Through systematic influence over media outlets, educational institutions, and cultural infrastructure, anglophone nationalism enforced assimilation of French-speaking communities and immigrant populations while marginalising Indigenous societies. This institutional apparatus created a historical consciousness that constructed Canada's development as a coherent narrative of Christian civilisation and capitalist advancement. The coordination of these cultural forces found its most powerful expression in the standardized circulation of nationalist images, a project that required both technological innovation and strategic cultural leadership. This dynamic was summarized by the printer and publisher George-Édouard Desbarats in 1888:

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[200] The promotional dimension of Canadian nationalism extended beyond economic interests to encompass what Melissa Aronczyk terms the systematic "making of Canadian nationalism" through material and technological discourse. See Melissa Aronczyk, "Raw Materials: Natural Resources, Technological Discourse, and the Making of Canadian Nationalism," in Geneviève Zubrzycki, ed., *National Matters: Materiality, Culture, and Nationalism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

[201] Jim Burant. *Ottawa Art & Artists*. Art Canada Institute. Digital Book. 2023. Pg. 20-22

[202] The complex negotiations between anglophone and francophone nationalist traditions will be examined in detail through the comparative analysis of C.W. Jefferys and Henri Julien in Section 2.3.

> [...] we intend to illustrate the Dominion of Canada, its scenery, its industries, its cities, its attractions and resources, its great public works, its prominent men. […] we are for building up a homogenous, united, patriotic nation, and for ignoring all prejudices of race and sex; marching onward, shoulder to shoulder to the goal of prosperity that looms ahead.[203]

Desbarats was a leading figure in the first generation of image producers after the Confederation, an active agent in multiple endeavours to build a Canadian visual culture. Born in Quebec in 1838, Desbarats established several printing firms and illustrated periodicals in the last decades of the nineteenth century, contributing to both anglophone and francophone audiences. Besides acting as the first official printer in Canada, Desbarats would be responsible for the Canadian Illustrated News and L'Opinion publique, magazines that shared pictures although directed at different linguistic audiences. From 1869 to 1883, they publicised about 15,000 pictures of people, places, and events in Canadian and international news[204], championing a groundbreaking technology developed by William Leggo with contributions from Desbarats. Halftone photographic printing was introduced by them in their printing enterprises, decades before being popularised in the US or Europe, comprising a techno-cultural advance that not only populated the Canadian visual landscape with photographic images, but forecast a distinct role for these kinds of images in illustrated print media, far from the often romantic wood-engravings employed in the previous decades.[205]

2.1.1. Printing as an industry

The transformation of graphic arts from elite cultural production to popular visual culture reveals the fundamental contradictions underlying Canada's Visual Nationalism. Angela E. Davis's comprehensive study Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s (1995) demonstrates how the emergence of commercial graphic arts — vital for advertising, publishing, and commercial branding — fundamentally blurred distinctions between "fine" art and "commercial" art by the century's end. This transformation created a revealing paradox: creative artists worked under

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[203] The Dominion Illustrated, Toronto, 7 July 1888, p. 2.
[204] Claude Galarneau, "Desbarats, George-Édouard (baptized George-Édouard-Amable) (George Edward)," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 12, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed March 24, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbarats_george_edouard_12E.html.
[205] Kate Addleman-Frankel. "At the Cutting Edge of Halftone Printing: William Augustus Leggo and George Edward Desbarats". *Scientia Canadensis: Canadian Journal of the History of Science, Technology and Medicine* 44, nº 1 (2022): 19. https://doi.org/10.7202/1098138ar.

labour-oriented industrial standards while simultaneously contributing to Canadian popular culture and national identity formation, extending Visual Nationalism beyond elite circles into mass consumption. Davis's analysis of pioneers like Leggo and Desbarats thus illuminates how the industrialisation of image production became integral to disseminating nationalist pictures.

> [...] industrial mechanization improved the production methods of print shops, while retailers, wholesalers, book publishers, newspaper owners, and magazine owners became aware of the value of visual advertising. New technology led to the use of new illustrative processes such as photoengraving and photolithography, and at the same time Canada's illustrated press acknowledged its debt to Bewick's white-line engraving. By the turn of the century, the graphic arts industry was well on its way to being an important part of Canadian industrial development.[206]

The industrial mechanization of printing fundamentally transformed the relationship between artistic creation and national identity formation, subordinating artistic autonomy to commercial and ideological imperatives. The graphic arts industry's enhanced capacity to disseminate visual information about Canadian landscapes, peoples, and customs, created new possibilities for mass cultural participation, transforming ordinary Canadians and immigrants into receptive consumers of nationalist visual discourse. Projects like the *Canadian Illustrated News* (1869-1883), the *Toronto Art Students' League* calendars (1893-1904) and *Picturesque Canada* (1882-84) demonstrate how this visual economy operated, likely contributing to shaping notions of a distinctly national artistic identity well before the Group of Seven achieved such recognition.[207] The pictorial dimension of print-capitalism illuminates this transformation: mechanical reproduction enabled simultaneous consumption of standardized nationalist images across diverse populations, fostering shared visual conventions essential for national consciousness.

Despite Canadian elites' persistent definition of culture through "refined" forms — fine art, literature, and orchestral music[208] — the graphic arts industry operated as the most effective technology for nationalist standardisation. By the early twentieth century, leading cultural figures recognised printed pictures as powerful vehicles for disseminating nationalist

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[206] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P. 54
[207] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P.142
[208] Ryan Edwardson. Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood. University of Toronto Press, 2008. Pg. 30

ideas, transforming what elites dismissed as "commercial art" into sophisticated iconological strategies serving hegemonic political interests.

Maclean's magazine's 1927 Confederation Jubilee cover exemplifies the maturation of this systematic Visual Nationalism, deploying fully codified symbols that had evolved over six decades of institutional development [Figure 2.3]. Charles Comfort's commemorative picture "Spirit of Canada" presents the archetypal pioneer figure: armed, masculine, and pastoral, a settler colonial mythology central to settler Canadian identity. The rifle-bearing frontiersman synthesises multiple nationalist narratives through its deployment of established visual conventions: the tough, confident masculine ideal establishes temporal continuity between pioneering ancestors and the generation who fought alongside Imperial troops in the Great War, while the pastoral setting naturalises the mythology of wilderness conquest as foundational to Canadian identity from Confederation onwards.

Figure 2.3 - Cover of Maclean's Magazine, July 1, 1927, featuring the illustration *"The Spirit of Canada"*, by Charles Comfort. Digital reproduction in Public Domain.

This visual discourse embodies distinctly British Canadian sentiment, celebrating an anglophone-led political project that inherently omitted French Canadian participation in national leadership. The artist, Charles Comfort — a Scottish-born painter who joined the

Arts and Letters Club in 1919 alongside Jefferys and Group of Seven members[209] — exemplified the broader institutional network that adopted landscape painting as distinctly Canadian symbolism, demonstrating how established cultural circles reinforced hegemonic narratives that positioned alternative national visions as peripheral to authentic Canadian identity.

2.1.2. Coordinating Visual Nationalism

As a modern Western nation-state at the end of the nineteenth century, Canada's dominant elite conceived the country as the culmination of a material and cultural progressive history. This ruling class clung to patriarchy, capitalist progress, Christian supremacy, and imperialist cultural superiority. Committed to these foundational principles, they weaponized history to glorify a fabricated past.[210] The hegemonic control of historical consciousness found powerful expression in the pictorial forms circulating across diverse print media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consisting of a broader nation-building project that transcended individual artistic contributions, it consolidated what I term *Visual Nationalism* — the systematic construction and circulation of national identity through visual media, operating via the convergence of mechanical reproduction technologies, institutional networks, and ideological frameworks that naturalise particular visions of national belonging while marginalising alternative perspectives.

To construct an idea of *Canadianness*, this ideological framework disseminated recurring visual elements such as landscape and nature, idealised gender archetypes, pioneer mythology, and heroic narratives of historical events legitimising colonial expansion. These elements served Visual Nationalism, which was shaped and driven by the technological revolution and the institutional apparatus for image production consolidated at the century's end. Therefore, private enterprises and state institutions collaborated systematically to disseminate pictorial testimony of Canadian cultural nationalism among a rapidly expanding population. Lithography, photography, and photoengraving converged to modernise Canadian print media,[211] creating the material foundations for constructing collective historical consciousness and national sentiment. In Jim Burant's words:

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[209] National Gallery of Canada Website.*Charles F. Comfort*. Retrieved in March 2025 from page archived on Jun 12, 2011. https://wayback.archive-it.org/all/20110612123536/http://www.gallery.ca/en/see/collections/artist.php?iartistid=1093

[210] Marylin J. McKay. National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s - 1930s. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002. Pg. 5.

[211] Jim Burant. *The Visual World in the Victorian Age*. Archivaria 19, 1984. P.121

> Canadians in the nineteenth century learned to communicate through pictures of every kind. They emerged from a world which had very few accurate visual self-images and entered one in which for the first time most people, at little or no cost, could see life illustrated in books, newspapers, magazines, photographs, and films. Above all, Canadian cultural nationalists such as George Desbarats and the members of the Royal Canadian Academy believed that visual imagery had a unique ability to reach and influence everyone, regardless of social, cultural, or linguistic differences, for the good of the nation and the quality of social and moral life.[212]

The scholarly consensus establishes Canadian nationalism as fundamentally shaped by intersecting dynamics that provide the analytical framework for this study. First, the imperial-continental tension identified by Carl Berger's seminal *The Sense of Power* (1970) positioned Canadian identity through simultaneous connection to the British Empire and opposition to American influence, creating the foundational binary that would structure Canadian cultural discourse. Subsequent scholarship has demonstrated how this seemingly coherent nationalist project systematically silenced competing narratives — Québécois nationalism, Indigenous perspectives, and regional identities — revealing the colonial origins and segregationist character of what proponents claimed as universal Canadian identity.[213]

Second, the anti-American paradox of Visual Nationalism emerges through Jaleen Grove's analysis of Canadian print culture, revealing how conservative nationalist anti-American rhetoric coexisted with systematic appropriation of American visual technologies and conventions.[214] Grove's examination of C.W. Jefferys demonstrates this contradiction: while defending Imperial ties and opposing American cultural influence, Canadian artists like Jefferys, Charles Comfort, and Arthur William Brown travelled to New York, absorbing technical skills and design trends that fundamentally shaped Canadian visual culture. The importation of American iconographical motifs — particularly the wilderness adventurer and idealised feminine representations flooded Canada through the southern

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[212] Jim Burant. *The Visual World in the Victorian Age*. Archivaria 19, 1984. P.121

[213] Notable contributions: Jaleen Grove. “Bending Before the Storm: Continentalism in the Visual Culture of Canadian Magazines”. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 34, nº 5 (October 20, 2019): 783–806. Damien-Claude Belanger. *Pride and Prejudice: Canadian intellectuals confront the United States*, 1891-1945. McGill University, Montreal, 2005. Also: Buckner, Philip; Francis, R. Douglas. Eds.: *Canada and the British World: culture, migration and identity. Vancouver*, UCB Press, 2006.

[214] Jaleen Grove. “Bending Before the Storm: Continentalism in the Visual Culture of Canadian Magazines”. *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 34, nº 5 (October 20, 2019): 783–806.

border — illustrates how Canadian Visual Nationalism developed through selective cultural borrowing while maintaining rhetorical independence.

Third, the institutional coordination of hegemonic nationalism operated through the systematic deployment of historiography, visual arts, and educational infrastructure to establish a British, Protestant, English-speaking, conservative national identity.[215] This coordinated enterprise, mobilising multiple actors and institutions since Confederation, created the material and cultural foundations for disseminating nationalist historical consciousness across diverse populations. However, this hegemonic project faced persistent plural resistance from Québécois nationalism, Métis communities, diverse Indigenous peoples, American cultural penetration, and internal anglophone dissent regarding imperial bonds.[216] These challenges did not merely oppose the dominant nationalism but created the contested terrain upon which visual culture operated, forcing constant negotiation and adaptation of nationalist images to maintain hegemonic authority while accommodating alternative visions.

2.1.3. Nationalist Art Production Centres

Building upon this evolving appreciation for graphic arts, art schools and professional associations emerged as nationalist production centres, systematically training artists to disseminate hegemonic settler Canadian discourse through popular visual culture, while serving market expectations. The calendars of the *Toronto Art Students' League* exemplified how these institutions bridged elite cultural aspirations and commercial demands, creating what Davis identified as a hybrid realm where gallery art and commercial production converged to establish nationalist images.[217] This institutional apparatus operated as more than mere educational infrastructure — it functioned as a coordinated network for producing artists capable of translating nationalist ideology into marketable pictorial forms that could simultaneously satisfy commercial viability and hegemonic cultural objectives.

The League's participants, predominantly drawn from printing firms, later ascended to leadership positions within major cultural institutions including *The National Gallery of Canada* and the *Royal Ontario Museum*, demonstrating how these training grounds created

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[215] Philip Buckner; R. Douglas Francis. Eds. Introduction. In: Canada and the British World: culture, migration and identity. Vancouver, UCB Press, 2006.
[216] Carl Berger. The Sense of Power: Studies in the ideas of Canadian imperialism. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013
[217] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P.3-13

the cultural elite who would institutionalise Canadian Visual Nationalism for decades. Their career trajectories reveal the systematic nature of this production: figures like C.W. Jefferys and J.D. Kelly embraced the democratic potential of mechanical reproduction, dedicating themselves to print media that could circulate Canadian images among mass audiences, whilst others, including A.Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer, pursued the cultural prestige of oil painting. Both paths served the broader nationalist project — the former through widespread circulation of standardized nationalist pictures, the latter through the cultural authority that "high art" commanded. The Group of Seven's subsequent elevation as emblematic of Canadian fine arts demonstrates how market forces and institutional patronage collaborated to canonise particular artistic visions as authentically national, whilst their origins in commercial design revealed the constructed nature of this cultural distinction.

Beyond the establishment of a market for Visual Nationalism, the formation of a Graphic arts industry in Canada owes much to the introduction of commercial art, lithography, engraving, lettering and illustration classes to the curricula of the fine-art colleges founded in Halifax, Québec, Montréal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and other larger centres after Confederation. Previously, the workforce employed in that industry was mostly composed of German and British immigrants that worked for publishers and advertising firms.[218] As demand grew and domestic printing firms were founded by those skilled immigrant workers — Brigden's, Toronto Lithographing Co., Barclay and Canadian Photo-Engraving Co. are notable examples — formal education became necessary to supplement personnel, developing a national workforce that could experiment with styles and procedures. Technical advances would coalesce with the creation of institutions representing artists, printers, engravers and designers, contributing to the formation of a conscious and proficient professional class.[219]

Furthermore, in the 1870s the Canadian printmaking métier developed a new attitude, influenced by immigrant artists that treated the print, "*not as a method of reproducing images created in other mediums or solely as an illustration, but as a work of art unto itself, of which the artist was not only the designer but also the maker of the plate, the printer and the publisher*."[220] As this artistic approach spread and was consolidated among a generation of talented printmakers, that paradox between fine-art and commercial printing, outlined by Angela E. Davis, led to a conscious desire among Canadian artists to establish institutional

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[218] Robert Stacey. "Graphic Art and Design". The Canadian Encyclopedia, 08 July 2015, Historica Canada.
[219] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P. 76-77
[220] Jim Burant. "Printmaking." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Article published April 03, 2008; Last Edited June 08, 2015.

frameworks that would legitimise their work. The formation of the *Association of Canadian Etchers* in 1885 and the *Toronto Art Students' League* in the following year represented deliberate efforts to acquire artistic authority through professional organisation, creating institutional platforms that could simultaneously elevate the status of graphic arts and systematically promote distinctly Canadian visual narratives.

These associations functioned as cultural institutions that granted artistic credibility to commercial illustrators and channelled their enhanced authority towards nationalist image production. By establishing formal networks of artistic expertise, these organisations transformed commercial printmakers into recognised cultural specialists whose work could command both market value and institutional respect, thereby enabling artists to present ideologically charged representations of Canadian history under the banner of professional competence. The *Toronto Art Students League* epitomised this process, creating a stimulating atmosphere that bridged generations between practitioners steeped in British and German traditions and emerging artists determined to forge a distinctly Canadian aesthetic. The League gathered artists, designers, and printers from Grip Ltd. and the Toronto Engraving Co. — many of whom maintained ties to the *Ontario College of Ar*t as both instructors and students[221] — establishing a coordinated network that could systematically produce and disseminate nationalist visual narratives through claims to both artistic authority and cultural authenticity.

The league was dedicated to promoting Canadian illustration and Canadian nationalism alike, mainly through the annual souvenir calendars it published between 1893 and 1904. It became an epicentre for the development of prominent artists and illustrators, including C.W. Jefferys, J.E.H. MacDonald, F.H. Brigden, and others who would later achieve national recognition. These figures advanced the league's nationalist mission through paintings, illustrations, and teaching activities, collectively establishing standardized approaches to representing Canadian identity that would define the visual vocabulary of the nation for decades. The league's influence radiated beyond its formal existence, substantially shaping the aesthetic and ideological foundations of successor institutions such as the Canadian Society of Graphic Arts and the Arts and Letters Club, key organizations in Canada's early twentieth century cultural landscape[222]. This continuity demonstrates not merely an institutional evolution but a consolidation of Canadian graphic arts as a systematic

[221] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P.87
[222] Robert Stacey. "Art Illustration." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Article published January 30, 2011; Last Edited February 14, 2025.

nationalist enterprise — one that successfully merged technical excellence with patriotic purpose and established standardized visual traditions that would influence the next generations of Canadian artists.

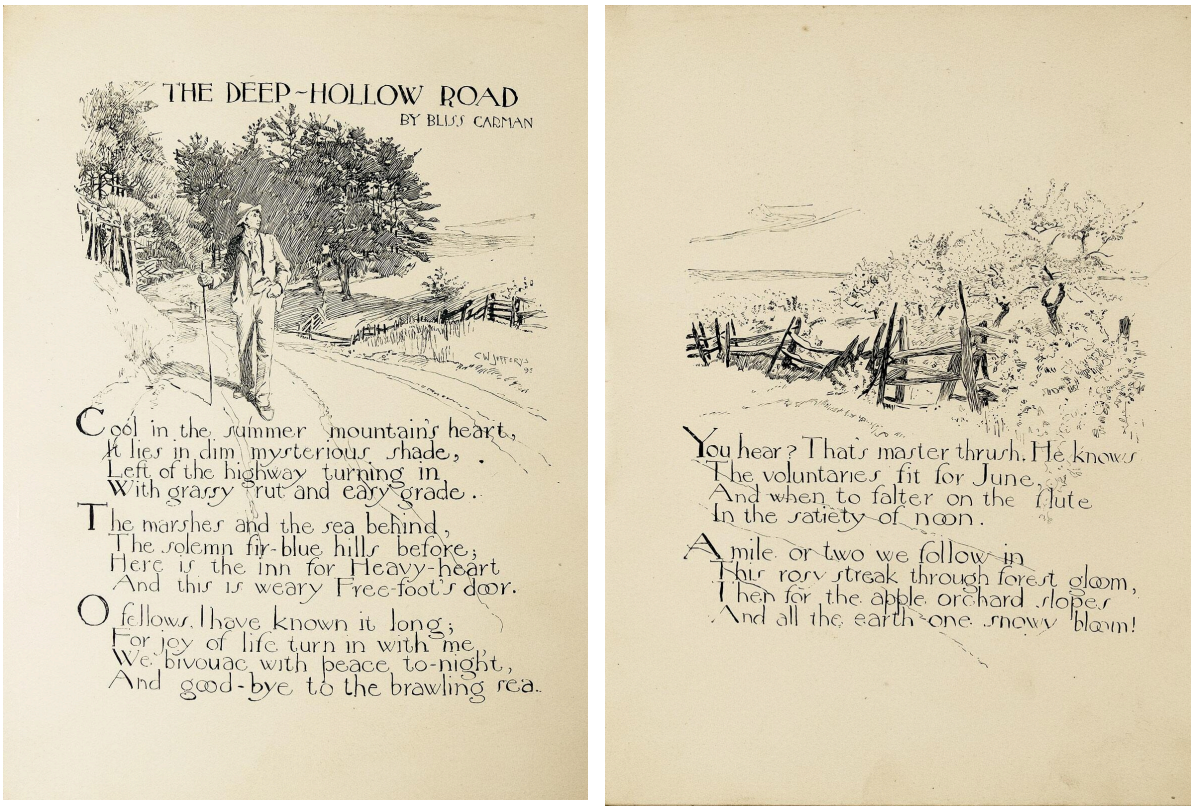

Fig. 2.4 - *The Toronto Art Students' League Calendar*, 1896. *The Deep-Hollow Road*, poem by Bliss Carman, illustrated by C.W. Jefferys. Pg. 4-5. Courtesy of: Library and Archives Canada.

The League's annual calendars demonstrate systematic visual practices, shaping artistic expression to serve selected nationalist themes. The 1896 calendar's *"wanderings over Canadian roads*" theme [Figure 2.4] deployed consistent visual codes — pastoral scenes, idyllic landscapes and romantic natural settings. This pair of pages represents more than a physical journey, but also Canada's emerging national identity as a *deep-hollow road* — constructing Canada as unoccupied territory awaiting settler appropriation, echoing colonial imagination. The poem builds immersive images of natural landscapes, hinting at a Romantic philosophy of spiritual connection with nature, while rejecting urbanization and industry. Jefferys' illustration emphasizes a contemplative solitary man on a rural road, surrounded by trees and a serene landscape, with no signs of machines or hurry in sight. The calendar's iconography reinforces this construction of Canada as both an uncharted journey and an

unoccupied wilderness, a stunning empty landscape ready to be explored and claimed [Figure 2.5].

Figure 2.5 - *The Toronto Art Students' League Calendar*, 1896. *A Canadian Monarch*, illustrated by J.D. Kelly. Pg. 3. Courtesy of: Library and Archives Canada.

Figure 2.6 - *The Toronto Art Students' League Calendar*, 1902. *The Death of the Moose*, illustrated by C.W. Jefferys. Pg. 3. Courtesy of: Library and Archives Canada.

Influenced by *Art Nouveau* and late Victorian *Arts & Crafts* styles, the calendars established standardized cultural icons that would serve Canadian nationalism, fostering identification whilst being largely reproduced in subsequent decades. The 1896 edition employed a consistent thematic approach through black-and-white printing aesthetics, predominantly featuring landscapes and rustic roads populated by children, carts, and farm animals. A particularly revealing image of this colonial imagination — wherein wilderness awaited masculine domination — appears in "*A Canadian Monarch*" (1896), a reference to the majesty and grandeur of a moose roaming through winter forests [Figure 2.5]. Six years later, the same animal appeared in a tragic hunting scene, agonising after being shot by two hunters, as a necessary side effect of this occupation process [Figure 2.6].

Examining the calendars' pictures reveals the emergence of standardized Canadian symbols: voyageurs, settlers, canoes, snowshoes, hockey games, hunting scenes, farming and pastoral landscapes, and wilderness vistas.[223] These recurrent themes across eleven years of publication constituted a distinctive Canadian visual culture. All of them incorporated Canadian floral ornaments and beautifully designed neo-Gothic typography for textual elements. These stylistic choices deliberately evoke European artistic traditions, while establishing shared visual conventions for representing Canada, positioning the publication within the cultural networks of the Arts and Letters Club and the emerging Group of Seven. The final result is a powerful narrative of a refined civilisation emerging from wilderness, grounded in European aesthetic authority. This iconological strategy created an opposition to U.S. American industrial brashness, reinforcing Canadian connection to landscape while transforming geographical space into cultural meaning — a visual approach that paradoxically asserted cultural independence through imperial aesthetic languages.

[223] Images of cities or industrial development are mostly present in the 1900 and 1903 editions.

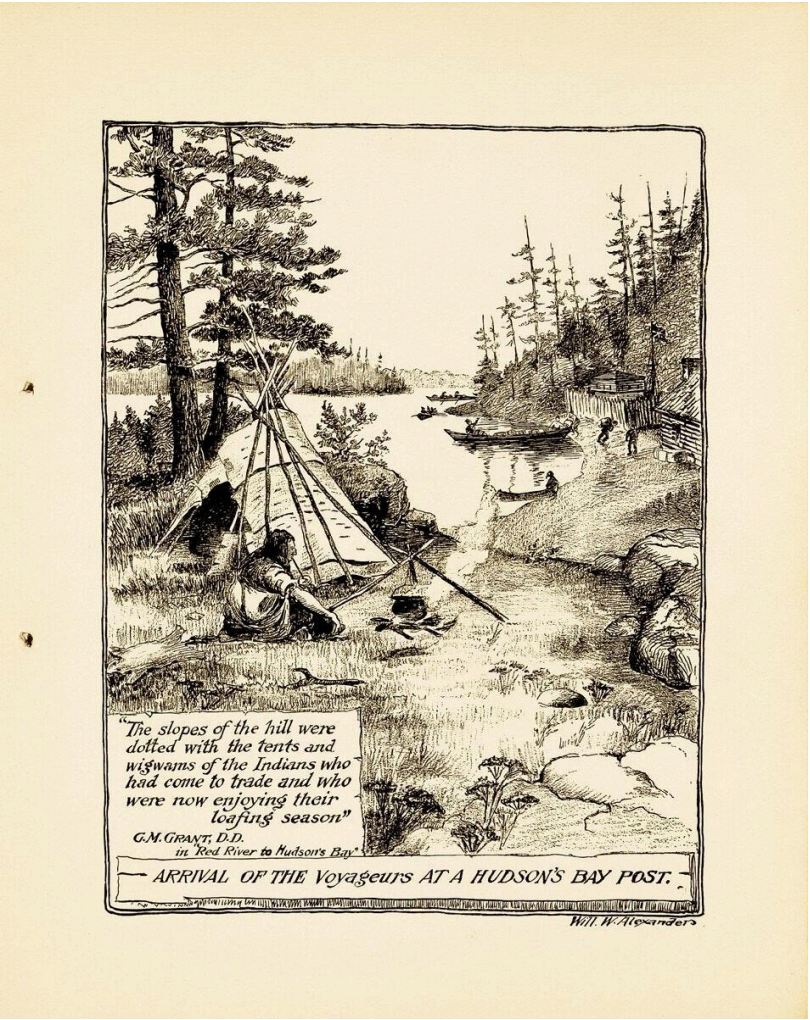

Figure 2.7 - *The Toronto Art Students' League Calendar*, 1898. *Arrival of the Voyageurs at a Hudson's Bay Post*, illustrated by W.W. Alexander. Pg. 11. Courtesy of: Library and Archives Canada.

The 1898 calendar embodied the theme of "everyday life of the past in Canada", a strategic choice for promoting Visual Nationalism. Among the collection of pastoral and domestic scenes, this romanticized depiction of a historical motif stands out as a visual construction rather than documentary illustration [Figure 2.7]. It purports to represent a specific moment in colonial history: *voyageurs* arriving at a Hudson's Bay post, figures who would become icons of Canada's Visual Nationalism, one that personifies the spirit of exploration, strength and entrepreneurship attributed to settlers. This consistent deployment resonates with its inclusion in *Picturesque Canada* (1882) by George M. Grant, an early effort to construct common visual conventions between French and Anglo-Canadians. However, the *voyageurs* are not the focus of the pictures, depicted in loose contours and distant canoes disembarking fur bundles. The central figure embodies another construct of Canadian national

visual culture: the "Indian," depicted with pipe in hand, staring at a pan by the fire beside his teepee.

This pictorial discourse presents a nostalgic, sanitised view of colonial collaboration, positioning an idealised Indigenous individual as a passive recipient of commercial interactions with enterprising European settlers. The accompanying text reinforces this narrative with the term “loafing season”, implying laziness and unproductivity for Indigenous life, while disregarding complex seasonal rhythms in their societies. This peaceful visual narrative of Canadian settlement simultaneously celebrates the Hudson's Bay Company's economic infrastructure while marginalising Indigenous cultures as picturesque components of a colonial commercial narrative.

2.2. Patrons and Institutions

The previous section has demonstrated how the print revolution enabled the systematic construction of Canadian visual culture between the 1870s and 1920s. This analysis established the convergence between post-Confederation nationalist sentiment and the emergence of mass visual culture dedicated to circulating standardized images of Canadian identity. The technological innovations in Canadian print media — particularly halftone reproduction and mass circulation periodicals — created the material foundations for disseminating settler Canadian nationalism grounded in colonial frameworks that marginalised alternative visions of Canadianness. This enterprise benefited from Canada’s strategic positioning between Britain and the United States, enabling Canadian cultural producers to combine imperial aesthetic traditions with dynamic American market practices. The result was a distinctive generation of predominantly British-descended artists who employed their academic training and printmaking expertise to create pictorial conventions that would define Canadian Visual Nationalism for decades.

However, the technological capacity for mass reproduction both required and enabled substantial financial investment and institutional coordination — a dynamic that allowed cultural capitalists and state institutions to transform the expanding nation into an opportunity for mutual legitimization, using pictorial discourse to naturalize their authority while constructing hegemonic visions of Canadian identity.

C.W. Jefferys epitomized this generation of artists and emerged as their most influential leader in visualizing Canadian history. While recognized as a skilled draftsman and prominent teacher, Jefferys' most significant contribution lay in transforming historical

illustration into a vehicle for nationalist authority. This powerful pathway of Visual Nationalism, which Jefferys had pioneered since the Art Students League calendars, became his crucial entrée into the networks of institutional and political power that shaped early twentieth-century Canada. Inspired by Oxford's conceptualization of history as a vehicle for nation, duty, and honour, Anglo-Canadian intellectuals recognized that promoting historical consciousness could foster national sentiment[224] while legitimizing their cultural authority — a vision that perfectly aligned with Jefferys' expertise in pictorial testimony. The Canadian ruling elite understood that making the past visible through systematic circulation of historical pictures would simultaneously serve their need for cultural legitimacy and their desire to shape popular understanding of national identity. Leveraging their financial resources, they united efforts to transform Canada's past into accessible cultural capital — commissioning bound volumes, establishing curated galleries, and patronizing artists who could render complex historical narratives into compelling visual narratives for mass consumption.

2.2.1. Creating National Archives

Fig. 2.8 - "*A View of Grey Room in the Public Archives Building, Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, ca. 1926-30*." National Archives of Canada, Public Works Collection (Acc. No. 1979-140), PA-137716. Reproduced in: Burant, Jim. "*Doughty's Dream: A Visual Reminiscence of the Public Archives.*" Archivaria 48 (February 1999): 123.

[224] Donald A. Wright. *The Professionalization of History in English Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 2005. p.29

Figure 2.8 demonstrates how institutional display strategies transformed disparate historical objects into coherent nationalist narratives. This photograph depicts the Grey Room in the Public Archives Building in Ottawa, Ontario, circa 1926-30. The space reveals how Arthur Doughty (1860-1936), Dominion Archivist from 1904, systematically presented Canada's historical collection to the public — not as a sterile repository of documents, but as an accessible, museum-like exhibition space where Canadian history was made visible and tangible. Constructing a pictorial discourse of national-imperial association, the room was arranged like a gallery, with glass cases in a symmetrical layout conveying a sense of order. Another example of current visual practices, it integrates diverse material culture — documents, maps, prints, and artifacts — under a unifying imperial framework crowned by British flags, demonstrating how institutional authority legitimized selective historical narratives through claims to comprehensive documentation.

The room creates a deliberate visual narrative, directing viewers toward the Duberger model of Québec (1806-1808) to establish military-cartographic authority. This spatial organization transforms archival materials from historical documents into symbols of national development. The multidisciplinary presentation converts the Archives from scholarly repository into an active agent of nation-building through what Doughty termed making history "visible and tangible." This curatorial strategy operates through systematic visual presentation that removes materials from their original historical contexts and repositions them within nationalist frameworks. The display suggests objective documentation while constructing a particular vision of Canadian identity as natural inheritance rather than a contingent political outcome. The Archives' scholarly reputation lent credibility to this identity formation process, creating an iconographic program presented as national patrimony. What appeared as neutral heritage preservation actually demonstrated how cultural institutions deployed visual authority to legitimize state power and naturalize particular visions of Canadian identity.

This environment of collecting, categorizing, and displaying Canadian historical records created a powerful network linking wealthy patrons, artists, and state institutions. These cultural networks operated through Pierre Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital — where successful tycoons converted economic power into symbolic authority by acquiring materials emblematic of Canada's past and establishing national archival institutions. Simultaneously, they systematized the circulation of pictorial testimony, disseminating visual records to construct collective historical consciousness. Arthur Doughty exemplified this convergence of state authority and cultural capital. Oxford-educated and strategically

positioned as Dominion Archivist for 31 years, Doughty transformed the National Archives from a bureaucratic repository into a central institution for Canadian historical consciousness. Through systematic acquisitions, publications, and institutional expansion, he established the Archives as essential infrastructure for the Anglophone national project,[225] demonstrating how individual agents operating within state structures could leverage cultural capital to shape national identity formation.

A significant effort at circulating official visual culture was the *Catalogue of Pictures Including Paintings, Drawings and Prints in the Public Archives of Canada* (1925). Published in collaboration with James Kenney (1884-1946)[226], it was distributed among institutions dedicated to historical studies in Canada. Beyond providing a comprehensive inventory of the Archives' collection, the catalogue strategically selected fifteen pictures for reproduction, presenting them individually on pages with gallery-style framing and titles. This curatorial selection systematically established authoritative Canadian image-makers who could provide the nation's emerging visual culture with legitimate pictorial forms. Many of these artists would subsequently serve other national institutions and the broader settler Canadian project. During Canada's push toward autonomy following the Great War, promoting these artists' work represented a deliberate effort to establish a distinctly Canadian pictorial discourse while maintaining imperial aesthetic frameworks.

C.W. Jefferys contributed with prints of two historical paintings, a pair that depict the *Immigration of the Filles du Roi to New France*, a symbolic event that conforms to a maternal, primeval narrative of the birth of French Canada's population [Figures 2.9 and 2.10]. By including Jefferys' work alongside established figures such as Sir George Back (1796-1878) and Richard Brompton (1734-1783), the archivists elevated him within Canada's authoritative historical representation. This selection constructed a condensed visual history spanning from early colonization to the present, demonstrating the Archives' systematic acquisition of materials that claimed to represent complete Canadian development.

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[225] Jim Burant. 1999. "Doughty's Dream: A Visual Reminiscence of the Public Archives". Archivaria 48 (February), 117-30.

[226] Kenney studied history with George Wrong at the University of Toronto, later establishing a career in the Public Archives of Canada. He would be the founder of the *Canadian Catholic Historical Association* in 1933. See: Wright, Glenn T. "*James Francis Kenney, 1884-1946: Founder of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association*." Sessions d'étude - Société Canadienne d'histoire de l'Église Catholique 50, no. 1 (1983): 11.

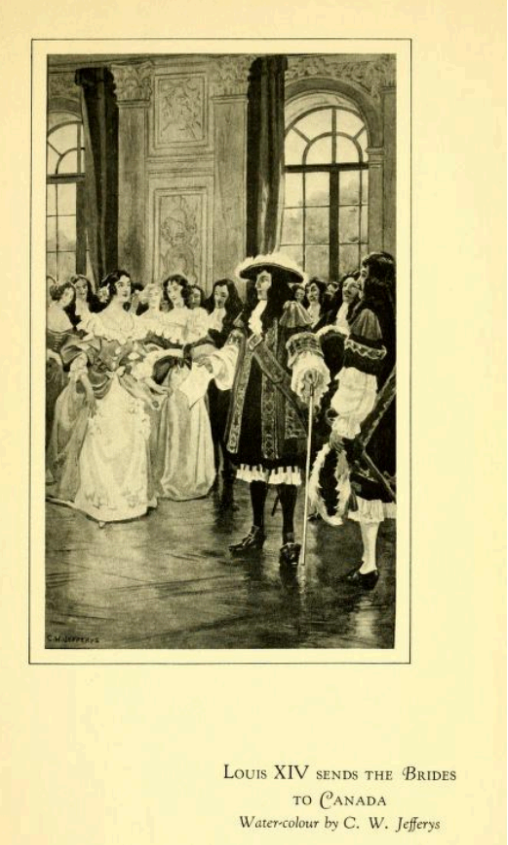

Fig. 2.9 - C.W. Jefferys. Louis XIV sends the Brides to Canada. Reproduced in: *Catalogue of Pictures Including Paintings, Drawings and Prints in the Public Archives of Canada* (1925).

Fig. 2.10 - C.W. Jefferys. Arrival of the Brides at Quebec. Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1990-568-1

Jeffery's original watercolour, reproduced in halftone in the catalogue, depicts the arrival of the *Filles du Roi* to New France (1663-1673), transforming a specific colonial policy into foundational mythology. Approximately 800 young women were sponsored by King Louis XIV to establish permanent settlement in the Quebec. This pictorial discourse presents them as mythical maternal ancestors of French Canada,[227] naturalizing their demographic function within a romanticized narrative of imperial benevolence. This transformation exemplifies Barthes' mythological process — converting historical contingency into essential national origins, while obscuring the calculated nature of colonial population strategies.

Their formal attire and dignified poses within a ceremonial reception convey the narrative of "bringing civilization" to the colonies. Surrounded by colonial officials and

[227] Tom Wien, and Suzanne Gousse. "Filles du Roi." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published December 06, 2011; Last Edited February 24, 2015.

clergy, the women embody French imperial strategy to strengthen territorial claims. The National Archives' selection of this painting elevates it beyond mere illustration to an official historical record. By featuring a French colonial scene by an Anglo-Canadian artist, the Archives attempted cultural reconciliation between competing Anglophone and Francophone visions of Canadian identity. The mechanical reproduction of these fifteen pictures through standardized gallery-style presentation — elegant typography and uniform framing — transformed Doughty's institutional authority into visual conventions for national consumption. The scene constructs a narrative connecting Canada's present to an idealized monarchical past through lush regal attire, demonstrating how archival selection standardized particular visions of Canadian heritage for mass circulation.

The creation of an official Canadian pictorial discourse was tied with the establishment of an official history in this cultural nationalistic enterprise, of which Arthur Doughty was a central figure. It was preceded by *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada* (1907), published in two volumes in collaboration with prominent historian Adam Shortt.[228] The duo repeated their partnership in the monumental *Canada and Its Provinces* (23 vols, 1913-17), a comprehensive national narrative following European models of monumental historiography designed to legitimize emerging nation-states. This collaboration produced foundational works that crystallized the project of constructing accessible historical consciousness for the new dominion.[229] By establishing authoritative historical discourse through systematic documentation, Doughty and Shortt created institutional frameworks that would shape Canadian historical understanding for decades, demonstrating how state-sponsored scholarship functioned to naturalize particular visions of national development as comprehensive and objective truth.

> We are so accustomed to Canada as we see it now, and as we move in it, that we are hardly conscious of the fact that what are to us to-day thriving cities and familiar scenes, formed, only a few years ago, part of a vast wilderness untrodden by the foot of the white man. It is here that illustrations associated with the beginnings and the advance of our civilization prove such valuable aids, since they permit one to obtain a

[228] Adam Shortt (1859-1931) was Professor of Politics and Economics at Queen's University (1891-1908), holding the Sir John A. Macdonald Chair from 1899. After founding and chairing the Canadian Civil Service Commission (1908-1917), he served as chairman of the Board of Publications at the Public Archives of Canada and published several influential works on Canadian history, establishing himself as a leading figure in early Canadian historical scholarship.
[229] Ian E. Wilson. "*Sir Arthur George Doughty*". The Canadian Encyclopedia, 16 April 2014, Historica Canada.

connected and systematized view of our development.[230]

Arthur Doughty's choice of words is revealing of this collective undertaking of constructing Canadian nationalism through standardized images and historical discourse. The theme of a *vast wilderness* that was recently transformed into civilization (coded here as "thriving cities") recurs consistently in the Canadian visual culture analysed in this research, bound with settler narratives of territorial destiny. The emphasis on *illustrations* as media for achieving a "connected and systematized view of development", attributes to pictorial forms high epistemological status for developing historical consciousness. This project of constructing Canadian visual conventions is evident in the network of agents analysed here. George M. Wrong (1860-1948), a distinguished historian who established the University of Toronto's History Department and the *Canadian Historical Review*, worked closely with Doughty in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission* (1907), sharing this commitment to making the past visible. In his 1895 inaugural lecture, Wrong stressed the importance of pictures, objects and architecture, for the study of history,[231] later publishing illustrated histories with C.W. Jefferys, further institutionalizing this approach to visual historical knowledge.

This shared commitment to making the past visible and accessible materialized first through written documentation: the *Historical Manuscripts Commission* advised government archival policy and undertook systematic document publication, alongside volumes on constitutional history — both enterprises uniting prominent Anglophone Canadian historians.[232] Material culture and pictorial records became Doughty's central focus through the Public Archives. The institution evolved into a historians' meeting ground during the 1920s as Doughty redefined the Archives' role in representing Canadian history. He secured state authorization and resources to acquire significant artworks considered fundamental to the national narrative, reaching over 25,000 works by 1925.[233] Doughty transformed the building's walls and display cases into repositories of public visual symbols, fulfilling his vision of uniting literature and art in historical discourse production.[234]

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[230] Arthur Doughty. Preface. In: James F. Kenney, *Catalogue of Pictures Including Paintings, Drawings and Prints in the Public Archives of Canada* (Ottawa, 1925).
[231] George M. Wrong. *Historical study in the university and the place of medieval history: an inaugural lecture*. Toronto; The Bryant Press, 1895. Pg 5.
[232] Donald A. Wright. *The Professionalization of History in English Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 2005. Pg.43-44
[233] Jim Burant. *"Doughty's Dream: A Visual Reminiscence of the Public Archives*". Archivaria 48 (February),1999, 117-30.
[234] Ian Wilson, *"Shortt and Doughty: the Cultural Role of the National Archives of Canada,1904–1935*," (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1973). Pg. 113-114

Another framework to understand the Public Archives' cultural role in shaping settler Canadian nationalism is the antiquarian tradition that evolved into archaeological practice. Arthur Doughty embodies the antiquarian ethos that Alain Schnapp identifies in figures like Peiresc and Spon, regarding material culture as historical evidence with epistemological status equal to texts. Doughty saw in these objects a repository of knowledge and valuable resources for national sentiment building, shaping the Archives as a "*cabinet*" for collective memory in the Canadian context. Furthermore, Doughty's network resembles the circle of prominent capitalists who, like the "*learned jurists of Paris*" in the seventeenth century, were involved in public cultural ventures such as the Public Archives, Champlain Society, the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto Historical Club. Many were collectors driven by what Schnapp identified as a curiosity about the past, gathering and displaying material culture not merely as signs of fortune but as a means of practicing philanthropy and, ostensibly, contributing to the political arsenal of nation-building that helped establish their legitimacy in Canadian society.[235]

This institutional apparatus demonstrates the systematic coordination required for constructing Canadian Visual Nationalism through diverse enterprises spanning university departments, public archives, and private collections. The convergence of scholarly authority, state resources, and cultural patronage created a comprehensive infrastructure for disseminating national images through both printed media and legitimized institutions displaying material culture.

Canadian Visual Nationalism operated through an institutional coordination, aligning cultural producers, state institutions, and wealthy patrons to systematically construct and circulate pictorial testimony serving hegemonic interests. This network transformed individual artistic contributions into standardized visual conventions that naturalized particular visions of Canadian identity. The success of this enterprise lay not in any single institution but in the coordinated deployment of cultural capital across multiple sites, creating a self-reinforcing system where scholarly authority, institutional prestige, and visual representation mutually legitimized unifying settler Canadian nationalist narratives for mass consumption.

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[235] Alain Schnapp. *The Birth of the Archaeological Vision: From Antiquaries to Archaeologists*. In: *The Discovery of the Past* (London: British Museum Press, 1994).

2.2.2. Strategic Cultural Patronage

Cultural capitalists possessing substantial economic resources operated as central agents in this nation-building enterprise, systematically institutionalising Canadian heritage while defining hegemonic national narratives and establishing cultural infrastructure for decades to come. Railway entrepreneurs like William Cornelius Van Horne and Edmund Osler, industrialists like Sigmund Samuel, and bankers like Byron Edmund Walker strategically converted their economic capital into symbolic authority through the formation of cultural institutions in the first decades of the twentieth century. Through systematic acquisition and curation, these cultural entrepreneurs contributed directly to the construction of Visual Nationalism as it circulated through printed materials, museum displays and exhibitions. The transformation of private collecting into public cultural patrimony through philanthropic donation demonstrates how individual cultural capital accumulated symbolic legitimacy for the emerging nation-state, while simultaneously naturalising the cultural authority of Canada's economic elite within the broader project of constructing collective historical consciousness.

Sir Byron Edmund Walker epitomised cultural patronage in early twentieth-century Canada, leveraging his position as general manager (1886) and president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce (1907-1924) to advance nationalist objectives. An imperialist opposing American economic influence, Walker expanded the bank's assets tenfold between 1886 and 1915,[236] sponsoring railway development, Canadian insurance companies, and industrial enterprises, besides acquiring hundreds of smaller institutions to counter U.S. influence. Walker understood his banking leadership through a Victorian capitalist ethos, emphasising nation-building duty rather than mere accumulation. Barbara R. Marshall asserts that Walker exemplified this symbiotic relationship: "*In many ways, Walker, the bank, and Canada, which began as a nation in 1867, grew up together*".[237]

The analysis of a plate reproducing three banknotes issued by the Eastern Townships Bank (1859-1861) demonstrates how financial institutions systematically converted economic capital into symbolic authority through nationalist images [Figure 2.11]. Included in *A history of the Canadian Bank of Commerce* under Walker's direction, the reproduction exemplifies efforts to integrate corporate development within Canada's foundational narrative. The

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[236] David Kimmel. *Sir Byron Edmund Walker*, Dictionary of Canadian Biography. https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/walker_byron_edmund_15E.html?print=1 Retrieved: 04/01/2025

[237] B. R. Marshall, "*Sir Edmund Walker, servant of Canada*" (MA thesis, Univ. of B.C., Vancouver, 1971) p.26

mechanical reproduction process transformed these commercial objects into vehicles for circulating nationalist pictorial discourse, while the original bills reveal the evolution of Canadian visual conventions across six decades. The banknotes deploy strategic visual conventions: British royal portraits reinforcing imperial authority, industrial and agricultural vignettes symbolising Canada's dual economic foundations, and an Indigenous figure functioning as decorative motif that naturalises Indigenous peoples within colonial capitalist narratives. The shirtless figure with feather headdress and bow reduces Indigenous presence to ethnographic stereotype, subtly legitimising settler appropriation of territory.

Walker's institutional publication strategy demonstrates how cultural capitalists systematically preserved and disseminated pictorial records serving ideological frameworks. This dual operation — original commercial circulation and subsequent historical republication — reveals how everyday financial instruments functioned as technologies for constructing and reinforcing hegemonic national consciousness through seemingly objective documentary practices.

NOTES OF THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS BANK

(See Appendix XII.)

PLATE No. 51.

Fig. 2.11 - "Notes of the Eastern Townships Bank," Plate No. 51. Reproduced in: Ross, Victor. *A history of the Canadian Bank of Commerce : with an account of the other banks which now form part of its organization. Volume I*, Toronto, Oxford U. Press. Courtesy of University of British Columbia. Library. Rare Books and Special Collections. HG2708.C2 R6 1920.

Beyond leveraging banking institutions as vehicles for Visual Nationalism, this Victorian ethos propelled Walker into cultural philanthropy, strategically deploying his financial and institutional influence to construct nationalist cultural infrastructure. Walker earned national recognition for assembling a comprehensive cultural apparatus for the emerging nation. In 1905, he co-founded the *Champlain Society* alongside historians George M. Wrong and Charles W. Colby, dedicated to publishing authoritative Canadian historical documentation.[238] He also pursued cultural development through educational leadership: serving as Toronto Board of Education trustee (1904), founding Appleby School (1911), and occupying successive positions at the University of Toronto (1891–1923), overseeing institutional expansion and structural transformation.[239]

In the arts, Walker epitomizes objectified cultural capital — Pierre Bourdieu's concept signifying how wealthy individuals convert economic standing into intellectual authority through heritage appreciation, manifesting symbolically as cultural discourse formation.[240] Walker assembled collections of rare woodblock prints, European graphic arts, and foundational Canadian paintings, including George A. Reid murals, but also exercised fundamental influence within institutional networks. He contributed to the *Arts and Letters Club*[241], chaired the government's Arts Advisory Council (1910) — relocating the National Gallery and appointing its first independent curator, Eric Brown[242] — and compelled major institutions to acquire Group of Seven's paintings, thus launching them to the forefront of Canadian visual arts.[243] Walker's institutional legacy encompasses founding The Art Gallery of Ontario, The Royal Ontario Museum, and The National Gallery of Canada.[244]

The Great War represented a pivotal moment in Canadian national sentiment, questioning imperial ties whilst fostering distinct national consciousness. Doug Owram argues the war instilled nationalist feeling that propelled greater independence in the 1930s.[245] Walker participated by supporting the Canadian War Memorials Fund (conceived by Lord

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[238] W.K. Lamb. Champlain Society. In: The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2014. Access in: 07/03/2025

[239] David Kimmel, *"Walker, Sir Byron Edmund*," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 15, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed March 10, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/walker_byron_edmund_15E.html.

[240] Pierre Bourdieu. 1986. "*The Forms of Capital*." in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson. Pg. 246-247

[241] Angela E. Davis. Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. P.92

[242] Jim Burant. *Ottawa Art & Artists: An Illustrated History*. Art Canada Institute, 2022. Pg. 127

[243] Marylin J. McKay. National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s - 1930s. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002. Pg 10.

[244] B. R. Marshall, "*Sir Edmund Walker, servant of Canada*" (MA thesis, Univ. of B.C., Vancouver, 1971)

[245] Doug Owram. Canada and the Empire. In: The Oxford History of The British Empire – vol. V: Historiography. New York, Oxford University Press, 1999. Pg. 150-153.

Beaverbrook), financing over 100 artists to document frontline experiences and training procedures. C.W. Jefferys' oil paintings from this commission reinforced visual connections to idealised Canadian militarism. Through his patronage of war pictures, Walker facilitated the integration of martial narratives into Canadian visual culture, establishing military themes as central to national identity formation.

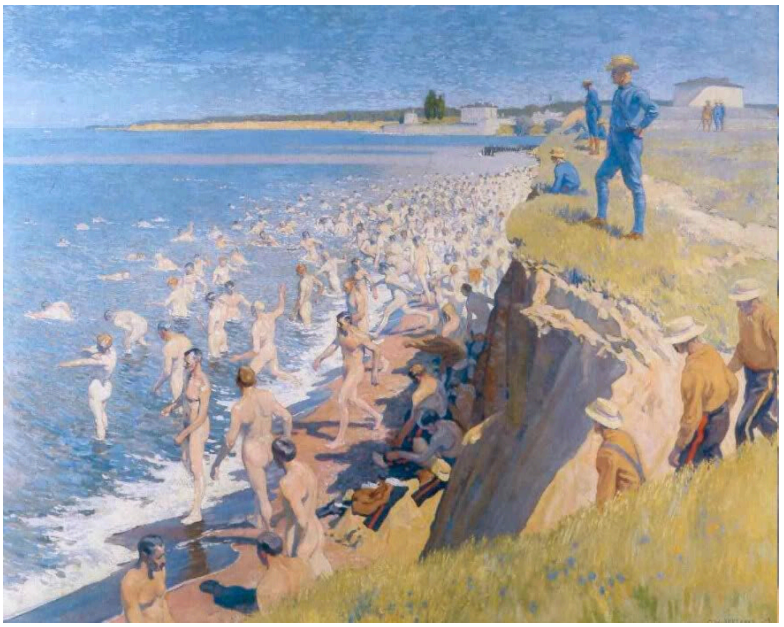

Fig. 2.12 - C.W. Jefferys. *Polish Army Bathing at Niagara Camp*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 152.0 x 193.0 cm. Beaverbrook Collection of War Art, Canadian War Museum, Artifact #19710261-0205

The War Memorials Fund exemplified how cultural capitalists transformed imperial crisis into opportunities for strengthening national consciousness through systematic visual representation. Canada pioneered this systematic approach, becoming the first nation to establish an official war art programme, demonstrating the advanced integration of visual culture within state nationalism.[246] Jefferys' contributions, including works like *Polish Army Bathing at Niagara Camp* (1919) [Figure 2.12], integrate Canada within the war's landscapes, while revealing how war artists transcended conventional battlefield documentation to explore the intimate corporeal dimensions of military experience, creating visual narratives that humanised soldiers whilst reinforcing masculine ideals central to Canadian national mythology. Walker's comprehensive cultural enterprise — from banking iconography, through

[246] Canada pioneered official war art programmes in the early twentieth century, enabling artists to document military experience beyond conventional battlefield scenes, including intimate moments that revealed "another sort of military body". *The Book of Lists: Revised and Updated and Even More Canadian...the Canada 150 Edition* (Toronto: Knopf, 2017), 69.

educational institutions, to war commemoration — demonstrates the coordinated deployment of cultural capital across multiple sites to construct hegemonic settler Canadian nationalism for mass consumption.

2.2.3. Corporate Visual Nationalism

The transformation of economic capital into cultural authority encompassed corporate enterprises that systematically deployed visual representation as a technology of nation-building. William Cornelius Van Horne (1843–1915) exemplifies how industrial capitalists recognized visual culture as essential infrastructure for both commercial expansion and national consolidation. As president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Van Horne understood that the CPR's transcontinental project required more than physical infrastructure, but also the construction of a visual imagination that could transform scattered territories into a coherent national space. The railway's completion in 1885 had established comprehensive transportation and communication networks spanning agricultural lands, timber operations, grain lifts, port facilities, and telegraph systems, creating the material foundations for Canadian economic integration. However, Van Horne's also operated through systematic deployment of visual representation to legitimize corporate expansion while simultaneously constructing popular understanding of Canadian territorial destiny. Like Walker, Van Horne leveraged his financial success to establish cultural authority, integrating corporate interests with nationalist images, demonstrating how industrial capitalism and Visual Nationalism functioned as mutually reinforcing technologies of power.

Van Horne assembled one of North America's most impressive collections, featuring European and American paintings alongside Asian porcelain and pottery, while also pursuing painting in his Montreal studio.[247] Valerie Knowles (2004) contextualizes him among North American industrial magnates with similar collecting practices, including J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry Clay Frick, Sir George Drummond, and Charles Hosmer. These figures amassed immense fortunes during North America's capitalist expansion after the Civil War and Confederation, contributing to a substantial influx of European art as new tycoons sought cultural distinction imported from the Old World.[248]

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[247] Theodore D.Regehr, "*VAN HORNE, Sir WILLIAM CORNELIUS*," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/van_horne_william_cornelius_14E.html .

[248] Valerie Knowles. From Telegrapher to Titan: The Life of William C. Van Horne. Dundurn, 2004.Pg. 286

Knowles' interpretation aligns with Paul DiMaggio's analysis of cultural entrepreneurship, where he employs "cultural capitalists" to underscore these figures' dual role in both accumulating cultural capital — as Pierre Bourdieu defined socially valued artifacts and knowledge — and establishing institutional frameworks for national high culture.[249] Van Horne's cultural enterprise operated through a unifying nationalism that reconciled anglophone and francophone traditions while maintaining philanthropic authority demonstrated through his support of museums and galleries in Montreal and Ottawa. Recognizing visual representation's power in coordinating nation-building with corporate expansion, Van Horne systematically deployed pictures to advance railway interests while constructing popular understanding of Canadian territorial identity.

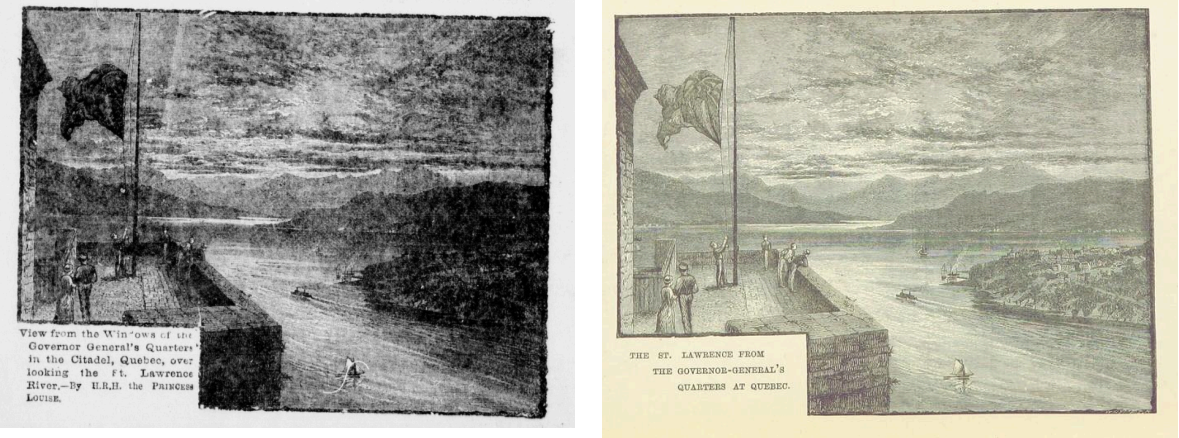

Fig. 2.13 - "The St. Lawrence from the Governor-General's Quarters at Quebec." Engraving based on work by H.R.H. Princess Louise, reproduced in *Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (London: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1886) and Procter, W.C. (ed.), *Round the Globe through Greater Britain* (London: W. Isbister, 1887). Canadiana, https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.30075; British Library, 014827784.

This print demonstrates Van Horne's strategic mobilization of imperial connections to advance CPR interests through Visual Nationalism [Figure 2.13]. The photomechanical reproduction of Princess Louise's artwork was repurposed in CPR promotional materials targeting British immigrants, elevating Canadian landscape through aristocratic appreciation while implying royal endorsement and reinforcing imperial ties. The image exemplifies imperial circulation — images moving between colony and metropole, recontextualized to serve both nationalist and commercial interests. Princess Louise's drawing returning to Britain

[249] Paul Dimaggio. "*Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America*". Media, Culture & Society 4, nº 1 (January 1st, 1982): 33–50. Also: Pierre Bourdieu. 1986. "*The Forms of Capital*." in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J. G. Richardson

as immigration promotional material reveals the complex visual economy supporting Canadian nationalism through strategic imperial alignment. Significantly, the second version omits Louise's attribution despite her accomplished artistic training and symbolic importance during her Canadian residence (1878-1883) as Governor General's wife.

The compositional elements reinforce colonial authority: the viewpoint from the Governor-General's quarters expresses the British colonial gaze over Canadian territory, marked by the prominent British flag. The St. Lawrence River vista establishes Canadian landscape as national-imperial symbols while displaying Québec City's commercial development, demonstrating how corporate Visual Nationalism integrated territorial identity with economic promotion.

During the 1880s, Van Horne systematically developed the pictorial dimensions of CPR's promotional campaign, selecting photographs, prints, and watercolours of northwestern landscapes displayed alongside settlement guides in distribution centres across Britain and Northern Europe. He implemented a strategic policy offering complimentary transcontinental transportation to photographers and artists whose work served corporate interests. The 1885 Riel Rebellion coverage by illustrators William Blatchly and F.W. Curzon, dispatched via Van Horne's free pass programme, produced widely circulated images that reinforced the railway's message about efficient western access, demonstrating how corporate and colonial interests converged in visual representation of Canadian expansion.[250]

The strategic use of history and visual culture by corporate entities in Canada remains an underexplored area of scholarship — a gap this research has only begun to address. Significant collections and archives held by companies such as the Hudson's Bay Company, Canadian Pacific Railway, Royal Bank, Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Confederation Life, Eaton's, Simpson's, and Canadian National Railway offer rich potential for further investigation.[251] These corporate repositories likely preserve evidence of how powerful capitalist institutions actively constructed and disseminated dominant images of Canadian history — one that aligned with their commercial interests while shaping public perceptions of national identity. This intersection of corporate power and historical representation warrants deeper scholarly attention beyond the scope of the present study.

A significant contribution to Visual Nationalism was his role as honorary president and patron of Henri Julien's *Album* (1916). This publication of a Québécois commercial

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[250] Allan Pringle. "*William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway*". Journal of Canadian Art History: 73. Pg. 50-51

[251] These corporate archives were identified by Jim Burant in a 2002 report for his National Gallery of Canada Fellowship, shared via personal communication, April 2025.

artist's visual collection advanced distinctively Canadian images while posthumously elevating Julien's work to prestigious cultural status. Van Horne's patronage of Julien's *Album* demonstrates the critical convergence between Canada's industrial elite and emerging visual culture — a relationship examined through detailed analysis of competing nationalisms in the following section.

2.3. Parallel Nationalisms: The Jefferys-Julien Case Study

This section provides a comparative analysis of anglophone and francophone visual traditions through C.W. Jefferys and Henri Julien, two pivotal historical illustrators who shaped Canadian historical consciousness from distinct cultural positions. While the broader scope of Québécois and francophone identities extends beyond this research's conditions, this comparative study addresses a critical gap by examining how competing nationalist traditions ultimately reinforced the hegemonic settler Canadian framework identified throughout this research. The preceding analysis has revealed similarities in Visual Nationalism across linguistic divides, particularly regarding Indigenous cultures. The shared settler Canadian[252] identity deployed consistent visual conventions that suggest overcoming cultural differences by anglophone institutions. This accommodation points to an identity that encompassed both British imperial loyalty and French Catholic heritage, while systematically marginalising Indigenous presence. Canadian Visual Nationalism constructed sociogeographic tradition by weaving fabricated primordial customs into images of northern wilderness.[253]

Through detailed analysis of Julien's *Album* (1916) in dialogue with Jefferys' corpus, this section demonstrates how apparent cultural competition actually strengthened Visual Nationalism. Rather than presenting fundamentally alternative visions, these distinct traditions negotiated differences within a colonial framework naturalising European settlement as legitimate national foundation. The comparative method reveals how Visual

[252] I employ the settler colonial framework to analyze Canadian identity formation because, as McKay, Vinyeta, and Norgaard argue, settler colonialism describes the specific logic of power when colonizers establish permanent settlements on lands already inhabited by Indigenous peoples. They emphasize that settler colonialism operates through a "logic of elimination," to eradicate original inhabitants and replace existing spiritual, political, social, and ecological systems with those of the settler society. This framework illuminates how Canadian national identity was constructed through occupation, epistemological violence, and erasure of Indigenous presence, making settler colonialism fundamental to understanding the visual culture examined in this study. See Dwanna L. McKay, Kirsten Vinyeta, and Kari Marie Norgaard, "Theorizing race and settler colonialism within U.S. sociology," *Sociology Compass* 14, no. 9 (September 2020), doi:10.1111/soc4.12821.

[253] Daniel Woolf, "Of Nations, Nationalism, and National Identity: Reflections on the Historiographic Organization of the Past", in Q. Edward Wang and Franz Fillafer, ed. *The Many Faces of Clio: Cross-cultural Approaches to Historiography* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp. 71-103. Woolf identifies "sociogeographic tradition, including manners, morals, and economic arrangements" as one of four key ways historians constitute national entities through "constitutive factors."

Nationalism transcended linguistic divisions through shared settler colonial foundations, despite surface cultural differences. Key figures like Julien, Jefferys, Desbarats, and Doughty circulated freely between a transnational milieu, connecting Canadian visual culture to broader imperial networks and American economic influences. This cross-cultural collaboration enabled a flexible visual culture that accommodated French-English diversity and maintained essential coherence around settler colonial values, exposing an ideological consensus that made the Canadian nation-building project possible.

2.3.1. Settler Identity Formation

Henri Julien (1852–1908) epitomised the francophone counterpart to Jefferys' anglophone Visual Nationalism, operating as a pioneering illustrator and caricaturist whose work shaped Canadian historical consciousness from within Québec's distinct cultural framework. His graphic satire functioned as a crucial mediating force within Canada's bilingual society, creating textual-visual hybrids that navigated between French and English cultural idioms[254] while reinforcing shared settler colonial perspectives. Recognised for his contributions to the *Canadian Illustrated News* and political cartoons in the *Montreal Daily Star*, Julien's posthumous elevation through the *Album* (1916) represents another manifestation of cultural capitalists' systematic image diffusion, positioning him as a foundational figure in Québec's graphic arts tradition.

Julien's career trajectory mirrors the institutional networks examined throughout this chapter. His apprenticeship (1869) with the Leggo-Desbarats printing firm — the same enterprise that pioneered halftone reproduction technology — embedded him within the print-capitalist infrastructure that enabled mass circulation of nationalist images.[255] Working simultaneously for the *Canadian Illustrated News* and its French counterpart *L'Opinion publique*, Julien operated at the intersection of Canada's dual linguistic traditions, creating satiric and folkloric images that would define Québécois collective imagination. Recent scholarship emphasises how his graphic satire operated within Canada's bilingual framework, demonstrating that competing cultural nationalisms could coexist within shared representational systems.[256]

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[254] Dominic Hardy. "*Historical ironies of Henri Julien (1852-1908): researching identity and graphic satire across languages in Québec*". Working Papers on Design 2. 2007.
[255] Nicole Guilbault, "Julien, Henri (baptized Octave-Henri)," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 8, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/julien_henri_13E.html.
[256] Dominic Hardy. "*Historical ironies of Henri Julien (1852-1908): researching identity and graphic satire across languages in Québec*". Working Papers on Design 2. 2007.

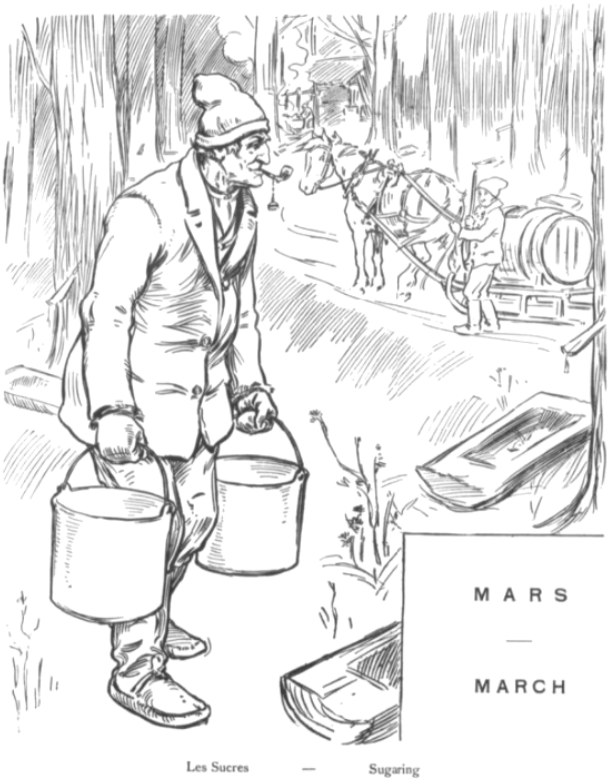

Fig. 2.14 - Julien, Henri. *Scenes Canadiennes, Mars, Les Sucres*. In. *Album*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1916. Pg. 23. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.74720

Comparing these artists' pictorial testimonies of maple syrup production reveals how competing nationalist traditions converged around shared settler Canadian identity markers. The theme of maple sap extraction occupies a privileged position in Canadian cultural identity, particularly within French-speaking communities, and has been cultivated in the national imaginary since the nineteenth century, to which Henri Julien's representations of the *habitants* made significant contributions.[257] Both artists situate this practice within a natural resource narrative, representing the discourse of settler engagement with and exploitation of the distinctive northern landscape [Figures 2.14 and 2.15]. However, their approaches reveal subtle but significant differences in their visual practices.

[257] Historian Louise Dechêne noted that the term "habitant" originally referred to any free property owner in early New France, including "carpenter habitants" and "merchant habitants," as opposed to soldiers and servants. The word gradually evolved to denote specifically those who tilled the soil as tenants within the seigneurial system, which created a unique form of co-ownership between habitants and seigneurs in North America. The very concept of "habitant" thus embodies settler colonial identity through its foundational assumption of European land ownership and agricultural appropriation of Indigenous territories. The *Collins Canadian Dictionary* defines "habitant" as "a land-owning peasant." See Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974); *Collins Canadian Dictionary* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2010), s.v. "Habitant and Communauté des habitants."

Julien's approach romanticizes the practice while obscuring its economic significance. The bilingual caption beneath his illustration claims that the *habitant* engages in this practice "more for enjoyment than for profit" (*plus pour s'amuser que pour faire du profit*), offering a romanticized interpretation of what was actually a fundamental economic activity for both household consumption and commercial enterprise. His archetypal *habitant* figure — an elder man in winter attire, with a beanie secured on his head, pipe in mouth, and resolute demeanour — creates a narrative of Canadian resilience through harsh northern conditions, echoing themes previously identified in Krieghoff's Québec winter scenes. The background contains recognisable visual signifiers of rural northern life: a horse pulling a sled with a barrel for transporting collected sap, documenting the maple sugaring season as emblematic of Québec and eastern Canadian cultural identity.

MAKING MAPLE SUGAR IN THE OLD-FASHIONED WAY

From contemporary photographs.

Fig. 2.15 - C.W. Jefferys. *Making Maple Sugar in the Old-Fashioned Way*. In. The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. vol. III, 1950. P.200, Library and Archives Canada.

Jefferys' counterpart reveals a remarkably similar visual vocabulary through subtly different temporal framing strategies. His depiction maintains the characteristic winter attire

— substituting only a beret for Julien's beanie — within the natural setting of a winter forest. Crucially, Jefferys' reference to the "old-fashioned" way places this contemporary image within an atemporal, romantic timeframe that transcends specific cultural boundaries. Both artists thus elevate traditional rural customs as authentic expressions of Canadian identity, yet where Julien emphasises cultural specificity through French-Canadian *habitant* images, Jefferys constructs a more generalised nostalgic framework. This analysis demonstrates how competing nationalist traditions reinforced shared settler colonial perspectives: both artists created identification and nostalgia for an idealised Canadian past, celebrating settler Canadian adaptation to northern landscapes while obscuring economic realities and the Indigenous knowledge systems that originated it.

Jefferys' practice of reproducing contemporary photographs, analysed in Chapter 1 as a method for constructing authority, directs our attention to the epistemological foundations of both artists' visual practices. While Julien's theoretical approach to visual evidence remains obscure, both artists shared backgrounds in newspaper illustration, a medium that carried particular weight as documentary record, and contemporaries praised them precisely for this capacity. In the texts accompanying the *Album* (1916), the compendium of Julien's work, Québécois writer Gonzalve Desaulniers constructs an eulogising profile of Julien's career whilst offering insight into a contemporary problem in visual representation: "*les instantanés sortis de son crayon recevaient la valeur precise que donnent les instruments photographiques. D'autres temps, il embellissait le vrai en idéalisant les couleurs et les formes*."[258] This description reveals a significant duality — the persistent tension between documentary accuracy and artistic interpretation that characterised both artists' approaches to historical illustration.

This duality has been theorised by Peter Burke with the concept of "eyewitnessing". According to Burke, all historical images carry the paradox of functioning both as records and interpretations, as they inscribe a point of view laden with expectations or prejudices.[259] However, pictures constitute powerful evidence, and it is significant that Desaulniers characterises Henri Julien as possessing "a kind of second vision" that accredits his drawings as objective, photographic records. This attribution of documentary authority parallels contemporary praise for Jefferys' "drawing by observation" and archaeological accuracy. Both artists thus navigated the epistemological tensions of their era, producing pictures that

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[258] Henri Julien. *Album*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1916. Pg. 10
[259] Peter Burke. Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence. London, Reaktion Books, 2001. Pg. 13

embodied one epistemic virtue or another according to market opportunities: they could create portraits praised for photographic objectivity whilst simultaneously receiving acclaim for highly idealised historical reconstructions. This market-driven flexibility reveals how Visual Nationalism operated through strategic deployment of competing claims to truth—mechanical objectivity when documentary authority was required, artistic interpretation when dramatic impact served nationalist purposes.

From 1885, Henri Julien worked for the *Montreal Daily Star*, establishing his reputation as both political caricaturist and historical illustrator whose work reached 120,000 readers weekly, making him a central figure in shaping popular historical consciousness.[260] His career trajectory parallels Jefferys' institutional involvement: both artists leveraged newspaper illustration to establish artistic careers before transitioning to more prestigious historical representation. Julien's series of 110 illustrations documenting the 1837 rebellion (1887-1888)[261] and his *habitant* typologies gained international recognition, demonstrating how francophone Visual Nationalism could achieve cultural authority through systematic image production.[262]

Dominic Hardy's analysis (2007) reveals crucial insights into how Julien's visual representations functioned as malleable political instruments. Hardy's examination of the "*Vieux de '37*" figure[263] — originally depicting the failed 1837-38 rebellion against British rule — demonstrates how single images could serve radically different political purposes across historical contexts. The figure's evolution from revolutionary emblem during the 1970 October Crisis to commercial merchandise during *Saint-Jean* celebrations illustrates what Hardy identifies as visual representations' capacity to become "malleable vessels" expressing diverse political aspirations depending on historical contingencies. This interpretive flexibility reveals how visual culture provided cultural resources that were appropriated and

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[260] Although the visual representations of the North-West Rebellion constitute a significant moment in Canadian identification, a detailed analysis of these materials falls beyond the scope of this research. The information presented herein regarding the *Montreal Daily Star* and this episode draws primarily from: Hardy, Dominic, "Drawn to Order: Henri Julien's Political Cartoons of 1899 and His Career with Hugh Graham's Montreal Daily Star, 1888-1908" (MA thesis, Trent University, 1998).

[261] Julien produced rich illustrations of the Canadian West and widely circulated images of the Rebellion. Although these representations of the North-West Rebellion constitute a significant moment in Canadian identification, a detailed analysis of these materials falls beyond the scope of this research. Karel, David, ed. (1992). "Julien, Octave-Henri (Crincrin)". Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du Nord: peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, graveurs, photographes, et orfèvres (in French). Presses Université Laval. p. 425. ISBN 978-2-7637-7235-6.

[262] Nicole Guilbault, “JULIEN, HENRI (baptized Octave-Henri),” in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 13, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 8, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/julien_henri_13E.html.

[263] Dominic Hardy. “*Historical ironies of Henri Julien (1852-1908): researching identity and graphic satire across languages in Québec*”. Working Papers on Design 2. 2007.

recontextualized across different historical moments. Rather than adhering to fixed ideological positions, images circulate beyond original contexts to serve diverse purposes. The power of nationalist images lay not in their interpretive stability, but in their capacity for strategic redeployment across changing cultural and political landscapes.

Significantly for this comparative analysis, Hardy's examination of Julien's "*Songs of the By-Town Coons*" series — depicting Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier and his cabinet as blackface minstrels — reveals how competing nationalist traditions negotiated internal tensions through racial othering. By representing Canada's first francophone Prime Minister through blackface stereotypes, these caricatures simultaneously erased African-Canadian presence whilst deploying racial difference to mark French-English political divisions. This visual strategy exposes the anxieties underlying Canadian identity formation at the century's turn, when competing cultural nationalisms required mechanisms for managing internal differences whilst maintaining settler colonial unity. Hardy's insights thus demonstrate how apparent cultural competition actually reinforced the hegemonic framework identified throughout this research: both francophone and anglophone traditions resolved political tensions through systematic marginalisation of non-European peoples.

2.3.2. Legitimizing Conquest

Cultural capitalists' strategic patronage extended beyond anglophone networks to encompass francophone Visual Nationalism, as demonstrated by the *Album* (1916), the primary source for analysing Henri Julien's approach to Canadian historical representation. This publication emerged through CPR president William C. Van Horne's promotion, with media magnate Sir Hugh Graham serving as chairman of the selection committee. Graham's position as *Montreal Star* owner — Canada's largest circulation newspaper until 1950 — reveals how cultural capitalists leveraged their institutional authority across linguistic communities to shape Visual Nationalism.[264] The *Album* constitutes a comprehensive compendium of Julien's lifetime dedication to illustration, comprising his work in portraiture, historical scenes, reporting, and caricature, all mechanically reproduced in black and white. The opening sentence introducing Henri Julien reinforces this research's central argument: "*Dans notre pays il s'est opéré un mouvement en faveur du dessin*."[265] The text continues by glorifying Julien's genius and his leading role in French Canada in developing artistic genres

[264] W. H. Kesterton. A History of Journalism in Canada. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 1967. pp. 64-83
[265] Henri Julien. *Album*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1916. Pg. 9.

and advancing technical printing skills, demonstrating how cultural elites deployed similar celebratory strategies across Canada's dual linguistic traditions while serving the broader project of visual nation-building.

Henri Julien and C.W. Jefferys shared two crucial characteristics that shaped their roles in Canadian Visual Nationalism. Both began as apprentices in printing firms, mastering technical skills before dedicating themselves to illustration, then became prominent figures by documenting daily events in mass-circulation periodicals during *The Golden Age of Illustration* (1880-1930).[266] This period witnessed photography's gradual dominance in print media, while elevated artistic objectivity remained highly valued. These artists developed their careers within printed media, cultivating visual vocabularies that balanced objective documentation with idealising interpretation through dialectical engagement with mass-consumed pictures mechanically reproduced under expectations of accessibility and rapid assimilation. Their transition from reporter-illustrators to historical illustration enabled recognition as practitioners of a higher artistic enterprise, one that contemporaries and current scholarship acknowledge as serving nation-building and mythmaking projects. Their pictorial work actively constructed rather than merely reflected national narratives, a dual function that established them as artistic authorities despite limited financial rewards. Both achieved lasting influence as creators of Canadian visual identity, demonstrating how individual artistic careers could be systematically transformed into foundational elements of competing yet compatible nationalist traditions.

[266] A prominent use of the term comes from: Perlman, Bennard. *The Golden Age of American Illustration: F. R. Gruger and His Circle.* North Light Publishers, Westport, 1978.

Fig. 2.16 - Julien, Henri. *Combat de Long-Sault*. In. *Album*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1916. Pg. 46. https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.74720

Fig. 2.17 - C.W. Jefferys, *Maisonneuve's Fight with the Indians*. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper. Page 132 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History, Vol.I.

The prevalence of battle scenes in both artists' repertoires reflects a broader demand within Canadian Visual Nationalism for dramatic conflict narratives that could legitimise colonial territorial claims through heroic historical discourse. Julien's *Combat de Long-Sault* and Jefferys' *Maisonneuve's Fight with the Indians* demonstrate how competing nationalist traditions deployed similar visual conventions, even if serving distinct market expectations [Figures 2.16 and 2.17]. Both illustrations position viewers within the battlefield through dynamic cross-hatching techniques optimised for mechanical reproduction, creating immersive pictorial testimony that places European military architecture — forts and defensive structures — as civilising markers within contested landscapes.

However, their representational choices reveal divergent approaches to Indigenous representation, reflecting their respective cultural markets. Julien's composition depicts Indigenous warriors wielding firearms, acknowledging technological adaptation, while maintaining the problematic convention of "standardized shirtless Indians" that reduced diverse peoples to generic ethnographic types. Jefferys demonstrates greater attention to specific cultural regalia, yet paradoxically restricts Indigenous fighters to "traditional" hatchets and the “Indian” marker of difference, reinforcing temporal binaries between "primitive" Indigenous and "modern" European warfare. Both pictorial discourses ultimately construct Indigenous resistance as spectacular backdrop for European heroism, revealing how these artists navigated market demands that required dramatic Indigenous presence but ensured that settler colonial narratives remained paramount. Operating within this visual economy, both artists produced what their patrons required: compelling battle scenes, naturalisation of colonial appropriation, and sufficient ethnographic detail to claim documentary authority.

Julien and Jefferys illuminate how visual culture constructed a unified national identity through Anderson's framework of print-mediated community formation. Julien's "habitant" figures functioned as identity vessels for Québécois ruralism, yet these representations were systematically reappropriated within broader nationalist discourse that transcended linguistic divisions. Hardy's analysis reveals how visual culture mediated between French and English communities through their common European colonial heritage. Crucially, Jefferys received extensive praise for "acknowledging" French-Canadian contributions[267] — recognition that revealed how both linguistic traditions participated in constructing a shared imaginary grounded in imperial values. His illustrations of French colonial events like St. Lusson's ceremony were celebrated as gestures of national unity that

[267] Lorne Pierce. *A Biographical Introduction*. In: C.W. Jefferys 1950, pg. xiv

demonstrated how French and English colonizers alike participated in territorial appropriation and Indigenous displacement. This dynamic demonstrates how Visual Nationalism operated through incorporation rather than exclusion — both colonial experiences became integrated within a hegemonic narrative that emphasized European Christian civilization's triumph over wilderness and Indigenous presence.

2.4. Educational Infrastructure and Mass Dissemination

2.4.1. Publishing Networks

One of the leading figures of the dominant nationalism that shaped Canadian educational discourse was the editor Lorne Pierce (1890-1961), who directed Ryerson Press' publications between 1920 and 1960. As a Methodist minister heading a division of the traditional Methodist Book and Publishing House, Pierce approached this position as a divine mission for the nation's cultural development.[268] Committed to promoting nationalism for new generations of Canadians, Pierce recognized in Ryerson Press an opportunity for advancing artists and intellectuals with a patriotic appeal. Among his most successful initiatives was the publication of history readers and textbooks for Canadian students, a lucrative and expanding market in the 1920s. Approaching history from a romantic perspective, which conceptualized national development as a "*series of sublime quests*" and the "*progressive evolution*" [269] of the nation, Pierce became the principal patron of C.W. Jefferys's career as historical illustrator. From the 1930s, Pierce commissioned illustrations for textbooks and collaborated with Jefferys to envision the artist's definitive work: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History.* With expertise in historical criticism, Pierce recognized Jefferys's commitment to research and historical accuracy and admired the evocative power of his pictures.

The most significant analysis of Jefferys' partnership with Pierce appears in a chapter from *Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press* (2013) by Sandra Campbell, a comprehensive study of Pierce's influence on Canadian nationalism. Campbell characterizes Pierce as one of the intellectuals who emphasized the importance of images in cultivating national sentiment in Canada, closely linked to the development of Canadian visual culture for future generations through textbook illustrations. For this project of providing images for a young nation, Pierce commissioned C.W. Jefferys to illustrate dozens of history readers and

[268] Sandra Campbell. *From romantic history to communications theory: Lorne Pierce as publisher of C. W. Jefferys and Harold Innis*. Journal of Canadian Studies; Toronto Vol. 30, Ed. 3, (Fall 1995).
[269] Lorne Pierce. *New History for Old. Discussions on aims and methods in writing and teaching history*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1931.

educational textbooks. This was an expanding market fuelled by the growing school system in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, when the Ryerson Press established itself as the powerhouse of patriotic illustrated books. Under Pierce's direction, the company published more than forty titles annually in the decades of 1930 and 1940, encompassing manuals, picture books, editions of established literary figures, and Pierce's favoured authors of distinctly Canadian narratives.[270]

A fierce nationalist who promoted Canadian culture, Pierce was a close friend of Jefferys and characterized him as "*not only historian, but antiquarian and archaeologist*", positioning him among the foremost figures who have worked "*to preserve the records of our own past*".[271] Pierce and Jefferys were thus motivated by a heritage preservation imperative that was often grounded in nostalgia for pre-industrial ways of life or idealized visions of settlement and "pioneer" experiences, employing pictorial representations of events, practices, and artifacts to construct a visual discourse capable of evoking emotional connections to an imagined collective past. In this context, Sandra Campbell emphasized how Jefferys' illustrations were centrepieces for Pierce's "*romantic vision of nationhood*."[272] Her analysis examines the editorial practices surrounding Pierce, arguing that the favourable economic conditions in the textbook publishing market propelled Jefferys' pictures to commercial success and enabled the duo's most significant undertaking — *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* — a lasting contribution that profoundly influenced Canadian historical consciousness. *Both Hands* also highlights the intimate personal connection between the two men who developed a friendship, and foregrounds Pierce's efforts at convincing Jefferys to realize the project of a visual collection of history for the Canadian nation, which materialized as *The Picture Gallery*. Her main argument is summarized here:

> The two men shared a proselytizing vision of Canada's past which Jefferys drew and Pierce successfully marketed. Jefferys's textbook illustrations — as well as the Ryerson volumes devoted exclusively to his historical depictions — offered tens of thousands of Canadian readers, particularly schoolchildren, a romantic, epic, and

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[270] A complete list of books published by Ryerson Press is available at: https://archives.library.torontomu.ca/uploads/r/special-collections/0/7/7/0777d92a2c85be8abb5668ae4dc7cd415a19338fccfe5ed0596ff17c9374b5c3/2017_014_02_Ryerson_Press_Collection-Books_Finding_Aid_-_The_Ryerson_Press__2_.pdf

[271] Lorne Pierce. *A Biographical Introduction*. In: C.W. Jefferys 1950, pg. xiv

[272] Sandra Campbell. Both Hands: A Life of Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. P. 318

> whiggish vision of Canadian history, the incarnation of a nationalist ideology shared by author and publisher.[273]

Regardless of the success of Jefferys and Pierce's joint publications through Ryerson Press, analysis of their correspondence reveals a political-economic contradiction inherent in the production of visual historical representations. Despite his accomplished career as an illustrator, with numerous collaborations and books published every two years, Jefferys consistently struggled to pay his bills. From 1930 onwards, his letters frequently contained requests for advances, assistance with selling works, and securing contracts for other projects. In a letter from May 1930, Jefferys solicited help in obtaining payment for seven illustrations created for the Ryerson Press History Readers, also probing about "*anyone else to whom I can pass the hat*".[274] Subsequent letters also report his financial difficulties, including correspondence from 1932, twice in 1934, and again in 1935, 1940, and 1942. Moreover, there is a general tone of apprehension and concern about payment conditions surrounding most of the commissions given by Lorne Pierce. This evidence suggests that the commercial infrastructure supporting Visual Nationalism operated on precarious economic margins, and Jefferys' valuable artistic contributions were not matched by better material conditions. Aligning with Angela E. Davis' interpretation of the Canadian graphic arts milieu in the early twentieth century, even a prominent artist capable of publishing his own series of illustrated books such as Jefferys had to submit to harsh labour dynamics that inevitably shaped his artistic production. This contradiction suggests that the market for Canadian historical images operated in ways that privileged publishers and distributors over content creators, despite the nationalist significance and symbolic power attributed to these works.

The patronage relationship with Pierce reveals how informal networks sustained cultural production outside formal institutional structures, as Jefferies relied on him for establishing a network of contacts and publications, but also for crucial support for his livelihood and working conditions. It becomes evident that Jefferys' position as a drawing professor at the University of Toronto, which he held since 1912, did not constitute his primary source of income — although there is limited documentation on the regularity and extent of his duties in this role. The November 1942 correspondence is another key moment in understanding how this personal relationship underpinned the material conditions of this historical representation project. By this time, *The Picture Gallery* had achieved market

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[273] Campbell. 2013. P. 318

[274] C.W. Jefferys, "Letter to Lorne Pierce," May 1930, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 6-1, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.

success, yet Jefferys continued to struggle financially. Once again, he turned to his friend for an advance to settle his monthly debts, writing: "*I wouldn't bother you if I could avoid it, but if I'm to keep on with Vol. 2 I see no other way*"[275]. His consideration of pursuing alternative means of making a living — potentially shifting his artistic focus to a less significant endeavour — reveals how his artistic autonomy was circumscribed by material conditions, compelling him to make choices based on economic imperatives rather than purely artistic or ideological considerations. This contradiction might also signal new market conditions, in which the artistic work of the historical illustrator in printed material would be replaced by photography — a more economical, efficient and commercially advantageous alternative for publishers.

2.4.2. Illustrating History

Illustrated school textbooks represent an important category within historical pictures, though they construct narratives aimed at a different audience than periodicals (specifically children and teenagers). For artists like Jefferys, these educational publications provided not only a platform for disseminating historical narratives but also a vital source of income, offering more stable commissions than other illustration work. For the purpose of this research, these educational materials will primarily be considered in relation to school systems designed for young learners, particularly because this analysis focuses on publications emerging from the collaboration between the Ryerson Press and the Ontario Department of Education. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the illustrated magazines and periodicals featuring Jefferys' work and published by this network of historical actors targeted a non-scholarly adult readership and shared idealizing, dramatic and ennobling characteristics, often recycling the same pictorial content across publications. These qualities are evident in *Ontario public school history of Canada* (1921), published by Ryerson for the Ontario public school system. Its author was the aforementioned distinguished historian George M. Wrong, a key figure in promoting Anglo-Canadian cultural nationalism, founder of *The Canadian Historical Review,* and head of the University of Toronto's history department. Wrong disclosed a particular historical perspective that reflected strong influences from Oxford's outlook for historiography of that period (in terms of duty, honour,

[275] C.W. Jefferys, "Letter to Lorne Pierce," November 02, 1942, C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Box 5, Folder 6-2, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario.

and nation)[276][277] while an advocate of history on a critical basis. He advanced the institutionalization and professionalization of historical studies while simultaneously working to popularize Canada's past. Through both publishing ventures and public education systems, Wrong became a central figure in the dissemination of Visual Nationalism in Canada, collaborating with Lorne Pierce and C.W. Jefferys for this influential textbook.

The context for this work lies in the significant demographic expansion in Ontario during the early twentieth century, with provincial population figures exceeding 2,900,000 inhabitants by 1921 and a substantial educational population of 774,493 students documented in 1926.[278] History education constituted an integral part of the public school system, widely regarded by educational authorities as an instrument for cultivating civility, patriotism and a sense of duty among school-aged populations. These demographic and pedagogical factors created favourable market conditions for history textbooks, explaining why the *Ontario public school history of Canada* achieved its 10th printing within only two years of publication. The textbook's narrative spans from "*The Discovery of America*" to the Great War, divided in twenty-seven chapters, written by Wrong in an accessible register aimed at young readers. In this representation of Canada's historical development, the prominent characters are European male figures, portrayed through heroic, triumphant narratives that emphasize conquest and settlement. Women are only included when they conform to the same heroic paradigm exemplified by Cabot, Frontenac and Montcalm, such as Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord. Indigenous peoples, the original inhabitants of the territories that would become Canada, are characterized as "savages", and are seldom depicted as possessing historical agency or meaningful participation in the nation's development, appearing primarily as suppliers of furs in exchange for "trinkets",[279] or as violent forces resisting colonial expansion. This historiographical framing reinforced the settler Canadian nationalist ideology that positioned European settlement as the foundation of legitimate national history.

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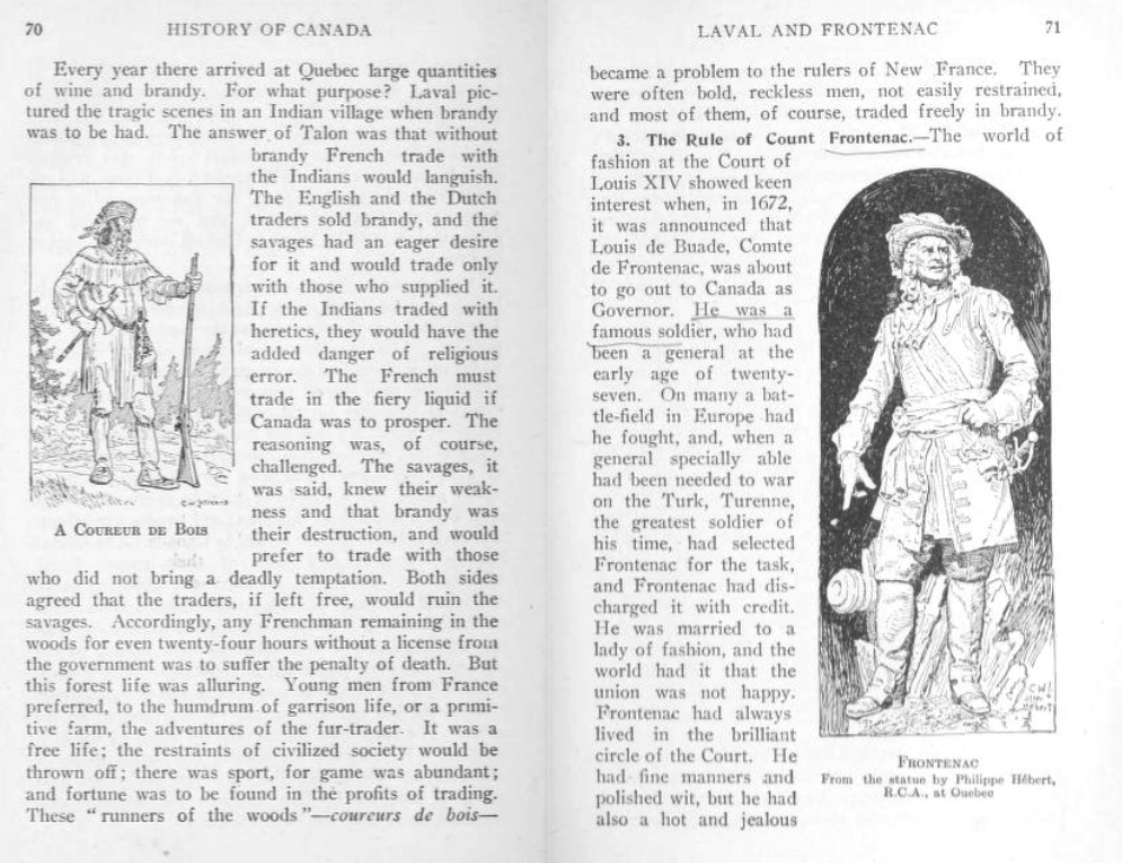
[276] Donald Wright. 2005. P. 37

[277] Reba Soffer. Nation, Duty, Character and Confidence: History at Oxford, 1850-1914 . In: The Historical Journal , Vol. 30, No. 1 (Mar., 1987).

[278] Statistics Canada. Summary of education in Canada, by province, 1926 or latest year reported. https://www65.statcan.gc.ca/acyb02/1927/acyb02_19270918001a-eng.htm. Retrieved 12 March 2025.

[279] George M. Wrong. Ontario Public School History of Canada. Toronto : Ryerson, 1923. Pg. 13



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Every year there arrived at Quebec large quantities of wine and brandy. For what purpose? Laval pictured the tragic scenes in an Indian village when brandy was to be had. The answer of Talon was that without brandy French trade with the Indians would languish. The English and the Dutch traders sold brandy, and the savages had an eager desire for it and would trade only with those who supplied it. If the Indians traded with heretics, they would have the added danger of religious error. The French must trade in the fiery liquid if Canada was to prosper. The reasoning was, of course, challenged. The savages, it was said, knew their weakness and that brandy was their destruction, and would prefer to trade with those who did not bring a deadly temptation. Both sides agreed that the traders, if left free, would ruin the savages. Accordingly, any Frenchman remaining in the woods for even twenty-four hours without a license from the government was to suffer the penalty of death. But this forest life was alluring. Young men from France preferred, to the humdrum of garrison life, or a primitive farm, the adventures of the fur-trader. It was a free life; the restraints of civilized society would be thrown off; there was sport, for game was abundant; and fortune was to be found in the profits of trading. These "runners of the woods"—*coureurs de bois*—

A Coureur de Bois

LAVAL AND FRONTENAC 71

became a problem to the rulers of New France. They were often bold, reckless men, not easily restrained, and most of them, of course, traded freely in brandy.

3. The Rule of Count Frontenac.—The world of fashion at the Court of Louis XIV showed keen interest when, in 1672, it was announced that Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, was about to go out to Canada as Governor. He was a famous soldier, who had been a general at the early age of twenty-seven. On many a battle-field in Europe had he fought, and, when a general specially able had been needed to war on the Turk, Turenne, the greatest soldier of his time, had selected Frontenac for the task, and Frontenac had discharged it with credit. He was married to a lady of fashion, and the world had it that the union was not happy. Frontenac had always lived in the brilliant circle of the Court. He had fine manners and polished wit, but he had also a hot and jealous

Frontenac
From the statue by Philippe Hébert, R.C.A., at Quebec

Fig. 2.18 - George M. Wrong, Ontario Public School History of Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1921), pp. 70-71

An example of the visual practices employed for promoting a masculine settler Canadian identity is the two-page spread [Figure 2.18] from *Ontario Public School History of Canada* presenting two historical figures side by side: a "*Coureur de Bois*" on the left page and "Frontenac" on the right. The symmetrical layout suggests a comparison between these colonial figures, while maintaining a clear hierarchy. Frontenac's full-body portrait is larger and more detailed, emphasizing his greater importance in the settler Canadian historical narrative. His image includes attribution to sculptor Philippe Hébert's statue in Quebec, lending it historical authenticity, while the *Coureur de Bois* lacks attribution, marking it as one of Jefferys' typological "visual reconstructions" — idealized interpretations purportedly based on historical records.

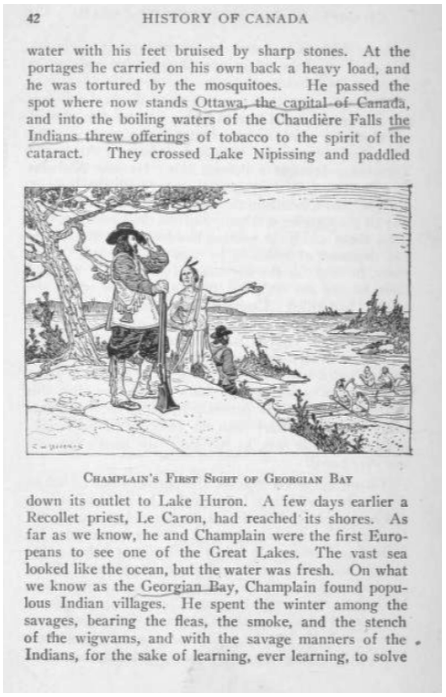
The surrounding text constructs these figures through contrasting colonial roles. The *Coureur de Bois* inhabits an ambivalent position — romanticized as enjoying freedom from "civilized society" while morally compromised through brandy trading with Indigenous peoples. By contrast, Frontenac represents aristocratic authority, described by through his impressive military credentials, visually reinforced through his formal posture and clothing.

This imagetext formation establishes a civilization/wilderness binary central to colonial discourse, with Frontenac as symbol of imperial power and the *Coureur de Bois* representing a daring spirit and unsanctioned frontier exploration. Throughout this narrative, Indigenous peoples remain central to the textual discussion yet visually absent, reinforcing their portrayal as passive "savages" with "eager desire" for brandy rather than active historical agents. This erasure reflects the textbook's broader function in constructing a national narrative serving settler Canadian interests.

The pictures of the *Ontario Public School History of Canada* can be mostly divided into three categories: maps, portraits, and illustrations of historical events (the *imaginative reconstructions* as termed by Jefferys). For the maps, the artist often drew representations based on contemporary accounts, including geographical marks that became relevant after their first renderings, making his authorship evident in the reconstruction of the maps through callouts with his characteristic hand typography. *The Pantheon* of portraits mainly includes photoengravings of contemporary depictions, supplemented by original drawings made by Jefferys based on statues of celebrated historical characters, or based on printed materials he collected. It is relevant to observe that Jefferys signs the portraits when they are his original drawings from statues or selections within larger paintings, unlike in the photographic reproductions, in what appears to be an effort to enhance their authenticity, their *aura*, emphasizing that these portraits passed through the artists' trained judgement for accuracy and through his draughtsmanship, thus increasing their perceived value.

The most relevant category of pictures comprises the illustrations of notable historical events — the "reconstructions" Jefferys imagined based on textual or visual records. Many of these became hallmarks of Jefferys' work, reproduced in numerous other publications, including his own picture books. While this research often analyses these images as individual pictures or as components of the author's picture books — examining their visual conventions rather than their association with historiographical content — viewing them within educational publications reveals a different dimension of spectatorship. When reproduced in textbooks, these images acquire distinct pedagogical authority that transforms how viewers encounter and interpret them. Consider *Champlain on Georgian Bay* [Figure 2.19], originally a watercolour exhibited in *The Canadian Society of Graphic Art* in 1927: when reproduced in *Canada's Past in Pictures* or *The Picture Gallery of Canadian history*, it becomes part of an artistic-historical collection, where it might be appreciated both for its historical content and aesthetic qualities, with viewers potentially focusing on technical aspects or artistic value. However, when reproduced in a textbook — typically viewed under guidance, with

expectations for retention and application, deliberately placed within a specific pedagogical narrative — the picture acquires institutional authority as "historical truth", with the implicit expectation that viewers will accept the visual information as an accurate representation of historical events.



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water with his feet bruised by sharp stones. At the portages he carried on his own back a heavy load, and he was tortured by the mosquitoes. He passed the spot where now stands Ottawa, the capital of Canada, and into the boiling waters of the Chaudière Falls the Indians threw offerings of tobacco to the spirit of the cataract. They crossed Lake Nipissing and paddled

CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST SIGHT OF GEORGIAN BAY

down its outlet to Lake Huron. A few days earlier a Recollet priest, Le Caron, had reached its shores. As far as we know, he and Champlain were the first Europeans to see one of the Great Lakes. The vast sea looked like the ocean, but the water was fresh. On what we know as the Georgian Bay, Champlain found populous Indian villages. He spent the winter among the savages, bearing the fleas, the smoke, and the stench of the wigwams, and with the savage manners of the Indians, for the sake of learning, ever learning, to solve

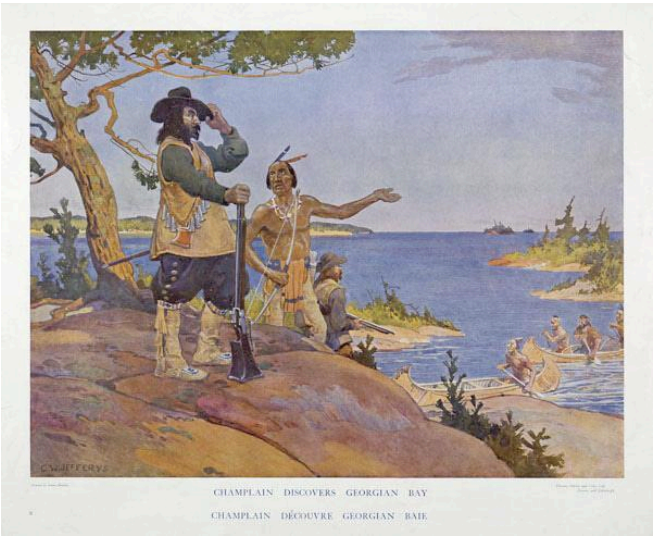

Figure 2.19 - C.W. Jefferys. *Champlain's First Sight of Georgian Bay*. In: George M. Wrong, Ontario Public School History of Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1921), pp. 42 (Left) C.W. Jefferys. *Champlain Discovers Georgian Bay*, Watercolour, 1927. Catalogue of The Canadian Society of Graphic Art.

The imaginative character becomes obscured within the educational intent. Although Wrong asserts his intention to make Canadian history interesting, the nationalist and ideological framings of these pictures operate indirectly through their presentation as historical truth. For editor Lorne Pierce, Jefferys' pictures were valuable precisely for their dramatic and glorifying qualities intended to foster collective memory in young spectators. However, the original watercolour undergoes the visual practices described throughout this research, standardized through mechanical reproduction, employed across different print media, setting a standard for how French colonization and Indigenous collaboration could be imagined. *Champlain on Georgian Bay* depicts three figures on a rocky outcrop overlooking the lake: Champlain stands as the dominant figure in European attire with a wide-brimmed hat and rifle, while an Indigenous guide gestures theatrically toward the water in a pose that

frames this moment as discovery. Canoes with Indigenous and European explorers arrive in the background, signalling cooperation.

The composition establishes a clear visual hierarchy that centres European exploration while positioning Indigenous figures as subsidiary to Champlain's journey, even as it acknowledges their essential role as guides — a notable inclusion for educational materials of the 1920s. However, the text constructs a narrative of European hardship and "*discovery*" that erases Indigenous knowledge of territories they had inhabited for millennia. The mention of "*offerings of tobacco to the spirit of the cataract*" represents Indigenous peoples through spiritual practices that contrast with European technological and scientific advancement, reinforcing a colonial binary established in the first chapter. This portrayal, which employs terms like 'savages' and 'savage manners' common to the period, reveals the textbook's function in constructing a settler colonial narrative that legitimizes European claims to Indigenous territories by presenting Champlain as the first meaningful observer of a landscape portrayed as waiting to be discovered, mapped and claimed.

This systematic positioning of historical actors within educational materials extended beyond colonial hierarchies to encompass gender roles in nation-building narratives. Colin M. Coates and Cecilia Morgan have published *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (2002). Their comparative study examines how these female figures — Secord from Ontario and Verchères from Quebec — were deliberately mythologized and deployed in educational materials to foster distinct provincial identities while simultaneously contributing to broader Canadian Visual Nationalism. Despite historical ambiguities in both accounts, textbook publishers like Ryerson Press strategically incorporated these heroines into their materials, presenting them as exemplars of courage and patriotism. A significant trait of the late Victorian and Edwardian decades, that was still mobilized in George Wrong's *History of Canada,* was the use of familial metaphors in imperial and nationalistic discourse, inscribing the defence of a national family in hegemonic historical narratives.[280]

Coates and Morgan propose a new periodization for analysing Canadian textbooks within the time frame considered in this research. From the 1880s to WWI, there was a focus on military and political narratives, British values, and Anglo-Celtic heroes. During the interwar decades, there was a continued emphasis on British traditions with some social history elements, in which the volume illustrated by Jefferys in 1921 would fit. Finally, after

[280] Colin M. Coates, and Cecilia Morgan. Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord. University of Toronto Press, 2002. P. 10

WWII, there was an increasing consideration of social history and emerging concerns about representation. The *Ontario Public School History of Canada* aligns with a pattern where we can observe an emphasis on distinctly Canadian historical events and figures, while still shaped by 'British' values and 'traditions'. Regarding the representations of Laura Secord, the authors suggest that the events of the War of 1812 were mobilized in the textbooks of the period as a sign of freedom and the rise of national feeling, especially from the 1870s to the 1920s. In this sense, Laura Secord was recurringly represented as a heroic figure who embodied the qualities of loyalty, self-sacrifice, and devotion to country [Figure 2.20]. Her actions were presented as exceptional for a woman, yet simultaneously emblematic of the broader patriotic virtues that all Canadian children should emulate. She became the central symbol of settler Canadian female loyalty, positioned alongside male military heroes like Brock and Tecumseh in the critical narrative of nation-building that the War of 1812 represented in Canadian historical consciousness.[281]

Figure 2.20 - C.W. Jefferys, "Laura Secord on her journey to warn the British," in George M. Wrong, Ontario Public School History of Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1921), p. 203

[281] This analysis is based on Coates and Morgan's "Heroines and History," chapter 7, "Lessons in Loyalty: Children's Texts and Readers," pp. 164-194

Secord's portrayal by C.W. Jefferys is positioned centrally on page 203, appearing just before the textual description of her actions during the War of 1812. Depicted as a young woman in a long, draped dress and veil to conceal her identity, she traverses a wilderness landscape rendered as threatening and hostile, an effect reinforced by imprecise and dynamic hatching of the background trees. A fallen log spanning a river suggests a symbolic passage into dark and silent territories where U.S. American troops are infiltrating, alongside what Wrong describes as dreadful indigenous allies. This picture constructs Laura Secord as a feminine yet courageous heroine of Canadian nationalism. Her physical traits and demeanour do not evoke leadership, militarism, or conquest — qualities evident in Jefferys' representation of Brock and Tecumseh's determined handshake seven pages earlier (analysed in Chapter 1). Instead, the image emphasizes her bravery and determination as she advances through wilderness to deliver crucial information to British troops, facing what Wrong frames as dual threats of "savage" natives and brutal American forces who had "pillaged a church in York." Within the broader framework of Visual Nationalism, Jefferys' illustration functions as a pedagogical tool offering young readers — particularly girls — a gendered heroic archetype that reinforces British-Canadian loyalty while naturalizing the settler colonial perspective of wilderness as a space of both danger and potential conquest.

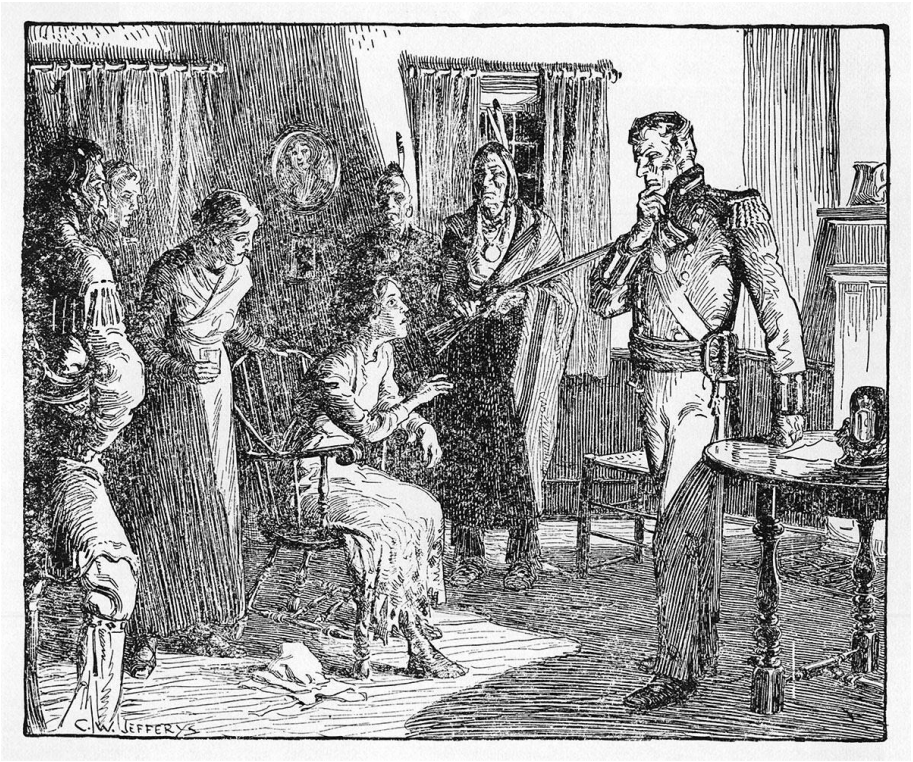

Fig. 2.21 - C.W. Jefferys. *Laura Secord tells her story to Fitzgibbon, 1813*. In. The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. vol. II, 1945. P.162 Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1972-26-595

In *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, the emblematic story of Laura Secord was included through a different moment than in the *Ontario Public School History of Canada*: that of her decisive arrival to warn the allied troops against the United States [Figure 2.21]. Although she was omitted from *Canada's Past in Pictures* (1934), her story was told through a different perspective in Jefferys' grand work. He portrayed her sitting centrally in Fitzgibbon's premises, surrounded by military men, with a feminine figure supporting her, who holds a glass of water. She wears the same draped dress, but now it's torn at the hem and stained from the journey. Seated in a colonial chair, she is barefoot, gesturing as she tells her story to the military leaders. The lighting coming from the fireplace illuminates her face, revealing a worried expression. Her seated position among standing men, especially those wearing military attire and showcasing weapons, emphasizes her representation as a fragile, delicate and harmless figure.

This illustration presents a carefully constructed scene of a pivotal moment in Canadian national mythology. Jefferys' portrayal of Fitzgibbon — standing in an authoritative posture with his hand thoughtfully positioned at his chin, his uniform rendered in precise detail — reinforces British imperial dominance and order in Canadian territory. The composition builds a narrative of military collaboration between ordinary settlers and British imperial forces against American aggression. Once again, Jefferys included Indigenous figures as recurrent tokens of passive collaboration, occupying a hierarchically inferior position. However, the rifle in the Indigenous figure's hands represents a development in Indigenous agency within settler Canadian pictorial discourse, attesting to a conflictive environment. The domestic interior setting places the colonial military presence within a settled, orderly space, while visual codes of 'civilization' (curtains, furniture, framed portrait) reinforce this constructed civilized environment, contrasting sharply with the wilderness landscape created for the 1921 picture.

The collaboration between institutions like the Ryerson Press and the Ontario Department of Education exemplifies the powerful convergence of technology, cultural capital, and educational infrastructure that constructed Canadian national identity through Visual Nationalism. Distinguished historians like George Wrong lent scholarly authority to these representations, validating them as accurate historical reconstructions rather than ideological constructions, while C.W. Jefferys operated as a skilled visual mythmaker, translating nationalist narratives into compelling pictorial discourse that could evoke emotional responses from mass audiences. From W.J.T. Mitchell's perspective, these

illustrations do not merely supplement textual history but actively transform historical narratives, creating "imagetexts" where visual and verbal elements mutually constitute meaning.[282] The systematic deployment of visual conventions — settler heroism, civilization triumphing over wilderness, and imperial order naturalising colonial appropriation — reinforced hegemonic settler Canadian nationalist frameworks whilst making them accessible through educational systematisation.

This chapter has demonstrated how Visual Nationalism operated through the systematic convergence of print-capitalism, cultural patronage, and institutional coordination to construct historical consciousness serving hegemonic political interests. The technological innovations examined in Section 2.1 enabled mass circulation of standardised images, while the cultural capitalists analysed in Section 2.2 converted economic power into symbolic authority through strategic institutional development. The comparative analysis revealed how competing anglophone and francophone traditions ultimately reinforced shared settler colonial frameworks, and the educational infrastructure achieved mass dissemination across generations of Canadian students. This coordinated project succeeded in naturalising particular visions of Canadian identity as comprehensive historical truth, demonstrating how Visual Nationalism operated as a powerful technology of nation-building that continues to shape Canadian historical consciousness today.

[282] W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 89-94.

Chapter 3 - Collections of Canada: Archaeology, Ethnography and Visual Culture

3.1. Visualizing Material Culture

This study has thus far examined the proliferation of print media that established a settler Canadian historical consciousness between the 1867 Confederation and the publication of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Our analysis of periodicals, textbooks, and artists' books has revealed the historiographical construction of a dominant nationalist discourse, manifest through a corpus of visual culture disseminated via print media. Beyond documenting individual publications, we have interrogated the complex interplay between text and image in constructing narratives of 'Canadianness' — narratives shaped by a network of symbols, institutions, practices, and ideological frameworks deliberately cultivated to forge a distinctly Canadian national identity. The consolidation of a graphic arts industry, responding to the growing consumption of printed materials, coincided with the formation of a historical consciousness in Canada that was mediated through the proliferation of nationalist images.

This chapter turns to the visualization of material culture as another crucial dimension of this settler colonial nation-building project. It analyses unequal power relationships between European settlers and the Indigenous nations of North America, perpetuated through colonial knowledge systems in which archaeological and ethnological publications appropriated Indigenous cultural realities into ordered structures. The second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century saw major colonial expansion and consolidation by European powers and Euro-American settler societies.[283] In this process, the social sciences provided a scientific observation platform over the spaces and societies intended to be governed, supporting the state in exercising control over conflicting identities and establishing collective standards for nation-building.[284] To analyse this dimension, we must examine the epistemologies underlying visual archaeological and ethnological publications, engaging with their pictures and their reproductions within Canadian visual culture, to understand how visual practices shaped mythologized constructions in that context. Furthermore, in this nation-building project operating through the diffusion of images,

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[283] Elizabeth Edwards Ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven : Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992. Pp. 3-17

[284] Santiago Castro-Gómez. "*Ciências sociais, violência epistêmica e o problema da 'invenção do outro*'". CLACSO, 2005.
https://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/sur-sur/20100624102434/9_CastroGomez.pdf

mass-produced publications like Jefferys' *Picture Gallery* and the portfolios distributed by Imperial Oil served to legitimize the appropriation of Indigenous material culture, circulating mechanically reproduced pictures as national heritage beyond academic circles to broader audiences. Through the complementary roles of archaeological and educational discourses, Canadian elites conducted ideological work that claimed to preserve Indigenous cultures while actually controlling their representation to promote narratives of progress and civilizational advancement.

Theoretically, I propose a distinction between 'descriptive' and 'narrative' visual epistemologies that, while drawing inspiration from art historical scholarship, is tailored to the specific context of Canadian visual culture. Svetlana Alpers' influential work *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (1983) offers a useful conceptual starting point, as she identified two fundamentally different visual practices in European art traditions. In Renaissance aesthetics, embodied by Alberti's lasting model of the *istoria*, pictorial narration was the standard expectation, with visual codings of action in time privileging "biblical scenes", "hordes of angry soldiers" and "mourning mothers" as epitomes of artistic practice.[285] By contrast, what Alpers termed the documentary approach in Dutch art — characterized by meticulous attention to detail, emphasis on objects in their quiet existence, and affinity with observational practices associated with emergent optical technologies such as the microscope and telescope in the seventeenth century — provides a productive analogue for understanding certain aspects of Canadian archaeological and ethnographic visualization. However, rather than directly transposing Alpers' framework from seventeenth-century Dutch painting to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian contexts, I adapt these concepts to analyse the distinctive epistemologies employed in representing material culture for nationalist purposes in Canada, acknowledging the significant differences in historical context, technological means, and cultural objectives.

My distinction between 'descriptive' and 'narrative' visual epistemologies helps illuminate the dual traditions that Jefferys mobilized in his visual documentation of Canadian history. Drawing on Daston and Galison's work on scientific objectivity and visual knowledge production, I use 'visual epistemologies' to analyse how different visual practices not only represented but actively constructed knowledge about the Canadian past. The descriptive visual epistemology, which I associate primarily with museum displays, archaeological documentation, and antiquarian practices, prioritizes detailed representation of objects

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[285] Svetlana Alpers. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983. pp. xix-xxii

removed from temporal narratives, presented for observation and classification. This approach manifests in Jefferys' meticulous renderings of Indigenous artifacts, catalogued items, and material culture specimens. By contrast, the narrative visual epistemology — prevalent in historical illustrations, history paintings, and commemorative images — dramatizes events through action, emotional engagement, and temporal progression, as seen in Jefferys' dynamic scenes of colonial encounters and nation-building moments. Importantly, Jefferys moved fluidly between these modes, sometimes within the same publication, demonstrating their complementary role in constructing national visual identity. Alpers' framework resists reductive interpretation, as she demonstrated that artists frequently alternated between both documentary and narrative practices, and that expectations regarding these attitudes were sometimes conflicting and paradoxical,[286] even as two distinct traditions emerged from these approaches. However, we must also consider Pearce's insights into museum visualization practices, which add further complexity to documentary visual attitudes.[287] Unlike printed pictures, museum displays create physical relationships between objects and viewers through three-dimensional space, establishing what Pearce calls "*metaphorical relationships*" as visitors physically navigate exhibitions.[288] This embodied experience grants visitors a degree of agency in constructing meaning that differs fundamentally from engagement with printed images.

To examine the visualization of material culture in the Canadian context, this section analyses three interconnected dimensions. First, drawing on Daston and Galison's historical analysis of "mechanical objectivity,"[289] we explore how archaeological and ethnographic visual practices created a distinct visual epistemology that differed from historical illustration. As Daston and Galison demonstrate, by the late nineteenth century, scientific representations increasingly privileged mechanical reproduction over interpretation, embracing "noninterventionist objectivity" and its associated "morality of restraint".[290] Yet in the Canadian archaeological context, expressed by visual practices of institutions like the *Geological Survey of Canada*, this ideal existed in persistent tension with established representational traditions. The lithographic techniques that dominated archaeological

[286] Svetlana Alpers. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983. pp. xix-xxii
[287] Susan M. Pearce, "Museums of Anthropology or Museums as Anthropology?" Anthropologica 41, no. 1 (1999): 25-34.
[288] Susan M. Pearce, "Museums of Anthropology or Museums as Anthropology?" Anthropologica 41, no. 1 (1999): P. 25
[289] Lorraine Daston, and Peter Galison. "The Image of Objectivity." Representations, no. 40, Special Issue: Seeing Science (Autumn 1992): 81-128.
[290] Lorraine Daston, and Peter Galison. "The Image of Objectivity." Representations, no. 40, Special Issue: Seeing Science (Autumn 1992): P. 84.

publication created an inherent contradiction — while ostensibly serving mechanical objectivity's aims of eliminating subjective intervention, these hand-crafted reproductions nonetheless required artistic judgment and technical expertise inherited from earlier visual traditions. This produced what Daston and Galison might recognize as a hybrid practice,[291] where the moral virtue of self-restraint was proclaimed even as the technical realities of image production demanded ongoing artistic involvement.

Informed by W.J.T. Mitchell's notion of *imagetext*[292] and Peter Burke's insights on *Eyewitnessing*,[293] we investigate the institutional frameworks that shaped what Mitchell calls the *social life of images* — their insertion within networks of production, circulation, and reception that embedded these images within broader projects of nation-building.[294] These institutions functioned as visual culture sites where archaeological and ethnographic representations were transformed from documentary records into ideological instruments. Building on Mitchell's concept of metapictures[295] — images that reflect on the nature of images themselves — I propose that archaeological illustrations functioned as 'colonial metapictures' that simultaneously revealed and concealed the violence of cultural appropriation. These colonial metapictures claimed scientific neutrality while actively constructing Indigenous cultures as objects of study rather than subjects of their own cultural narratives, creating what appeared to be transparent documentation but actually constituted a complex visual practice of colonial knowledge production.

Finally, by examining the roles of archaeologists Harlan I. Smith, Charles T. Currelly and David Boyle, and artist T.W. McLean, we consider how scientific visualization operated not merely as descriptive documentation, but as a *myth-making practice* in the Barthesian sense[296] — transforming empirical representations into ideological constructs that depicted Indigenous societies as primitive and vanishing. Their published works, correspondence, and institutional affiliations reveal how visual renderings of Indigenous material culture negotiated the tension between *documentation* and *mythologized construction*. These representations contributed simultaneously to claims of epistemological authority and to the symbolic consolidation of national identity. This dual function underscores how the

[291] Lorraine Daston, e Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. Zone Books, 2007. Pg. 82
[292] W. J. T. Mitchell. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*. University of Chicago Press, 2013.
[293] Peter Burke. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. Reaktion Books, 2006.
[294] W.J.T. Mitchell, "*What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 93-94.
[295] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Metapictures," in "*Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 35-82. Mitchell defines metapictures as "pictures about pictures" that reveal the conditions of their own making and the broader visual culture that produces them.
[296] Roland Barthes. Mythologies, Trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972.

"moralized" forms of objectivity described by Daston and Galison[297] were inflected by distinctly Canadian colonial imperatives, shaping how material culture was framed, interpreted, and publicly disseminated.

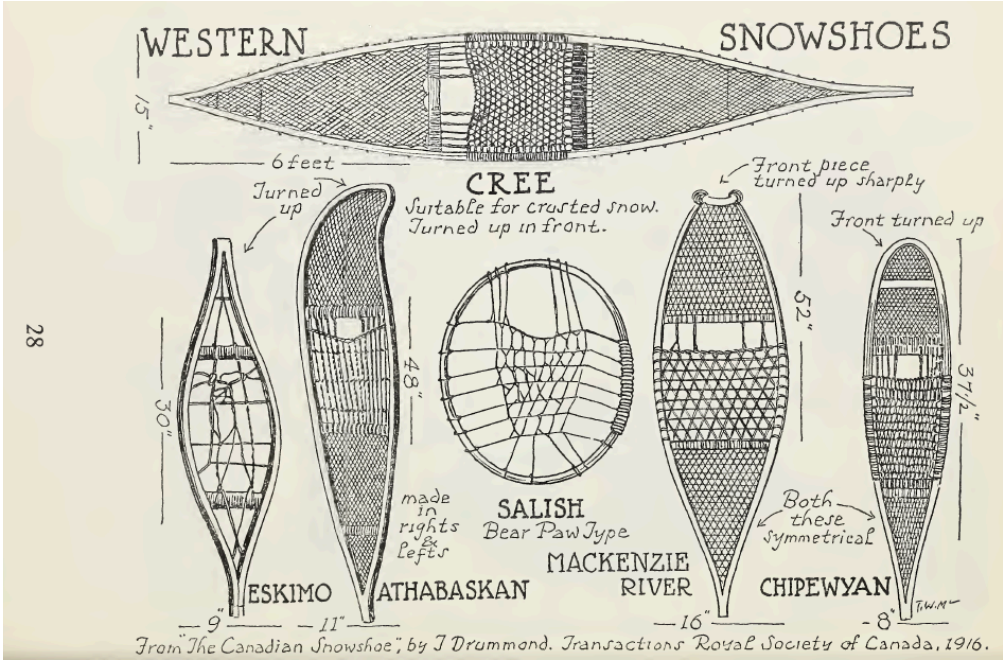

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Fig. 3.1- C.W. Jefferys, assisted by T.W. McLean. *Western Snowshoes*. In: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. vol. I, 1942. P.28

The starting point for the analysis of archaeological and ethnological visual material is the "Indian Section" of the first volume of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, also analysed in the first chapter of this thesis as an assemblage of narrative and documentary pictures. Now, in the third chapter, we will investigate the sources from which Jefferys based his illustrations of archaeology and ethnology, unveiling a genealogy of visual practices that contribute to the discourse of scientific authority and historical national sentiment. Indigenous snowshoes [Figure 3.1], for example, constitute artifacts of material culture that are positioned by archaeological and ethnological discourses as integral components of Canadian identity and what scholars have termed *Nordicity*.[298] In Jefferys' work, they appear within a sequence of six plates depicting Indigenous attire, all employing consistent visual conventions. When the viewer rotates the book sideways, their gaze encounters the collective

[297] Lorraine Daston, and Peter Galison. "The Image of Objectivity." Representations, no. 40, Special Issue: Seeing Science (Autumn 1992): 81-128.
[298] For the original conceptualizing of *nordicity* as an integral part of Canadian identity: Louis-Edmond Hamelin, Nordicité canadienne (1975, rev 1980, tr. Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North, Too, 1979). For a comprehensive critique of that idea: Hulan, Renée. Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 2002.

arrangement of elements, rather than being directed toward any single focal point that might suggest a narrative progression. Reflecting Jefferys' engagement with archaeological scholarship, the objects are deliberately positioned for optimal comparative analysis, with his design choices emphasizing symmetry and taxonomic order.

A compelling example of an imagetext formation, the textual elements reinforce the pursuit of objective representation, embodying principles of classification, measurement, and technical documentation. Each artifact is labelled with its origin (cultural or geographical), dimensions, and typological classification, as if they were presented in a museum display. This approach exemplifies what I have termed the '*Museum Exhibitor*' mode of presentation, wherein Jefferys emulates museological presentation techniques, emphasizing the artifacts' value as *records* rather than artistic interpretations — a distinction further reinforced by the prominently displayed citation of source material at the page's lower margin. Yet through Barthes' theoretical lens, this very claim to scientific objectivity functions as a second-order semiological system[299] where snowshoes and other Indigenous artifacts undergo a mythical transformation from cultural objects into scientific specimens and symbols of Canadian national identity. The meticulous labelling and taxonomic presentation perform what Barthes calls "the depoliticization process,"[300] hiding the power relationships involved in collecting and appropriating these artifacts, emptying them of their original Indigenous contexts and meanings, while filling them with new naturalized significance as emblems of Canadian heritage.

Visualizing material culture emerged as a practice deeply intertwined with mechanically reproduced images, creating a symbiotic relationship fostered by institutions, collectors, and scholars. For members of the settler Canadian network, the concept of *visual record* bridged these two epistemic fields and visualization practices through the claim that written documents alone were insufficient for historical understanding or for cultivating a sense of national identity — an argument already analysed in Jefferys' discourse. Within this context, collecting and making accessible material traces of the past was equally important as documenting and disseminating them through printed materials, while shaping their meanings through visualization practices. As archaeology and ethnology established themselves as academic disciplines distinct from history, the visual conventions employed for this category of images diverged significantly from that of 'romantic' historical depictions with their

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[299] Roland Barthes. Mythologies, Trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972. Pp. 142-146

[300] Roland Barthes. Mythologies, Trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972 Pp. 142-146.

narrative, dramatic, and heroic features. The visual conventions structuring what these historical actors considered *visual records* drew from scientific illustration and museological practices, constituting a representational practice that existed in tension between art and science. Although produced by skilled artists, engravers, and printers with solid artistic training, images within archaeological or ethnographic publications were nevertheless positioned within the framework of mechanical objectivity previously discussed.[301] These representations were approached through an ostensibly objective lens, with expectations favouring description over expression, and were widely classified as non-artistic documents — despite requiring significant interpretive skill. This contradiction became particularly pronounced when these images purported to objectively reproduce Indigenous artistic practices or works, further amplifying the tensions between scientific representation and cultural interpretation.

[301] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison define "mechanical objectivity" as a mid-nineteenth-century epistemological ideal that prioritized eliminating human intervention and subjective interpretation in scientific representation. This approach valued mechanical reproduction techniques over artistic interpretation, seeking "unmediated" representations that would allow nature to "speak for itself." However, Daston and Galison reveal the paradox that claims to purely mechanical reproduction still required human artistic mediation, exposing tensions between ideals of scientific neutrality and practical requirements of visual representation. See Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007). In the context of this research, we identified if with images of Indigenous artifacts through archaeological and ethnographic documentation that claimed scientific objectivity while simultaneously serving Canadian nationalist narratives, transforming cultural objects into specimens that supported colonial perspectives on Indigenous societies as "primitive" or "vanishing".

3.2. From Antiquarianism to Archaeology: collecting as colonial power

Fig. 3.2. - *Portrait of Lieutenant John Caldwell*, 1780. Artist Unknown. Oil on canvas, 1377 mm x 1128 mm. © National Museum of Liverpool, 58.83.16.

In this 1780 portrait, Lieutenant John Caldwell emerges from shadows dressed in a complete set of Iroquois attire, transforming the British officer into a living cabinet of curiosities. The canvas captures a moment of colonial theatre: a European colonizer wrapped in Indigenous artistry, red stockings, feathered headdress, a hatchet in his hand. His pose suggests both conquest and tribute, as he stands as collector and collected, displayer and displayed, his very body becoming the exhibition space where Indigenous material culture is simultaneously honoured and appropriated. Caldwell became a collector of Indigenous material culture when he was assigned to serve in Canada during the American War of Independence, amassing an impressive collection of Indigenous artifacts during military councils and economic exchanges with Indigenous communities.[302]

[302] Beth Fowkes Tobin, "*Wampum Belts and Tomahawks on an Irish Estate: Constructing an Imperial Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century*," *Biography* 33, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 680-713.

After returning to Ireland, Caldwell displayed the portrait at his Irish seat, surrounded by his collection of Native American objects, some of which are shown in the picture.[303] Caldwell's collecting of Indigenous artifacts exemplified the broader imperial practice of cultural appropriation that operated alongside territorial expansion and the systematic exploitation of Indigenous knowledge and labour to serve British colonial interests — an impulse that would define Canadian visual culture for generations. This attitude transformed cultural objects into trophies, ceremonial dress into costume, and lived traditions into museum pieces. Furthermore, while situated within an Imperial framework, John Caldwell exemplifies officials who employed antiquarian curiosity as a leverage for power, demonstrating how collecting Indigenous culture participated in the shaping of identity. The officer used the portrait and his collection to construct a public identity as a cosmopolitan man — one with sophisticated cultural taste and the distinction of aristocratic masculinity.

Caldwell's antiquarian practice served his individual ambition as a British officer who could navigate between worlds — mingling with the Ojibwa people, earning the name *'Apatto'* (Runner)[304], while appropriating Indigenous material culture as trophies of colonial prowess for display in his homeland. Caldwell emerges as the iconic figure among these military collectors, operating without scientific methodology or evidentiary intent, yet establishing the tradition of colonial collecting in Canada. Subsequently, individual collectors would consolidate into institutionalized communities that served settler colonialism through systematic cultural and epistemological operations. The portrait, painted in oil for private exhibition, functioned to display Indigenous artifacts through the colonial gaze, embedding visual practices that mechanical reproduction would soon transform and massively expand.

The technological revolution in image reproduction fundamentally altered how Indigenous cultures were visualized for European audiences, enabling circulation to much wider publics, contributing to the professionalization of anthropology and archaeology, and facilitating the systematic construction of Visual Nationalism. The circulation of images of Indigenous material culture in colonial networks started with these private depictions in the late eighteenth century. It reached specialized academic publications in the mid-nineteenth century, advancing a scientific look that regarded them as specimens of a vanishing world. Finally, it entered the twentieth century with large circulation in illustrated magazines and textbooks like the ones illustrated by Jefferys, who reverenced this tradition. The transition

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[303] *Artist and Empire*, exhibition booklet (London: Tate Gallery, 2015), 9.
[304] Beth Fowkes Tobin, "*Wampum Belts and Tomahawks on an Irish Estate: Constructing an Imperial Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century*," *Biography* 33, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 680-713, University of Hawaii Press.

from antiquarianism to academic archaeology to mass media demonstrates how colonial visual practices became institutionalized technologies for constructing settler Canadian historical consciousness and defining Indigenous peoples' marginalized position within the national narrative.

3.2.1. Early collectors

Canadian archaeology emerged from two distinct early-nineteenth-century antiquarian attitudes, both fundamentally serving settler-colonial objectives: the appropriation of Indigenous material culture and the commemoration of early European settlements. The first tradition involved British military enthusiasts and settlers who collected what they viewed as unknown and exotic artifacts of Indigenous cultures, rather than cultural heritage.[305] Many of these collectors arrived during the Loyalist migration of the late eighteenth century, occupying Indigenous sacred territory, exploiting burial grounds either for curiosities or for development of economic activities. While collectors often justified their activities through scientific and documentary rhetoric, the absence of systematic preservation and cataloguing practices — hallmarks of the scientific archaeology that would later consolidate in the nineteenth century — meant that early fieldwork consisted largely of disorderly excavation practices.[306] In practice, antiquarian relic hunters frequently disturbed archaeological sites accidentally exposed through agricultural activities, rarely producing comprehensive written records or contributing meaningfully to scholarly understanding of pre-contact Canadian history. These activities caused significant disruption to Indigenous communities as the Mississauga, who protested the destruction of burial grounds and natural resources and engaged with political advocacy, particularly when excavation was combined with larger-scale land clearance for construction materials and agricultural development.[307]

Among these British military collectors was Grant Jasper (1762–1812), who assumed command of Fort Malden at Amherstburg on the Great Lakes in 1806, an important centre of the fur trade. As the officer responsible for maintaining military alliances with regional Indigenous communities, including the Odawa, Wendat, Anishinaabeg, and Potawantomi nations, Jasper participated in diplomatic gift exchanges with Indigenous leaders, through

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[305] William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich, and James Hunter. "*Antiquarians and Avocationals from Upper Canada to Ontario*." *Ontario History* 110, no. 2 (2018): 198.
[306] Gerald Killan, "*The Canadian Institute and the Origins of the Ontario Archaeological Tradition 1851-1884*", Ontario Archaeology 34 (1980), 6;
[307] William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich, and James Hunter. 2018, 198.

which he began accumulating a collection of Indigenous material culture.[308] His wife Isabella contributed significantly to the formation of this collection, which she referred to in her will as her '*Indian cabinet*'.[309] This large collection contained fifty-nine items, including decorated deerskin garments, sashes, armbands, and garter pendants, wooden objects such as war clubs, pipes, and utilitarian items, and several pieces of wampum beadwork.[310] Beyond Indigenous artifacts, Jasper also collected botanical and zoological specimens, reflecting the broader antiquarian approach that treated archaeological and natural science objects as comparable subjects for study, employing similar methodological frameworks before disciplinary boundaries had been established.[311] No images of this collection exist, nor systematic cataloguing, as these early nineteenth-century collectors were driven by encyclopedic curiosity for collecting specimens but had not yet developed rigorous methodological practices. However, beyond the family's testamentary records, correspondence from Jasper's nine years in Canada reveals his antiquarian perspectives, which were influenced by emerging theories of human typology and cultural development.

Grant and Isabella Jasper's collection of Indigenous artifacts, acquired through colonial military engagement in North American territories, exemplified a collecting tradition established by earlier military figures such as James Cook (1728-1779), Jeffery Amherst (1717-1797), and John Caldwell. These military leaders assembled private collections of artifacts and natural history specimens, which were subsequently transported to the United Kingdom for display as curiosities and exotic symbols of imperial reach.[312] While such collections circulated within intellectual networks and contributed to emerging theories of human development, they fundamentally constituted spoils of colonial appropriation — many of which remain in European museums and universities today. Although collectors like Jasper may have studied these artifacts to facilitate cultural understanding and strengthen military alliances, they were primarily leveraged as cultural capital within colonial networks rather

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[308] David Murphy. *Jasper Grant*. Dictionary of Irish Biography. October 2009. https://www.dib.ie/biography/grant-jasper-a3574

[309] National library of Ireland D.13, 553-13,.,606. Cited in: Ruth B. Phillips. Jasper Grant and Edward Walsh: *The Gentleman-Soldier as Early Collector of Great Lakes Indian Art. Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes*. University of Toronto Press, Volume 21, Number 4, Winter 1986-1987. 63

[310] David Murphy. *Jasper Grant*. Dictionary of Irish Biography. October 2009. https://www.dib.ie/biography/grant-jasper-a3574

[311] Ruth B. Phillips. *Jasper Grant and Edward Walsh: The Gentleman-Soldier as Early Collector of Great Lakes Indian Art.* Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes. University of Toronto Press, Volume 21, Number 4, Winter 1986-1987. pp. 56-71

[312] Ruth B. Phillips. *Jasper Grant and Edward Walsh: The Gentleman-Soldier as Early Collector of Great Lakes Indian Art.* Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes. University of Toronto Press, Volume 21, Number 4, Winter 1986-1987. pp. 62

than serving as systematic anthropological or archaeological evidence. This pattern reveals how early collecting practices appropriated Indigenous material culture and repurposed it to serve imperial knowledge systems and social hierarchies, an interpretive framework that is becoming increasingly prominent in scholarship examining figures like Grant Jasper.

Another goal of early antiquarian-collectors and amateur archaeologists was discovering sites and artifacts of early explorations and settlement. Gaining momentum as the Province of Canada was formed in 1841 and the political arrangements for Confederation were underway, discovering and publicly incorporating these colonial records into a national narrative became a fundamental part of nation-building and shaping historical consciousness. Endeavours like those of Reverend P. Chazelle in 1842 and Reverend Felix Martin in 1855 attempted to identify sites of Jesuit Missions in Huronia.[313] J.W. Dawson (1820–1899) made expeditions in the 1860s to what he considered to be the historic Hochelaga, a St. Lawrence Iroquoian fortified village near present-day Montreal, which was visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535.[314]

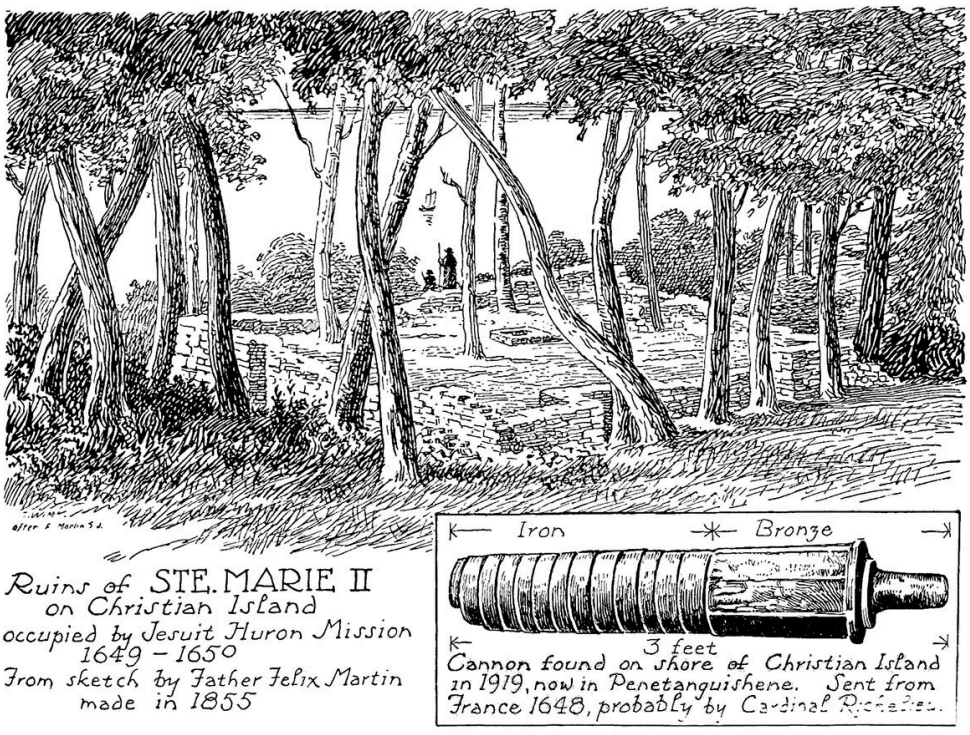

Fig. 3.3 - C.W. Jefferys, *Ruins of Ste. Marie II*. In: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I, 1942. P.104

[313] Gerald Killan, "*The Canadian Institute and the Origins of the Ontario Archaeological Tradition 1851-1884*", Ontario Archaeology 34 (1980), 6;
[314] Dena Doroszenko,T. Majewski, D. Gaimster (eds.) *Exploration, Exploitation, Expansion, and Settlement: Historical Archaeology in Canada*, International Handbook of Historical Archaeology, 2009

These commemorative archaeological enterprises contributed to shape both Canadian visual culture and historical consciousness. They produced records of archaeological sites and material culture later incorporated into educational materials and history publications, advancing a romantic perception of explorers hunting for the national foundations [Figure 3.3]. Jefferys worked to legitimize these endeavours and also exemplified this antiquarian sensibility, confessing his obsession with "*trivial things*" that demanded attention "*out of all proportion to their historic significance*."[315] His unpublished investigation of a bronze cannon discovered in 1919 demonstrates these visual practices: combining the physical artifact with Jesuit Relations and clerical sources to reconstruct its journey with French missionary expeditions, following it "*in imagination*" into "*the northern wilderness*." This methodology — integrating material culture with documentary sources from priest-archaeologists — provided the scholarly foundation for pictures reproduced in *The Picture Gallery*. Both in his unpublished manuscript and the picture, we see the commemorative effort that connected Canadian identity with French colonial heritage, while ultimately reinforcing the broader visual nationalist narrative of European penetration into Indigenous territory.

The transition from individual collectors to organized institutions accelerated from the 1840s, establishing the foundational infrastructure for what would become Canada's archaeological profession and, crucially, for the shared visual culture that supported settler-colonial nation-building. Institutions like *The Geological Survey of Canada* (1842) and *The Canadian Institute* (1849) became particularly significant in promoting the study of Canadian Indigenous heritage, natural history, and archaeology.[316] These institutions, alongside provincial museums and emerging archaeological societies, created spaces where amateur collectors, military officers, clergy, and educated professionals could collaborate in documenting, categorizing, and interpreting material traces of the Canadian past. Through the publication of research papers and the organization of museum exhibitions, this network transformed individual antiquarian pursuits into collective enterprises of knowledge production, establishing both the epistemological frameworks and visual conventions that would later be mobilized by figures like Jefferys in fostering a shared historical consciousness that supported Canadian national identity.

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[315] C.W. Jefferys, Jesuits in Huronia, manuscript. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, Series 7, Box 14, E.P. Taylor Library, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Available online: https://www.cwjefferys.ca/uploads/files/Documents/JESUITS-IN-HURONIA.pdf

[316] William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich, and James Hunter. "*Antiquarians and Avocationals from Upper Canada to Ontario*." *Ontario History* 110, no. 2 (2018): 197-202.

3.2.2. Mechanically reproduced Archaeology

In Canada, the turning point from curious antiquarianism to more professionally oriented archaeological practice came with Dr. Edward Bawtree (1818-1898), who arrived in Montreal as assistant surgeon for the British army in 1845.[317] Besides supporting archaeological excavations and gathering collections of artifacts and natural history, Bawtree published a portfolio with watercolours and pencil drawings that systematically illustrated his archaeological discoveries in 1848. Meeting the demand for accurate and technical drawings was a collaboration of his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Bawtree, and Mary Hallen, the daughter of a local minister. The symbiotic relationship between archaeology's establishment as a scientific discipline and the mechanical reproduction of images finds striking evidence in the reproduction of Bawtree's findings in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* (1849) and in the Smithsonian's *Antiquities of the State of New York* (1851). Both publications compiled scientific discoveries and presented them to specialized audiences, contributing to the visual dissemination of scientific knowledge that employed images' authority as evidence. This positioning established archaeology as a scientific discipline that would define how Indigenous culture could be visualized and scrutinized within emerging academic discursive formations.

The illustrations published by Bawtree and his collaborators pioneered in Canada a set of visual practices that became subsequently hegemonic in anthropological publications and reached C.W. Jefferys' *Picture Gallery* as an authoritative epistemology for the settler Canadian gaze toward Indigenous material culture, under the category of *visual records*: decontextualization, taxonomic categorization, measurements, axonometric perspective, intricate cross-hatching, and the artists' trained judgement to select relevant details and complete missing parts of artifacts [Figure 3.4.]. These pictures also exemplify the mode of presentation I have characterized as *The Museum Exhibitor*, possibly simulating the visualization experience of antiquarian cabinets, with which Dr. Bawtree, Mary Hallen, and Mrs. John Bawtree were certainly familiar as both observers and contributors.

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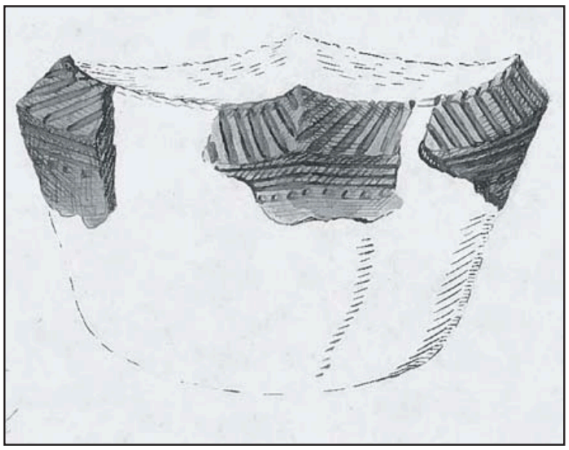
[317] William Fox, Conrad Heidenreich, and James Hunter. "*Antiquarians and Avocationals from Upper Canada to Ontario*." *Ontario History* 110, no. 2 (2018): pp. 199-202.



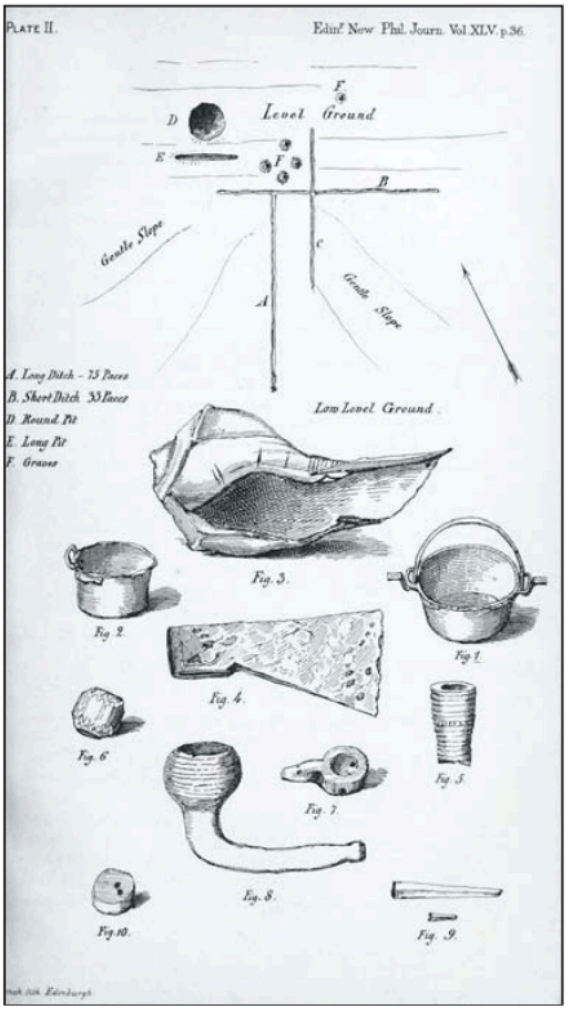


Fig. 3.4. - Archaeological artifact drawings, likely by Mrs. John Bawtree and Mary Hallen. From lithograph plate in *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*, 1849 (right), and Archives of Ontario, Royal Canadian Institute fonds: F 1052-1, "*Royal Canadian Institute drawings of aboriginal artefacts*," Container: D 192 (left). Reproduced from: Fox, Heidenreich, and Hunter, "*Antiquarians and Avocationals from Upper Canada to Ontario*," Ontario History 110, no. 2 (2018): 202.

The transition from individual antiquarian collecting to systematic archaeological practice, which relied on mechanically reproduced images as evidence and historical consciousness formation, gained significant impulse with the arrival of Daniel Wilson (1816-1898) in Toronto in 1853.[318] There he occupied the chair of History and English Literature at *University College*, became a commanding presence on the *Canadian Institute* council, and edited the *Canadian Journal* from 1856 to 1859. Wilson is notable for introducing a scientific approach and international perspectives to the discipline in Canada,[319]

[318] Gerald Killan, "*The Canadian Institute and the Origins of the Ontario Archaeological Tradition 1851-1884*", Ontario Archaeology 34 (1980), 8-9.
[319] Daniel Wilson introduced the concept of "prehistory" into anglophone vocabulary and is regarded as a predecessor to Franz Boas' archaeological framework that emphasized culture history and the

synthesizing these methods into a comprehensive cultural history of the New World in his *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World* (1865).

Fig. 3.5 - Frontispieces from Daniel Wilson, *Prehistoric Man: Researches into the Origin of Civilisation in the Old and the New World*, volumes 1 and 2 (1865-1876). Lithographs after Wilson's drawings based on Paul Kane's sketches. Left: Songhees chief Sketlesun, misidentified in the original caption as "Kaskatachyuh, a Chimpseyan Chief." Right: Caw-we-cham, a Cowlitz woman and child, originally captioned as "Cawwelitcks: A Flathead Woman and Child."

Although Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* contains several pictures of Indigenous material culture through the *Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation analysed in depth throughout this chapter — decontextualized, taxonomically categorized, measured, axonometric perspective, intricate cross-hatching — the frontispieces of the volumes pose a different set of questions that still advance this investigation of how scientific publications shaped popular understanding of Indigenous cultures in the settler Canadian national project [Figure 3.5]. First, these frontispieces employed different modes of presentation for Indigenous culture: *The Pantheon*, the portrait format associated with European portraiture traditions for the

timing of human migration to the New World. J.V. Wright, "*The Development of Prehistory in Canada, 1935-1985*," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 421.

Indigenous leader; The *Peeping Eye* as ethnographic observation for documenting cultural practices like basket weaving and cranial modification. Supporting Wilson's argument that some American cultures were living evidence of prehistoric life, these images serve the function of showing a continuing process, an illusion of contemporary primitiveness instead of a past object of study.

The chain of reproduction involved in these images demonstrates that although mechanical reproduction was employed to claim the absence of subjective intervention, it actually involved multiple artistic mediations, in which Paul Kane's field sketches were reinterpreted by Daniel Wilson's drawings and then standardized through lithographic reproduction to disseminate artistic interpretations as scientific evidence. The systematic misidentification of Indigenous individuals[320] — with both portraits incorrectly attributed to different peoples and regions than their actual subjects — attests to the fact that scientific archaeology remained embedded within European colonial attitudes that prioritized theoretical frameworks over accurate documentation. Kane's and Wilson's choice to prominently feature cultural practices like cranial modification suggests their intention to emphasize cultural differences that European audiences would readily interpret as markers of "primitiveness," thereby providing visual support for Wilson's evolutionary theories that positioned Indigenous societies as living representatives of humanity's prehistoric past.

Wilson's *Prehistoric Man* thus represents a crucial moment in the development of what would become a standardized colonial visual economy, where mechanically reproduced images claimed scientific authority while actively constructing settler Canadian understanding of Indigenous cultures as exotic, primitive, and historically static. These lithographic frontispieces, despite multiple artistic interpretations, established a precedent for depicting Indigenous peoples as ethnographic specimens for comparative analysis within evolutionary frameworks that supported colonial narratives of progress and civilization, gradually shaping public perception of Indigenous cultures. This tradition was foundational for C.W. Jefferys, who inherited and systematized these visual modes — mixing portraiture, ethnographic observation, and museum display techniques while reproducing and redistributing colonial images across educational and popular media. Wilson's work established the paradoxical authority of "scientific" visualization that would characterize Canadian archaeological and ethnographic representation well into the twentieth century. Through mechanical

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[320] Grant Keddie, "#175 Artist among the Songhees," *The British Columbia Review*, October 3, 2017, https://thebcreview.ca/2018/09/26/175-the-kane-scrutiny/. and Arlene Gehmacher, "*Portrait of Controversy: Paul Kane's Flat Head Woman and Child, Caw-wacham (c.1849–52)*," Art Canada Institute, 2014, https://www.aci-iac.ca/spotlight/portrait-of-controversy-by-arlene-gehmacher/.

reproduction, these colonial pictures achieved widespread circulation, embedding racialized assumptions about Indigenous cultures within the emerging visual culture of Canadian national identity.

This convergence of antiquarian attitudes and professional archaeology found its most elaborate expression in the Port-Royal reconstruction (1911-1940), exemplifying how mechanically reproduced pictures became foundational to the archaeological profession in Canada. This archaeological enterprise, in which Jefferys played a central role, demonstrates how the discipline legitimized visual practices that served the settler Canadian nation-building project. By reconstructing an archaeological site through scholarly research and circulating images of this revived symbol of European settlement, the project provided yet another tool to reinforce settler identity and cultivate interest in the past.

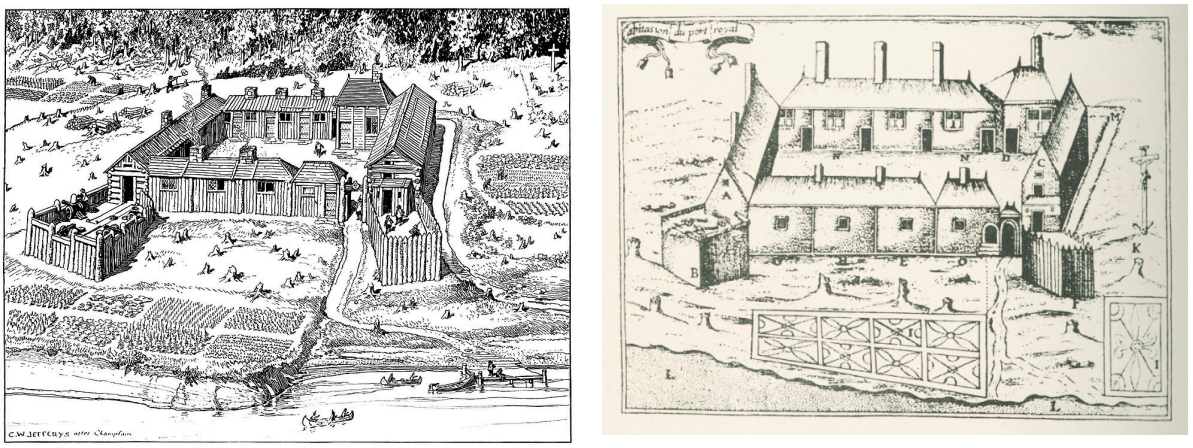

Fig. 3.6. - C.W. Jefferys, *The Habitation of Port Royal*, in *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, vol. 1, 1942, p. 81 (left); and Samuel de Champlain, *Habitation du Port Royal*, from *Les voyages du Sieur de Champlain* (Paris, 1613) (right).

Furthermore, when Jefferys redraws Samuel de Champlain's 1613 print, correcting its perspective and landscape, while adding occupation details based on archaeological research, he transforms colonial documentation into authoritative Visual Nationalism [Figure 3.6] — enhancing rather than questioning colonial sources and asserting continuity between New France and modern Canada. This synthesis of archaeological authority and artistic interpretation earned Jefferys recognition beyond his usual educational audiences — he collaborated with C.T. Currelly on excavations [section 3.3.2],[321] published in the *Canadian*

[321] C.W. Jefferys. 1942 *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History,* Vol I, p.116.

Historical Review,[322] and achieved scholarly credibility as both artist and historian.[323] The Port-Royal reconstruction thus reveals how the transition from antiquarianism to professional archaeology in Canada operated through visual culture, transforming colonial commemoration into scientific authority that would shape settler Canadian identity in the twentieth century.

3.3. Drawing as visual anthropology: tension between mechanical objectivity and trained judgement

From its earliest development as an academic field dedicated to documenting and studying human societies and cultures, anthropology has been deeply engaged with visual methods and representations.[324] Photography, in particular, had a profound impact in its formation as an academic discipline between 1880-1920 and was a vital form of evidence and a media that connected ethnologists throughout Euro-American anthropological institutions. At that time, the study of art and material culture was thought to provide evidence of cultural evolution, as institutions and scholars investigated and exhibited "primitive" cultures.[325] Colonial governments and administrations were especially committed to employing photography as a tool for classifying and categorizing colonized populations according to racial and ethnic types. These classifications, based on visible physical characteristics, served as a mechanism for asserting colonial authority to rule, govern, and control populations characterized as less 'developed' than white Anglo-Europeans. These state-sponsored practices of using photographic evidence to document and reinforce racialized differences persisted well into the twentieth century, often with devastating and violent consequences for the subjects of such taxonomies.[326]

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[322] C. W. Jefferys, "*The reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation of 1605-13*." In *Canadian Historical Review*, v. 20, no. 4, Dec. 1939, 368-377. Illus.
[323] Augustus Bridle. "Toronto 'history-artist' helps rebuild romance: C.W. Jeffreys [sic] adviser to experts restoring Old Fort Royal on Fundy Bay." In Toronto Daily Star, Sept. 16, 1939, p. 15.
[324] Jenny Chio. (2021) 2023. "Visual anthropology". In The Open Encyclopedia of Anthropology, edited by Felix Stein. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology. Online: http://doi.org/10.29164/21visual
[325] Marcus Banks, & Jay Ruby. Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology. University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp.2-3
[326] Jenny Chio. "Visual anthropology." In The Open Encyclopedia of Anthropology, edited by Felix Stein. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology, (2021) 2023. Online: http://doi.org/10.29164/21visual. Chio references: Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994; Pinney, Christopher. *Photography and Anthropology*. London: Reaktion Books, 2011; Morris-Reich, Amos. *Race and Photography: Racial Photography as Scientific Evidence, 1876-1980*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

However, this section will also examine the persistence of drawing as a visual anthropological practice in the Canadian context, analysing the epistemological implications of choices between photography and drawing as primary vehicles for disseminating ethnographical information. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive history of visual anthropology in Canada or to analyse the complex relationships between visual practices and anthropology's epistemological foundations. Rather, this analysis demonstrates how images of material culture were incorporated by popular media in Canada as central components of a nation-building project — with particular attention to archaeological and ethnological representations. This project, previously characterized in this dissertation for its settler colonial ideology and its mythmaking operations through scientific discourse, paradoxically constructed the idea of "*otherness*" regarding Indigenous cultures in relation to a Euro-Canadian identity, while simultaneously appropriating native cultural elements according to market expectations or, when advantageous, for the symbolic consolidation of Canadian national identity in opposition to US American or British identities.

A very relevant historical actor for the development of archaeology, anthropology, and the visualization of material culture in the Canadian context was David Boyle (1842-1911), prominently featured in this research for *Uncle Jim's Canadian nursery rhymes for family and kindergarten use* (1908). It was a lavishly illustrated volume in partnership with C.W. Jefferys that despite being an editorial failure, whereas a full-colour book was too expensive for a company in the Canadian market, "*Boyle's text and Jefferys's pictures together were the first attempt to create authentically and explicitly Canadian textual and visual signs and symbols*" for a picturebook.[327] Boyle was a polymath of Scottish descent, notably known for his work as a pioneering archaeologist and collector of artifacts.[328] He had also conducted ethnographic fieldwork with native peoples of the Six Nations and the Mississaugas first nations, and certainly fits the pattern shared by Jefferys of men dedicated to preserving and sharing Canadian cultural heritage. Writing through the pseudonym McSpurtle, he contributed with letters to newspapers which, over a 30-year span, expressed the tenets of his national concept, one based on imperialism, Anglo-Saxon racialism, and an intense Scottish cultural nationalism.[329]

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[327] G. Edwards, J. Saltman. 2014. P. 36.
[328] Gerald Killan, "BOYLE, DAVID," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 18, 2025
[329] Gerald Killan, "BOYLE, DAVID," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed April 18, 2025

Within the field of archaeology, David Boyle was a prominent and influential figure in the development of the Ontario archaeological tradition since the 1880s, connecting with British and North American communities and publishing the *Annual archæological report* in partnership with the Ontario Dept. of Education — the first journal in Canada expressly devoted to archaeology and ethnography.[330] Another publication that summarized the advances in the field previously communicated in the reports and which displayed Boyle's outlook within the archaeological view was the *Notes on primitive man in Ontario* (1895). Overall, the volume follows the dominant evolutionist perspective in late nineteenth-century anthropological literature,[331] one that distinguishes between "primitive" societies and "civilized" societies, following a teleological assumption that European societies became cultured and civilized, thus reaching a level that enables the categorization and the scientific scrutiny of "primitive" men, either from the past or from contemporary societies. Boyle's adoption of this perspective comes right on the first page, with the reproduction of a fragment and a figure from *Primitive Culture* (1871) by the English anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917).

As analysed in the first chapter, recent scholarship has highlighted how scientific discourses of the late nineteenth century regarding Indigenous societies of North America served to rationalize colonial domination.[332] These discourses contributed to the development of anthropology as a discipline that, through its claims to scientific objectivity, legitimized and authorized assumptions of racial character, endowing colonial racial hierarchies with the weight of scientific truth.[333] However, this research seeks to advance the interpretation of these discourses through the lens of visual practices, which play a central role in David Boyle's work. The volume contains 263 illustrations, with pictures interspersed throughout the text in an interplay we have characterized through the concept of *imagetext* — the captions provide objective measurements of the objects depicted, with all contextual information

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330 Noble, William C., and R.G. Forbis,, and Raymond J. Le Blanc, and Ian Dyck,, and David Morrison. "*Archaeology*." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada. Article published September 30, 2007; Last Edited March 04, 2015.

331 Elizabeth Edwards, Ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven : Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992. pp.3-17

332 See: Devon A. Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*. SCB Distributors, 2010. Coward, John M. *Indians Illustrated: The Image of Native Americans in the Pictorial Press*. University of Illinois Press, 2016. Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Bruce Trigger, "Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian," *American Antiquity* 45, no. 4 (1980): 662-676.

333 Elizabeth Edwards, Ed. Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920. New Haven : Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992. pp.3-17

regarding materials, provenance, or chronology integrated within Boyle's main text rather than in artistic attribution.

The illustrations exemplify a *descriptive* visual practice that combines meticulous detail, quiet objectivity, and visual conventions reminiscent of seventeenth-century optical technologies [Figure 3.7]. They follow the pattern of standardized presentations, conforming to archaeological illustration conventions that prioritize visual documentation over cultural context. The skull rendered with detailed scientific precision using cross-hatching techniques [Figure 3.8] serves more as a typological specimen than an individual artifact, and the textual reference to an "*old-time Indian occupation*" places Indigenous peoples in the past. In a gruesome way, the representation of this skull of a "*Huron-Iroquois*" person loses its cultural significance as the biological remains of an individual life, attached to a personal history, heritage, and belonging to a community, transformed in Canadian archaeological discourse into a signifier for a vanishing society, racial difference and typological categorization — constituting what Barthes defined as a "second-order semiological system"[334]. Drawing on the *Mythologies'* framework, in the first order, the drawing functions within scientific discourse — it denotes a human skull, representing data or anatomy. But in the second order, that image becomes the signifier for a broader myth: the idea of "primitiveness," "racial type," or "vanishing cultures."


in the heads and faces they modelled on their clay pipes. To one they attached a pair of dog's ears (figure 30), to another those of a bat; in one the mouth and eyes are formed awry and at opposite angles (figure 40); a fourth shows the face looking upwards (forming the top of the bowl), one eye being deeply hollowed

Fig. 45. Full size.

Fig. 46. Full size.

Fig. 47. Full size.

Fig. 48. Full size.

to receive the tobacco (figure 42), while in still another somewhat similarly formed, it is the widely open mouth that forms the interior of the bowl (figure 41). If they ever attempted portraiture in the numerous representations of

Fig. 49. Full size.

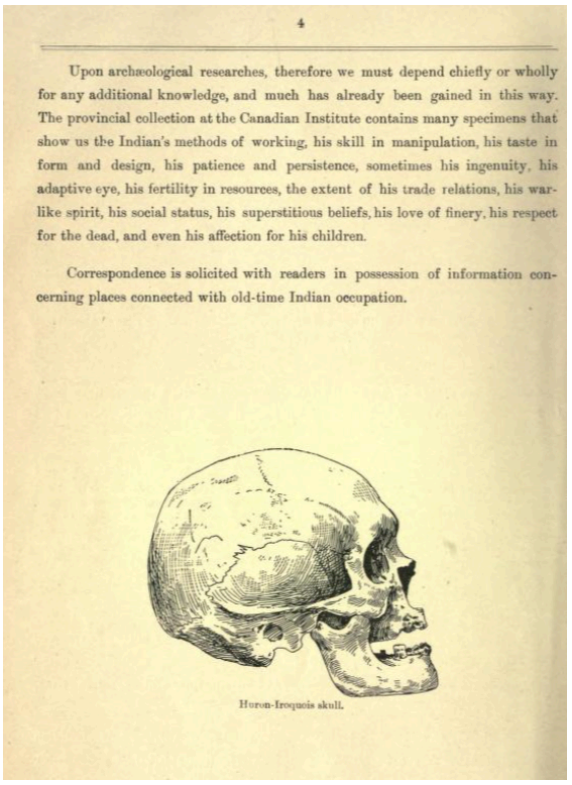
Fig. 50. Full size.

human features, their intentions have wofully miscarried, for in few cases can it be said that the faces are even typical of the race. Figure 1 is an exception, and is probably so, "more from luck than good guiding."

Fig. 3.7 - Boyle, David. *Notes on primitive man in Ontario.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1895, p. 38

[334] Roland Barthes, Mythologies, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 114–117.

Following W.J.T. Mitchell's understanding of images as active agents with their own "desires" and "needs",[335] the illustrations in Boyle's work are not merely passive scientific records but quasi-subjects exerting power through their visual presence. The representation of the human skull exists in what Mitchell would call a "double consciousness" within viewers [Figure 3.8] — we know it is simply an illustration, yet it demands response and recognition.[336] Initially, this skull-image "wanted" to serve scientific taxonomy and racial classification, desiring to be read as evidence within a colonial epistemology that positioned Indigenous bodies as specimens. Its formal qualities — precise line work, isolation from context, taxonomic positioning — manifest its original desire to participate in the authoritative discourse of Western science. However, this image has experienced what Mitchell terms a "migration across media" as it moved from scientific publication to internet archive to critical academic analysis.[337] In this migration, the skull-image has developed new desires.



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Upon archæological researches, therefore we must depend chiefly or wholly for any additional knowledge, and much has already been gained in this way. The provincial collection at the Canadian Institute contains many specimens that show us the Indian's methods of working, his skill in manipulation, his taste in form and design, his patience and persistence, sometimes his ingenuity, his adaptive eye, his fertility in resources, the extent of his trade relations, his war-like spirit, his social status, his superstitious beliefs, his love of finery, his respect for the dead, and even his affection for his children.

Correspondence is solicited with readers in possession of information concerning places connected with old-time Indian occupation.

Huron-Iroquois skull.

Fig. 3.8 - Boyle, David. *Notes on primitive man in Ontario*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1895, p. 4

[335] W.J.T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28-29.
[336] W.J.T. Mitchell, 2005, 7-11.
[337] W.J.T. Mitchell, "The Surplus Value of Images," in "What Do Pictures Want?",2005, 76-106.

The skull illustration does not merely represent death; it actively reflects on its own colonial origins and the power structures that produced it. As Mitchell suggests, images can reveal the conditions of their making while simultaneously serving new purposes.[338] The skull bears visible traces of its violent history — having been taken from Indigenous contexts, clinically illustrated, and used to advance scientific racism. Now, in its contemporary academic analysis, this same image serves as compelling visual evidence of colonial genocide and cultural erasure. Though created within a framework of scientific racism, the illustration now functions against its original purpose, silently revealing and resisting the very narrative it was designed to support. This transformation demonstrates Mitchell's insight that images possess power that can ultimately undermine their creators' intentions, allowing them to be reinterpreted within critical frameworks that expose rather than reinforce colonial ideologies.[339]

Mitchell's concept of *metapictures* helps illuminate how this skull image functions on multiple levels simultaneously.[340] A metapicture, according to Mitchell, is an image that reflects on the nature of images themselves — a 'picture about pictures' that reveals how visual practices works. Boyle's skull illustration operates as what I term a *colonial metapicture* because its explicit identification as an illustration — acknowledged in Boyle's textual apparatus and through visible artistic techniques — establishes its metapictorial character while simultaneously presenting itself as objective scientific documentation. This self-reflexivity serves a distinctly colonial purpose: the acknowledgment that we are looking at a drawing paradoxically reinforces claims to scientific objectivity, suggesting that skilled artistic technique has faithfully translated the physical specimen into visual knowledge. Unlike Mitchell's examples of metapictures that maintain clear boundaries between what is being represented and how it is being represented, this colonial metapicture deliberately collapses those distinctions. The skull cannot be separated from the colonial context that produced it — the removal from Indigenous burial grounds, the clinical measurement and classification, the deployment within racial typologies. The 'inside' of the image (what it purports to document) and the 'outside' (the colonial apparatus that created it) have been fused together, creating a representation that naturalizes cultural violence through claims to

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[338] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Metapictures," in "Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 35-82.
[339] W.J.T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures Want?", 2005, 351.
[340] W.J.T. Mitchell, "Metapictures," in "*Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 35-82, especially 42 on the "inside and outside" structure of metapictorial representation.

scientific objectivity. This demonstrates how colonial visual practices used the apparent neutrality of metapictorial reflection to mask ideological manipulation.

Ultimately, these lithographic renderings create a paradox: claiming scientific objectivity through precise representation while simultaneously aestheticizing Indigenous artifacts through skilled artistic techniques. Indeed, these pictures fulfil an impulse to preserve visual records of material culture that might otherwise have been lost,[341] but their textual categorizing as “primitive” or cultural products of an “old-time” create a temporal distancing that indicates the reception and the expectations regarding these illustrations in that context — one of recording and registering supposedly vanishing cultures and specimens. The colonial gaze constructs an image of European ownership of the non-European world, classifying Indigenous cultural identity by Western preoccupations, particularly those related to labour ("methods of working"), warfare, and social structure.

Regarding the aforementioned paradox central to this study — the tension between scientific objectivity and representation through artistic techniques — the deliberate omission of express authorship and technical details in the production of these illustrations can be interpreted as an effort at the "prohibition of interpretation" that characterizes mechanical objectivity.[342] This erasure of the artist's hand creates what Daston and Galison identify as the "illusion of unmediated representation," despite the unavoidable interpretive interventions required to translate three-dimensional Indigenous artifacts into two-dimensional scientific specimens.[343] However, commercial interests may explain a discrete signature on one of the few two pictures that occupy a full page [Figure 3.9], disclosing artistic authorship and thus characterizing the hybrid epistemological virtues involved in this archaeological report. The signature identifies the Toronto Engraving Company[344], the original name of Brigden's Ltd, a

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[341] Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, 3-17. Edwards demonstrates that while individual archaeologists and anthropologists of the late nineteenth century often expressed "genuine desire for a sympathetic understanding of peoples in human terms," these personal motivations were nevertheless situated within broader institutional frameworks characterized by the imperial impulse to classify, order, and control non-European cultures. Such frameworks positioned Indigenous societies within evolutionist narratives that characterized them as representing the "childhood of mankind"—a conceptualization that simultaneously justified colonial interventions while appropriating Indigenous cultural productions into Western knowledge systems.

[342] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, Objectivity (New York: Zone Books, 2007) 120. The authors characterize mechanical objectivity as requiring "*the suppression of some aspect of the self, the countering of subjectivity*."

[343] Daston and Galison, Objectivity, 43. As they note, "*the very act of representing... entails interventions that preclude direct comparison*."

[344] The Toronto Engraving Company was founded in 1877 by Frederick Brigden, who emigrated from England to Canada as a way of standing out in the printmaking market, which was already becoming saturated due to the advent of photoengraving in the UK. Angela E. Davis, “BRIGDEN, FREDERICK,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 14*, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed May 18, 2025, https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brigden_frederick_14E.html.

pioneering firm specializing in wood-engraving and lithography in Canada since the 1870s.[345] This acknowledgment exemplifies the shift Daston and Galison observe from pure mechanical objectivity toward "trained judgment"—a hybrid mode where expert intervention is selectively permitted to enhance scientific representation.[346] The highly technical artistic practice of the lithography company embodies this virtue of trained judgment, employed for an optimal visualization of the artifacts. Furthermore, the images throughout the volume display distinct manual interventions characteristic of what Daston and Galison term the "interpretive skill" necessary for communicating essential characteristics — including carefully rendered completion lines for broken artifacts and meticulous cross-hatching techniques that reveal the persistence of artistic mediation despite claims to mechanical objectivity.

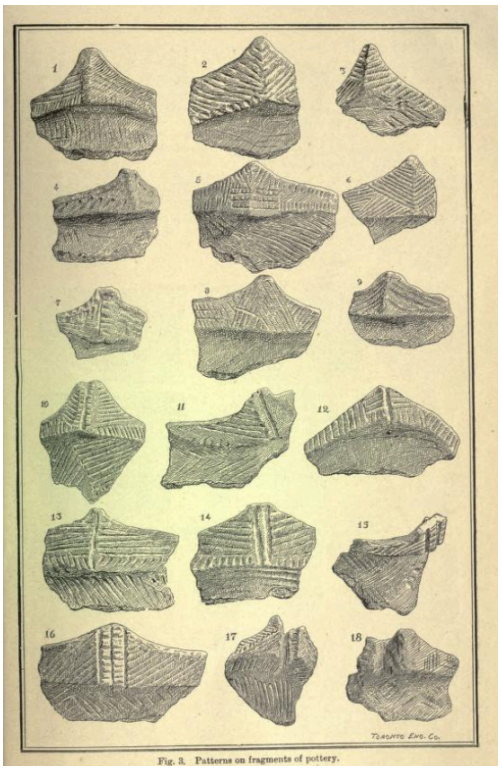
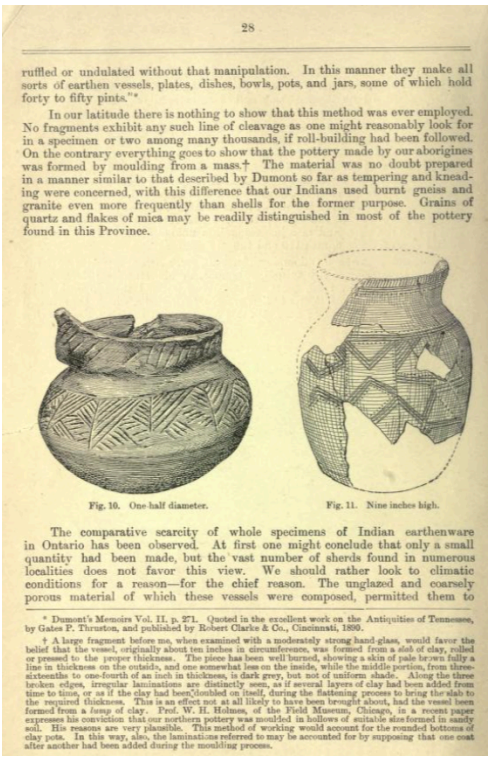


Fig. 3. Patterns on fragments of pottery.



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ruffled or undulated without that manipulation. In this manner they make all sorts of earthen vessels, plates, dishes, bowls, pots, and jars, some of which hold forty to fifty pints."*

In our latitude there is nothing to show that this method was ever employed. No fragments exhibit any such line of cleavage as one might reasonably look for in a specimen or two among many thousands, if roll-building had been followed. On the contrary everything goes to show that the pottery made by our aborigines was formed by moulding from a mass.† The material was no doubt prepared in a manner similar to that described by Dumont so far as tempering and kneading were concerned, with this difference that our Indians used burnt gneiss and granite even more frequently than shells for the former purpose. Grains of quartz and flakes of mica may be readily distinguished in most of the pottery found in this Province.

Fig. 10. One-half diameter.

Fig. 11. Nine inches high.

The comparative scarcity of whole specimens of Indian earthenware in Ontario has been observed. At first one might conclude that only a small quantity had been made, but the vast number of sherds found in numerous localities does not favor this view. We should rather look to climatic conditions for a reason—for the chief reason. The unglazed and coarsely porous material of which these vessels were composed, permitted them to

* Dumont's Memoirs Vol. II, p. 271. Quoted in the excellent work on the Antiquities of Tennessee, by Gates P. Thruston, and published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1890.

† A large fragment before me, when examined with a moderately strong hand-glass, would favor the belief that the vessel, originally about ten inches in circumference, was formed from a slab of clay, rolled or pressed to the proper thickness. The piece has been well burned, showing a skin of pale brown fully a line in thickness on the outside, and one somewhat less on the inside, while the middle portion, from three-sixteenths to one-fourth of an inch in thickness, is dark grey, but not of uniform shade. Along the three broken edges, irregular laminations are distinctly seen, as if several layers of clay had been added from time to time, or as if the clay had been doubled on itself, during the flattening process to bring the slab to the required thickness. This is an effect not at all likely to have been brought about, had the vessel been formed from a lump of clay. Prof. W. H. Holmes, of the Field Museum, Chicago, in a recent paper expresses his conviction that our northern pottery was moulded in hollows of suitable size formed in sandy soil. His reasons are very plausible. This method of working would account for the rounded bottoms of clay pots. In this way, also, the laminations referred to may be accounted for by supposing that one coat after another had been added during the moulding process.

Fig. 3.9 - Boyle, David. *Notes on primitive man in Ontario*. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1895, pp. 23, 28.

The visual conventions employed throughout Boyle's work systematically transforms Indigenous cultural artifacts into scientific specimens through techniques of isolation, fragmentation, standardization, and decontextualization. This transformation serves the

[345] Robert Stacey. "Graphic Art and Design." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published February 07, 2006; Last Edited July 08, 2015.
[346] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity.* New York: Zone Books, 2007. P. 318-321

broader colonial project of knowledge production, where material culture is stripped of its original meanings and reframed within Western epistemological frameworks. Even though the report embraces a purportedly documentary outlook aligned with what Daston and Galison term "mechanical objectivity", it manifests its contradictions by representing artistic Indigenous artifacts through artistic techniques of reproduction, exemplifying the paradox I identified earlier between the "descriptive visual epistemology" that claims scientific detachment and the unavoidable interpretive interventions required in image making. This tension reveals how the colonial scientific apparatus simultaneously appropriated and denied the artistic value of Indigenous cultural production. The illustrations employ the skilled craftsmanship of cross-hatching to render objects deemed merely ethnographic specimens, creating an unacknowledged artistic relationship between the Western illustrator and Indigenous creator. Despite their scientific framing, these images challenge the colonial gaze that labelled them as "primitive," silently demanding recognition within their original cultural contexts.

Regarding the interplay between illustrations and text, we must analyse how they work together towards the illusion of scientific neutrality. By employing technical language, descriptive captions, taxonomic classification, and most of all, by omitting specific cultural, ceremonial, or symbolic contexts in which these artifacts were created, the text reinforces scientific authority. On page 38 [Figure 3.9] the assertion that the faces reflect "*more luck than good guiding*" removes intention and replaces it with accident — infantilizing or minimizing the agency of the original creators. Furthermore, the assertions that the faces are "wofully [sic] miscarried" and not "even typical of the race" are judgements of Indigenous artistic forms by Euro-American aesthetic standards. Thus, this imagetext relationship functions as Barthes' characterization of myth[347], erasing the original context and replacing it with a narrative of primitivism and failure. It constructs a power differential where Indigenous knowledge systems are subordinated to the supposedly objective gaze of archaeological documentation, which itself remains unmarked as a culturally situated practice embedded within colonial power structures.

[347] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 109-114. In this seminal work, Barthes describes myth as a "second-order semiological system" where signs from a primary language system become mere signifiers in a secondary mythical system, emptied of their original meaning and filled with new ideological significance.

Visual Economy and Industrial Appropriation: Indigenous Material Culture as Commercial Resource

Another distinctively relevant example of the repurposing of Indigenous artistry and material culture within Euro-American visual culture — one that demonstrates a different dimension of colonial appropriation than the scientific taxonomies previously analysed — is *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*, released as the *Bulletin 37 of the Anthropological Series of the Victoria Memorial Museum* (1923). This publication exemplifies what I term a "colonial visual appropriation", wherein Indigenous material culture was simultaneously documented as scientific specimens and reframed as exploitable design resources for industrial applications, creating a visual economy that circulated decontextualized Indigenous aesthetics as markers of Canadian national distinctiveness.

The *Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* was published under the direction of Harlan Ingersoll Smith (1872-1940), a prolific North American archaeologist during the first half of the twentieth century, however scarcely examined in recent scholarship. Born and educated in Michigan, Smith settled in Ottawa in 1911, where he worked for the *Geological Survey of Canada* as head of the Archaeology Division.[348] The GSC was an institution centrally integrated into the network for popularising Canadian material culture, involving both public and private dimensions, founded in Montreal in 1842 with a focus on mining activities, but its collecting efforts led to the establishment of a museum in 1856. Since the Confederation, the survey assumed a leading role in fostering mining activities and integrated with the westward expansion carried out by the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Finally, in 1910, archaeological and ethnological activities were formally incorporated with the creation of the Archaeology Division in Ottawa, of which Harlan I. Smith was the director, also overseeing the *Victoria Memorial Museum* operated by the organization.[349] Consonant with the pattern established in this study, these major Canadian cultural and scientific institutions disseminated their activities through print media that incorporated visual materials, functioning as what

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[348] Canadian Museum of History website. Harlan Ingersoll Smith. https://www.warmuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/ethno/etp0400e.html Access in March 03, 2025.

[349] The Geological Survey of Canada, founded in Montreal in 1842, was the institutional precursor to both the Canadian Museum of History and the Canadian Museum of Nature, which became separate entities following their division in 1968. The Victoria Memorial Museum Building in Ottawa, completed in 1912, initially housed the GSC's collections and continues to serve as the home of the Canadian Museum of Nature today. See Vodden, C., L.A. Frieday, and Niko Block, "Geological Survey of Canada," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, published February 7, 2006, last edited August 16, 2017, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/geological-survey-of-canada.

Anderson would term "instruments of imagined community,"[350] either as explicit vehicles for popularizing nationalist discourse or as ostensibly objective visual epistemologies that nonetheless served ideological purposes. The circulation of these images through institutional publications created a visual economy that mediated between specialized knowledge production and public consumption of national cultural narratives. The volumes directed by Smith for the Victoria Memorial Museum fit this system of visual cultural formation, going beyond archaeological documentation to facilitate the audience's relating with an imagined political and cultural community.[351]

What's striking in *An Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* is the capitalist intent of exploring indigenous visual culture — what Canadians scholars of that context considered decorative or pictorial arts — for employment in the industrial arts.

> Primitive motives have already yielded gratifying results in the field of industrial application, though the possibilities of their utilization have as yet been barely tapped. This is due not so much to the inaccessibility of suitable material (museums and ethnological publications are crowded with valuable aesthetic suggestions) as to sheer inertia on the part of the industrial world and its failure to realize the fruitful possibilities that are inherent in so much of primitive art.[352]

The prefatory note addresses the industrial world, calling attention to the possibility of exploring indigenous visual practices for crafting objects for commercial selling. In the introduction, Smith emphasized the need for manufacturing motives of a distinctively Canadian design, seeing in "*early Indian art of Canada*" an appropriate starting point. Smith connects this demand with the conditions caused by the Great War, envisioning the formation of a proper Canadian manufacture style. However, the textual and visual languages employed in this volume derive from academic archaeological and ethnological knowledge systems, conforming to what Foucault would term a "discursive formation"[353] that categorizes "specimens" into five "natural divisions" of the Canadian territory, allegedly corresponding to five "culture areas". This taxonomic approach exemplifies the classificatory impulse that

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[350] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 44.
[351] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 44-46.
[352] Victoria Memorial Museum (Canada), issuing body. · An album of prehistoric Canadian art / by Harlan I. Smith. · Bulletin ; no. 37. Anthropological series ; no. 8. Pg. III
[353] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 31-39.

Daston and Galison identify as central to scientific objectivity's authority claims.[354] There's also the spirit of publicizing original research, with attention to objects and patterns that were never "previously illustrated" or a "search for stray and obscure" data. This dual function as both scientific representation of visual anthropology and collection of artistic motives and patterns highlights the tension between art and science which we identified in this genre of print media, while also suggesting a genealogy of visual collections that are publicly disseminated according to academic taxonomies.

This document also indicates a distinct relationship between museological institutions, pictures of ethnological artifacts, and their reframing as industrial motifs. It testifies to a network of institutions in North America, such as the *American Museum of Natural History,* the *Museum of the American Indian*, which also included the *Victoria Memorial Museum*, all of them appropriating Indigenous cultural productions for colonial power structures, removing elements from their original cultural meaning and repurposing them within a colonial capitalist framework.[355] Visual anthropology, embodied by these highly equipped institutions that operated between the national public and private interests, functioned as the *trained judgement* in selecting relevant designs,[356] attesting their originality and incorporating them within national narratives of progress and social development. There are three visual dimensions at work in this process: first, professional archaeologists who employ trained judgement in selecting the motifs; second, the visual expertise of artists in producing pictures according to archaeological standards of representation; and finally, the dimension of crafting industrial commodities with economic value for national manufacturing companies, enacted by industrial designers who could adapt those designs to market expectations.

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[354] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, "The Image of Objectivity," *Representations* 40 (1992): 81-128.

[355] As Edwards demonstrates, the appropriation of Indigenous cultural productions was not merely acquisitive but fundamentally transformative, operating through what she identifies as "*a controlling knowledge which appropriated the 'reality' of other cultures into ordered structure.*" This process of removal from original cultural contexts and repurposing within colonial frameworks exemplifies Edwards' argument that anthropological practices, including museum collection and display, were integral to justifying and rationalizing colonial domination through claims to scientific objectivity. See: Elizabeth Edwards, "Historical relations and contexts," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) pp. 5-6.

[356] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity.* New York: Zone Books, 2007. P. 318-321

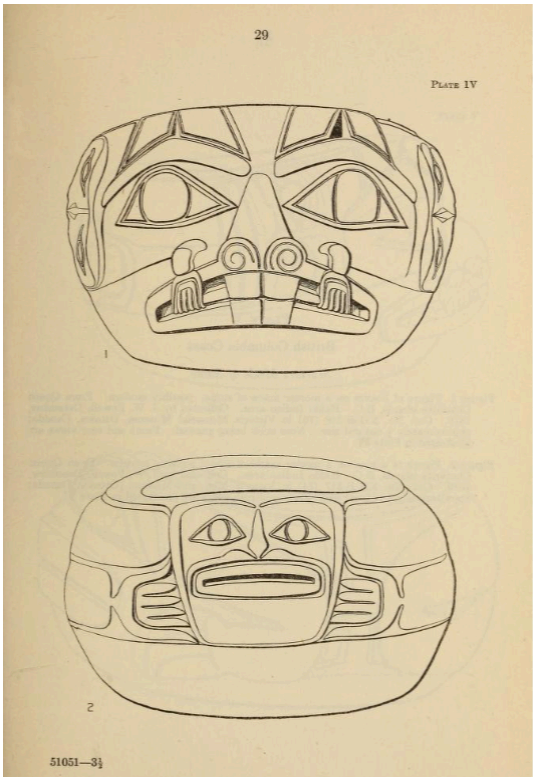

Fig. 3.10 - Smith, Harlan I. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art*. Ottawa: Department of Mines, Victoria Memorial Museum, 1923, pp. 28-29.

Exploring the colonial visual economy framework previously established, the *Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art* comprises a valuable expression of how printed pictures were produced, circulated, and consumed within Canadian society. Expanding on the concept of print-capitalism,[357] I argue that Smith's *Album* provides standardized, widely shared images of national identity that circulated beyond specialized networks of archaeology, ethnology and antiquarian experts. These pictures achieved broader dissemination through museum publications distributed across the country and through the appropriation of Indigenous visual motifs, connecting shared visual practices with populations outside settler Canadian identity centres, while simultaneously positioning Canada within international archaeological discourse. The volume's organization as an album indicates the leading role of pictures, instead of textual matter, as the prioritized media in conveying information about Canadian Indigenous peoples while providing standardized images for national identification. As an example, ritual objects with zoomorphic features are represented through the descriptive visual epistemology [Figure 3.10], removed from their cultural function and presented only

[357] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 44-46.

for their aesthetic composition. On a symbolic level, the representation of the beaver loses its semantic value rooted in Indigenous lived experience and cultural knowledge systems to become a symbol of Canada, valued by Smith's gaze as a possible aesthetic reference to be commercialised.

The *Album* appropriates illustrations from other scholarly publications but reconfigures them according to new taxonomic criteria, constructing a novel discourse on "Prehistoric Art" tailored for contemporary consumption patterns. This repurposing, driven by industrial imperatives, transforms culturally specific Indigenous artifacts into decontextualized design motifs, commodifying aesthetic elements for popular consumption. As expected for this genre of printed material, the text supports and supplements the main information displayed visually through illustrations of archaeological and ethnological artifacts, in an interplay similar to what I characterized as "imagetext" in the museological tradition [Figure 3.11]. The textual matter follows a structure similar to a descriptive catalogue, or a series of museum captions that expand the meaning and the informational qualities of the publication. Many references to David Boyle's reports for the Ontario Department of Education mark the genealogy of images, disclosing their nature as copies of illustrations within printed media, a trait we identified in late nineteenth and early twentieth visual culture. The genealogical continuity between antiquarianism and visual archaeology is revealed through the "*collected by*" designations in captions, emphasizing how these objects were framed as exotic artifacts from "*primitive cultures*" — initially acquired by individual collectors but subsequently validated and institutionalized through national museums.

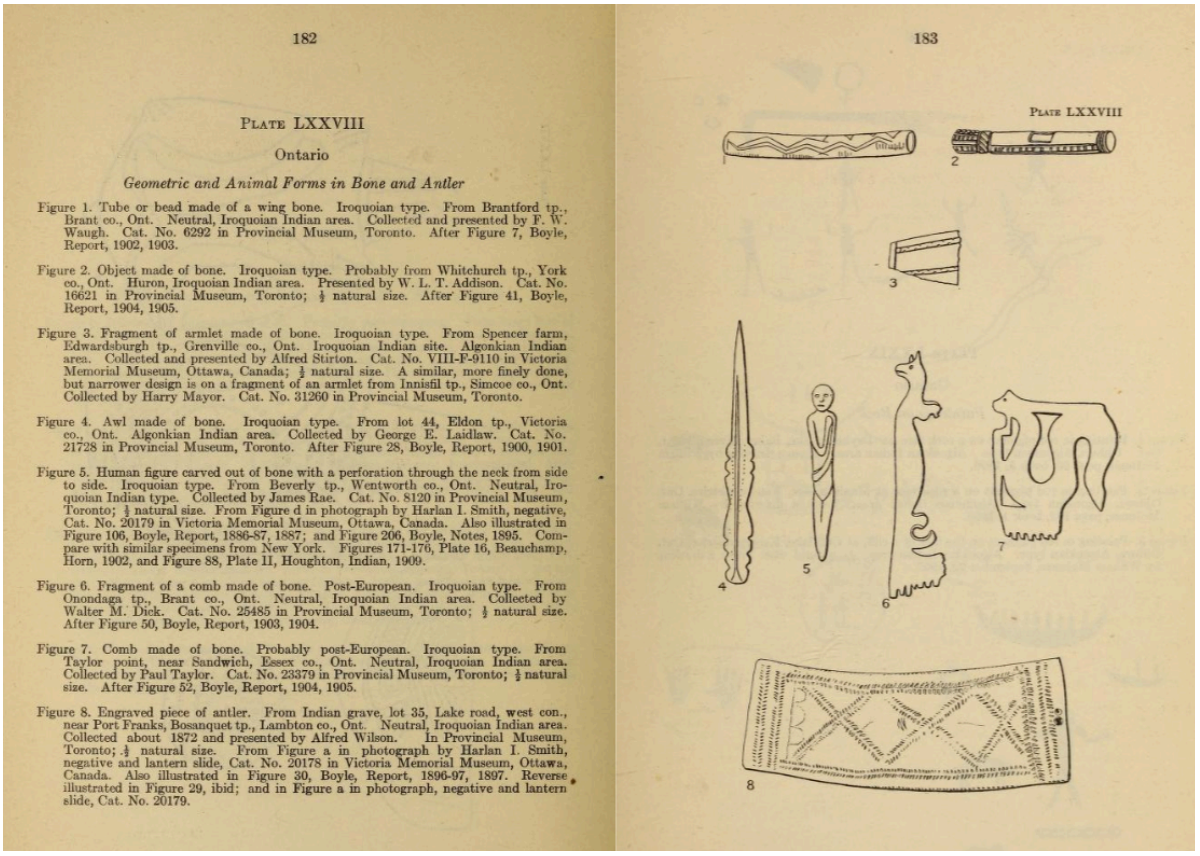

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PLATE LXXVIII

Ontario

Geometric and Animal Forms in Bone and Antler

Figure 1. Tube or bead made of a wing bone. Iroquoian type. From Brantford tp., Brant co., Ont. Neutral, Iroquoian Indian area. Collected and presented by F. W. Waugh. Cat. No. 6292 in Provincial Museum, Toronto. After Figure 7, Boyle, Report, 1902, 1903.

Figure 2. Object made of bone. Iroquoian type. Probably from Whitchurch tp., York co., Ont. Huron, Iroquoian Indian area. Presented by W. L. T. Addison. Cat. No. 16621 in Provincial Museum, Toronto; ½ natural size. After Figure 41, Boyle, Report, 1904, 1905.

Figure 3. Fragment of armlet made of bone. Iroquoian type. From Spencer farm, Edwardsburgh tp., Grenville co., Ont. Iroquoian Indian site. Algonkian Indian area. Collected and presented by Alfred Stirton. Cat. No. VIII-F-9110 in Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, Canada; ½ natural size. A similar, more finely done, but narrower design is on a fragment of an armlet from Innisfil tp., Simcoe co., Ont. Collected by Harry Mayor. Cat. No. 31260 in Provincial Museum, Toronto.

Figure 4. Awl made of bone. Iroquoian type. From lot 44, Eldon tp., Victoria co., Ont. Algonkian Indian area. Collected by George E. Laidlaw. Cat. No. 21728 in Provincial Museum, Toronto. After Figure 28, Boyle, Report, 1900, 1901.

Figure 5. Human figure carved out of bone with a perforation through the neck from side to side. Iroquoian type. From Beverly tp., Wentworth co., Ont. Neutral, Iroquoian Indian type. Collected by James Rae. Cat. No. 8120 in Provincial Museum, Toronto; ½ natural size. From Figure d in photograph by Harlan I. Smith, negative, Cat. No. 20179 in Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, Canada. Also illustrated in Figure 106, Boyle, Report, 1886-87, 1887; and Figure 206, Boyle, Notes, 1895. Compare with similar specimens from New York. Figures 171-176, Plate 16, Beauchamp, Horn, 1902, and Figure 88, Plate II, Houghton, Indian, 1909.

Figure 6. Fragment of a comb made of bone. Post-European. Iroquoian type. From Onondaga tp., Brant co., Ont. Neutral, Iroquoian Indian area. Collected by Walter M. Dick. Cat. No. 25485 in Provincial Museum, Toronto; ½ natural size. After Figure 50, Boyle, Report, 1903, 1904.

Figure 7. Comb made of bone. Probably post-European. Iroquoian type. From Taylor point, near Sandwich, Essex co., Ont. Neutral, Iroquoian Indian area. Collected by Paul Taylor. Cat. No. 23379 in Provincial Museum, Toronto; ½ natural size. After Figure 52, Boyle, Report, 1904, 1905.

Figure 8. Engraved piece of antler. From Indian grave, lot 35, Lake road, west con., near Port Franks, Bosanquet tp., Lambton co., Ont. Neutral, Iroquoian Indian area. Collected about 1872 and presented by Alfred Wilson. In Provincial Museum, Toronto; ½ natural size. From Figure a in photograph by Harlan I. Smith, negative and lantern slide, Cat. No. 20178 in Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, Canada. Also illustrated in Figure 30, Boyle, Report, 1896-97, 1897. Reverse illustrated in Figure 29, ibid; and in Figure a in photograph, negative and lantern slide, Cat. No. 20179.

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PLATE LXXVIII

Fig. 3.11. - Smith, Harlan I. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art*. Ottawa: Department of Mines, Victoria Memorial Museum, 1923, pp. 182-183.

The objects are interpreted as artistic pieces from Indigenous cultures, however repurposed as archaeological evidence, and represented through established conventions of archaeological illustration. They are arranged in a taxonomic organization (*Geometric and Animal Forms in Bone and Antler*) [Figure 3.11], with similar objects grouped together according to morphological characteristics. They employ the *descriptive* visual epistemology analysed previously, featuring meticulous detail, orthographic projection, standardized scaling, with no indication of shadows or materials, apart from the text. The objects are extracted from their cultural contexts and production practices, emphasizing their formal qualities rather than their cultural significance — simultaneously serving scientific taxonomy while rendering them suitable for appropriation as industrial design motifs.

These illustrations function as metapictures in Mitchell's sense because they explicitly reflect on the process of transforming Indigenous cultural objects into visual resources for Canadian consumption. The *Album* acknowledges its own representational agenda through its organizational structure and prefatory statements about industrial application, revealing how

archaeological documentation serves as an intermediary stage in cultural appropriation. The visual operations involved in this transformation follow what Mitchell might recognize as a systematic 'migration' of Indigenous aesthetics across media and contexts.[358] First, cultural objects are extracted from their ceremonial functions and reframed as archaeological specimens through standardized illustration. Second, these drawings are republished and recategorized according to formal properties rather than cultural meanings, creating divisions that correspond to archaeology rather than Indigenous categories. Finally, the images become 'motifs' and 'patterns' for commercial exploitation. This triple transformation — from cultural object to scientific specimen to design resource — demonstrates how colonial metapictures operate as active agents in what Mitchell calls the *social life of images*, facilitating the circulation of Indigenous aesthetics within capitalist frameworks while erasing their original significance. The metapictorial transparency of this process — openly acknowledging industrial intent — paradoxically legitimizes appropriation by framing it as scientific preservation rather than cultural theft.

The ideological framework of archaeological science generates what we might term, inspired by Mitchell's reading of surplus value theory, additional cultural capital for these appropriated Indigenous designs, enhancing their commercial appeal beyond their formal aesthetic qualities.[359] By passing through the scientific apparatus of the Victoria Memorial Museum — with its taxonomic classifications, expert authentication, and institutional authority — Indigenous motifs are endowed with legitimizing symbolic capital that makes them more valuable for Canadian industrial consumption. This surplus value operates ideologically: the archaeological provenance legitimizes the appropriation by framing it as cultural preservation rather than theft, while simultaneously "Canadianizing" these designs by positioning them within national heritage narratives. The scientific mediation strips away potentially troubling spiritual or ceremonial associations, rendering the motifs safe for Protestant Canadian consumers who might otherwise resist Indigenous cultural elements. Thus, the archaeological publication creates surplus value not merely through aesthetic documentation, but through ideological transformation that converts potentially threatening Indigenous cultural power into domesticated symbols of Canadian national distinctiveness suitable for mass production and consumption.

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[358] W.J.T. Mitchell, "*What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 93-94. Mitchell defines the "social life of images" as their circulation and acquisition of meaning through a network of relationships, institutions, and practices within cultural systems.

[359] W.J.T. Mitchell, "The Surplus Value of Images," in "*What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 76-106.

"*The three hundred and eighty-nine figures in the eighty-four plates of this publication*"[360] are appropriated within a project of Canadian national identity formation led by industrial and political elites (exemplified by the Victoria Memorial Museum's institutional connections to the Mining Department and the Canadian Pacific Railway), a process further legitimized through their subsequent reproduction in nationalist publications like Jefferys' *Picture Gallery*. The ideological work performed by this visual economy operates on multiple levels simultaneously: it transforms cultural theft into scientific preservation, renders Indigenous visual practices as national heritage available for commercial exploitation, and positions Canada as the rightful inheritor of continental cultural resources. This ideological framework naturalizes appropriation by embedding it within narratives of progress and national development that serve elite economic interests while claiming to honour Indigenous cultures. This visual economy thus reveals how colonial appropriation of Indigenous cultural production operated simultaneously as scientific documentation, commercial exploitation, and nationalist mythmaking, demonstrating the complex intersection of knowledge, power, and capital in early twentieth-century Canadian visual culture.

We must further recognize Harlan I. Smith's contributions to professional archaeology in Canada, solidifying the Victoria Memorial Museum's role as an authoritative national institution, promoting publications that set standards for the academic discipline, and acting as a mediating intellectual in diffusing archaeological and ethnological information. He established a partnership of more than 20 years with William John Wintemberg (1876-1941), an antiquarian turned archaeologist who worked for the Victoria Memorial Museum between 1911 and 1941. Wintemberg contributed illustrations and captions for the *Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*, establishing a reputation for meticulous archaeological illustrations and careful visual documentation of archaeological sites.[361] His technical drawings exemplified a broader cultural phenomenon in early twentieth-century settler Canadian intellectual circles — the convergence of artistic technique and scientific documentation that would become increasingly significant within national cultural institutions. Wintemberg connects two generations of leading professional archaeologists in Canada, having initiated his career at the Ontario Provincial Museum where he supported David Boyle, the museum's director, in arranging and labelling specimens while also publishing scholarly work in the

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[360] Harlan I. Smith. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art*. Ottawa: Department of Mines, Victoria Memorial Museum, 1923, p. 2

[361] Diamond Jenness. "*William John Wintemberg, 1876-1941*". American Antiquity 7, nº 1 (1941): 64–66.

museum's *Annual Archaeological Reports*.[362] Later, at the Victoria Memorial Museum, Wintemberg and Smith published numerous papers and advanced the institution to the status of a leading national center for archaeological research and preservation. Their collaborative efforts established methodological standards that would influence Canadian archaeology for decades to follow.[363] Today, the Canadian Archaeological Association awards the Smith-Wintemberg Award annually to the most distinguished Canadian archaeologist, attesting to their foundational contributions to the field and enduring legacy in Canadian cultural heritage preservation.

3.3.1. Photography and drawing in visual anthropology

Harlan I. Smith's approach to visual anthropology presents a significant methodological question that illuminates the epistemological tensions central to Daston and Galison's analysis of scientific objectivity. In the *Album of Prehistoric Canadian Art*, all illustrations are mechanically reproduced drawings — created either directly from objects, copied from previous archaeological publications, or based on photographs, some taken by Smith himself. This represents a deliberate methodological choice that differs from his earlier approach: in *The Archaeological Collection from the Southern Interior of British Columbia* (1913), published a decade before the *Album*, Smith relied exclusively on photography to document Indigenous material culture [Figure 3.12]. These photographs conform to the visual anthropological conventions analysed previously, presenting artifacts through standardized scaling within neutral backgrounds, organized according to archaeological typologies, and framed through the imagetext relationship as scientific specimens. This shift from photographic to drawn representation raises critical questions about the epistemological choices underlying archaeological visualization, indicating an intentional preference for schematic, hand-drawn representations that could strip artifacts of the specific details and contextual information captured by the camera's mechanical eye.

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[362] Diamond Jenness. "*William John Wintemberg, 1876-1941*". American Antiquity 7, nº 1 (1941): 64–66.

[363] Mima Brown Kapches demonstrates that Wintemberg and Smith, along with Diamond Jenness, were among the few professional archaeologists working in Canada during the early twentieth century. Kapches reveals their strong connections to American archaeological networks, with Wintemberg and Jenness contributing to the establishment of the *Society for American Archaeology* in 1934, following Smith's death. She argues that after Wintemberg's death in 1941, Canadian archaeology became dependent on American institutions, methodologies, and personnel due to Canada's limited infrastructure for the discipline. See: Kapches, Mima Brown. "Canadians and the Founding of the Society for American Archaeology (1934–1940s)". *Canadian Journal of Archaeology / Journal Canadien d'Archéologie* 45, nº 1 (2021): 53–76.

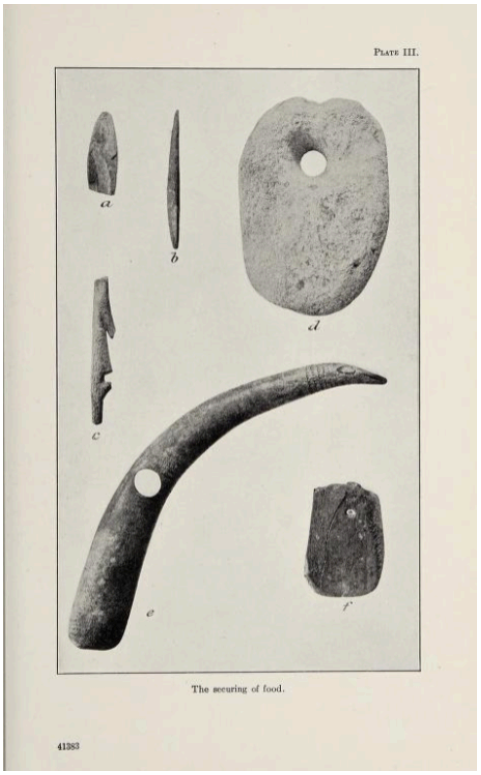

Figure 3.12 - Smith, Harlan I. *The archaeological collection from the southern interior of British Columbia*. Ottawa: Dept. of Mines. Geological Survey. Museum of Geological Survey, 1913, pp. 46.

The employment of illustration in visual archaeology represents a methodological choice that has received relatively little scholarly attention, with notable exceptions including Haidy Geismar's analysis of early anthropological drawing practices.[364] Geismar's examination of Arthur Bernard Deacon's (1903–1927) fieldwork sketches in the 1920s reveals that the persistence of drawing in visual anthropology stemmed not from technological limitations, but from methodological flexibility that photography could not provide.[365] Unlike photography, which had developed standardized conventions for anthropological documentation, drawing remained "not fully developed as a specific methodology for ethnology," allowing practitioners to adapt techniques from botanical, archaeological, and travel illustration traditions according to their immediate needs.[366] In Deacon's case, this flexibility proved particularly valuable for material documentation, where his crayon rubbings of carved drum faces provided tactile engagement and accurate scale representation that his

[364] Haidy Geismar, "Drawing It Out," Visual Anthropology Review 30, no. 2 (2014): 97-113.
[365] Haidy Geismar, "*Drawing It Out*," Visual Anthropology Review 30, no. 2 (2014). P. 99
[366] Haidy Geismar, "*Drawing It Out*," Visual Anthropology Review 30, no. 2 (2014). P. 99

standardized vest pocket camera could not capture.[367] This embodied approach to recording material culture demonstrates how illustration served distinct epistemological functions in archaeological and anthropological practice, enabling closer physical engagement with artifacts while allowing for selective emphasis and interpretive intervention that mechanical reproduction explicitly sought to eliminate.

The historical alignment between anthropological practices and biological sciences such as botany promoted methodological approaches that privileged what practitioners understood as positive, empirical knowledge — achieved through systematic observation, meticulous recording, and taxonomic classification.[368] Furthermore, these approaches emphasized field observation as a foundational epistemological virtue, one that purportedly provided solid ground for establishing both the reality of nature and the nature of reality itself. This positioning marked "the field" as the privileged scientific locus where researchers (anthropologists included) could achieve direct, unmediated encounter with their phenomena of study.[369] Within this methodological context, Ira Jacknis provides valuable insight into the discussion of illustration as an alternative to photography for visual anthropological representation in the early twentieth century through his analysis of the *American Museum of Natural History* and its systematic employment of artists alongside scientists.[370] Highlighting the continuity of a centuries-long tradition of artists on scientific expeditions, Jacknis offers a comprehensive panorama of artistic contributions to Indigenous cultural representation within this US American institution between 1905-1930, including murals, dioramas, sculptural figures, and scale models. Crucially, Jacknis reveals that archaeological and ethnological expeditions organized around collecting imperatives deliberately incorporated artists as essential personnel for visually documenting and experiencing the "reality" of cultures under study. The centrality of fieldwork and observational practice was so pronounced that "*sometimes museums relied more on the field experience of its artists than of the curators*".[371]

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[367] Haidy Geismar, "*Drawing It Out*," Visual Anthropology Review 30, no. 2 (2014). P. 99

[368] Elizabeth Edwards, ed. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, 3-17.

[369] Ira Jacknis, "*In the Field / En Plein Air: The Art of Anthropological Display at the American Museum of Natural History, 1905–30"* In. *The Anthropology of Expeditions: Travel, Visualities, Afterlives*, edited by Joshua A. Bell and Erin L. Hasinoff. New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2015. 119–173.

[370] Ira Jacknis, "*In the Field / En Plein Air: The Art of Anthropological Display at the American Museum of Natural History, 1905–30"* In. *The Anthropology of Expeditions: Travel, Visualities, Afterlives*, edited by Joshua A. Bell and Erin L. Hasinoff. New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2015. 119–173.

[371] Ira Jacknis, "*In the Field / En Plein Air: The Art of Anthropological Display at the American Museum of Natural History, 1905–30"* In. *The Anthropology of Expeditions: Travel, Visualities, Afterlives*, edited by Joshua A. Bell and Erin L. Hasinoff. New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2015. 119–173

The extensive case of the *American Museum of Natural History* [372] reveals a diversity of practices and technologies in visually representing anthropological studies in the first decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, it challenges the interpretation that photography, with its associated mechanical objectivity, constituted the predominant visual epistemology adopted in anthropology at that time. Although still photography was increasingly employed, film cameras offered another competing technology as a documentary medium,[373] while drawing remained valued by leading artists and scholars as a superior medium. Mahonri Young (1877-1957), a notable visual artist and sculptor commissioned by the museum for crucial archaeological expeditions, exemplifies this perspective: "*If you look at this little sketch you will see that I have noted most of the important characteristics and actions. If I should want to use this drawing in a picture or an etching I could, while if I had only a snap shot I would have a hard time keeping the effect*".[374] Young, like Bernard Deacon and Harlan I. Smith, attest to a visual epistemology that combined what Daston and Galison would recognize as "trained judgment" with the individual capacity to observe and identify relevant data, while possessing the technical skill to visually represent phenomena for audiences beyond expert scholars. This approach embodied the tension between mechanical reproduction and interpretive intervention that characterized early twentieth-century scientific visualization. In this context, the museum — through its murals, dioramas, and models — alongside printed media, contributed to a broader movement of popularizing scientific research while deploying specialized knowledge to foster emotional responses, whether through exoticism and otherness or identification and national belonging. C.W. Jefferys, in reproducing and reinterpreting pictorial material from this milieu, exemplifies this practice of disseminating academic knowledge while, as analysed in Chapter 1, reinforcing stereotypes that strengthened narratives of national progress and the technological advancement beyond "primitive" cultures.

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[372] In Canada, the counterpart to the American Museum of Natural History in the first half of the twentieth century was the National Museum of Canada, particularly its Anthropology Division analysed here (formerly known as the Geological Survey of Canada's Ethnology Division). Both institutions played a central role in collecting, documenting, and interpreting Indigenous cultures across North America. Like its American counterpart, the *Geological Survey* engaged in fieldwork, exhibitions, and public education, though it operated with more limited resources and within the context of Canadian nation-building and colonial policy.

[373] Elizabeth Edwards, "Historical relations and contexts," in Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 3-17.

[374] Thomas Ernest Toone, *Mahonri Young: His Life and Art* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 109-110, cited in Ira Jacknis, "*In the Field / En Plein Air: The Art of Anthropological Display at the American Museum of Natural History, 1905–30,*" in *The Anthropology of Expeditions: Travel, Visualities, Afterlives*, ed. Joshua A. Bell and Erin L. Hasinoff (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2015), 119–173.

Drawing on Elizabeth Edwards' analysis of the "undeniable authority" of photography stemming from its spatial and temporal presence, as the camera necessarily *was there*, in Burke's terms, *eyewitnessing* the events,[375] we can conclude that in this Euro-North American context of the early 1920s, the realism associated with the camera could be achieved through alternative representational media. Drawing and its mechanical reproduction technologies could particularly achieve this perception authenticity' depending on "*the status of the objects concerned within the overall classification of knowledge and the representation of those objects in a way which will be understood as 'real' by the viewer.*"[376] It was what Foucault termed "discursive formations"[377] that authenticated the reality of these cultural representations — or of historical events, processes, and characters, when we consider Jefferys' illustrations within historiographic contexts — and enabled artists to produce authoritative pictures serving academic knowledge for dissemination to broader audiences who would perceive them as credible documentation. Furthermore, this "overall classification of knowledge" operated within the discursive formations of anthropology through national museums and state-funded research, and within history through departments of education and the publication of illustrated textbooks, serving what I characterize as a colonial visual economy that rationalized colonial domination while constructing nationalism as a narrative of European technological and scientific superiority.

3.3.2. Charles T. Currelly and the Protestant View of Nature

Among the distinguished figures commended by Lorne Pierce for their contributions to Canadian cultural nationalism was archaeologist and museum curator Charles T. Currelly (1876–1957), who played an essential role in supervising the "Indian Section" of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*.[378] Currelly exemplifies the convergence of archaeological expertise, nationalist vision, and visual documentation practices that characterized the settler Canadian cultural project analysed throughout this study. As a leading figure in the collection and preservation of material culture in Canada, Currelly embodied the same commitment to "drawing by observation" and empirical documentation that defined his contemporaries like Jefferys and the archaeologists examined in previous sections. His career trajectory — from

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[375] Elizabeth Edwards, "Historical relations and contexts," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.7; Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).
[376] Elizabeth Edwards, "Historical relations and contexts," p.7
[377] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 31-39.
[378] C.W. Jefferys. *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. VII

his early training under the renowned British Egyptologist Flinders Petrie to his role as founding director of the Royal Ontario Museum[379] — illustrates how international archaeological expertise was adapted to serve distinctly Canadian nationalist purposes.

Currelly's institutional position connected him directly to the networks of cultural patronage and nation-building examined earlier in this dissertation. Hired by banker and arts patron Sir Byron Edmund Walker to develop collections for the University of Toronto, Currelly became instrumental in establishing the Royal Ontario Museum as a major national institution dedicated to representing the breadth of human cultural production.[380] His work bridged the gap between British archaeological traditions, with their emphasis on visual documentation and material culture analysis, and the emerging Canadian archaeological establishment that would provide scientific authority for nationalist narratives. Through his collaboration with Jefferys on *The Picture Gallery*,[381] Currelly contributed both detailed information and visual expertise that shaped how Indigenous material culture was presented to Canadian audiences, demonstrating the interconnected roles of collecting, scholarly documentation, and popular dissemination in the construction of national identity.

C.T. Currelly exemplifies the cultural conditions prevalent among figures who contributed to what this research defines as a collective project fostering settler Canadian nationalism through visual practices and historical dissemination. First, Currelly was a Methodist minister, trained in educational environments of this orientation and closely linked to a missionary and civilising project perpetuated by them throughout Canada. For instance, his initial scholarly engagement with Indigenous peoples occurred during his ministry at the *Umatilla Methodist Church*, in Manitoba[382], which he later documented upon returning to Victoria College for postgraduate theological studies.[383] In his memoirs, published toward the end of his life by Ryerson Press as *I Brought the Ages Home* (1956), Currelly portrays having maintained an open, respectful, and egalitarian relationship with Indigenous communities or *Metis* — populations formed through interracial relations following the Hudson Bay Company's colonial occupation. From an early age, he demonstrated interest in Indigenous cultures, attempting to engage with them in a non-paternalistic manner, an approach that

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[379] Charles T. Currelly. I brought the ages home. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956.
[380] Charles T. Currelly. Royal Ontario Museum Website. https://www.rom.on.ca/ Retrieved 15 March 2022.
[381] C.W. Jefferys. 1942. Pg. V
[382] Charles T. Currelly. I brought the ages home. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956. Pp.14-28
[383] Julia Matthews, (Spring 2006). "*The Right Man in the Right Place at the Right Time: A Look at the Visionary who was Instrumental in Founding the ROM*". Rotunda. Vol. 38, no. 3. Royal Ontario Museum.

generated conflicts with what he characterized as "fundamentalists" in his religious order, whom he criticized for their scientific ignorance.[384]

Another trait in Currelly's formative years is an appreciation for visuality and its unfolding through "drawing by observation", something we discussed in Jefferys' approach to illustration and shared by many of the individuals analysed within this national project, such as archaeologist William Winterberg. The artistic ability of descriptive drawing was highly regarded in that anglophone context, heir to Ruskin and the Arts & Crafts movement, not only by professional artists like Jefferys and G.A. Reid, but also by practitioners of other professions that operated within a visually mediated knowledge system. Recalling Svetlana Alpers' characterization of a descriptive visual culture born with Dutch painting from the seventeenth century, Martin Jay (1988) goes further in defining it as a scopic regime different from the narrative framings coming from the Renaissance. Jay outlines the connections between this visual model and the experience of observation based on empiricism, one that shares with photography a detachment from perspective and a fragmentary frame, but also shares with cartographic grids an abstraction of viewing, as if the observer was absent in the world and representation happens through a flat surface.[385]

Currelly exemplifies this appreciation for observational drawing, embodying the epistemological convergence between scientific inquiry and artistic practice characteristic of settler Canadian intellectual traditions of the period. "*Though my observation was somewhat trained by careful examination of butterflies, birds and plants, still it is true that you never really see a thing until you draw it*" [386] — he states while describing his acquisition of drawing skills with the family of a colleague from university, at a time when they were part of a group that collected butterflies and moths. During his formative years in the late 1890s, Currelly also mentions sketching trips to wilderness locations in northern Ontario, associated with pedagogical praxis of natural sciences. This set of skills earned him a job in Flinders Petrie's crew for an expedition in Egypt, an opportunity that positioned Currelly as a distinct archaeologist in his return to Ontario. He recalls that Petrie's only question was about his ability to draw "*well enough for illustrations*".[387]

Later, already as the director of the ROM Archaeology Museum in 1934, he stressed this principle of learning from the observation of objects: "*the proper way to visit the museum*

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[384] Charles T. Currelly. I brought the ages home. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956. P.29
[385] Martin Jay. Scopic Regimes of Modernity. In: Vision and Visuality: Discussions in Contemporary Culture. Pp. 11-15
[386] Charles T. Currelly. I brought the ages home. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956. Pg. 12
[387] Charles T. Currelly. I brought the ages home. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1956. Pg. 36

is to use the eyes, rather than the ears," recalling an educational group that was "*equipped with portable folding stools, which they carried with them, [and] the women sat down and enjoyed in leisurely fashion the large exhibits of the huge collection of Chinese treasures.*" This learning approach was analysed in recent scholarship (Zankowicz, 2015) in contrast with Ruth Home's hands-on approach to museum education. Ruth Mabel Home (1901-1965) was born in Ontario, graduated and earned her master's degree at the University of Toronto, and joined the Royal Ontario Museum in 1928-1945 to develop its department of education, working to democratize access to Canada's cultural heritage. While C.T. Currelly prioritized university students and academic researchers as the audience for the museum, where the scholarly gaze is the privileged mode of observation for knowledge acquisition, Ruth Home worked to make the museum relevant to women, children, families, and communities outside Toronto, particularly focusing on material culture that connected to everyday life and Canadian identity.

Despite these institutional disagreements over museum accessibility, Currelly's fundamental approach to knowledge production remained anchored in the natural sciences methodologies that had shaped his archaeological training. His emphasis on direct observation as the primary means of learning reflected the same empirical tradition that influenced Jefferys, Boyle, and other figures in the settler Canadian cultural network. Moreover, the tradition that emphasized the centrality of observational practices and drawing as a technology of science was also marked by a profound religious understanding of the natural world. Protestant denominations formed the foundation of educational ideals in the anglophone world and informed scholarly practices in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries — evident in C.T. Currelly's formation, Jefferys' illustrations, and David Boyle's formative years. A major authority within Canadian historiography, Carl Berger has investigated the intimate relationship between evangelical Protestantism and the establishment of the natural sciences in Canada in *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada* (1982). Working within a historical timeframe that overlaps with the formative years of many participants in the network for advancing settler Canadian nationalism, Berger positions natural history in this context as "*a way of seeing, a sensibility, and a medium for communicating something essential about nature and man's place in it*".[388]

This Protestant-informed approach to natural history found concrete expression in the work of early Canadian archaeologists who viewed their scientific investigations as revelatory

[388] Carl Berger. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada: The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures.* University of Toronto Press, 1983. P.31

of divine design. Daniel Wilson (1816–1892) [section 3.2.2.], whose archaeological expertise had been established through his work on Scottish prehistoric artifacts before immigrating to Canada, exemplified this integration of scientific inquiry with religious understanding. Wilson turned his attention to Indigenous life with the conviction that comparative studies of civilizations in the New World and the Old would illuminate universal principles — what he and his contemporaries understood as evidence of divine order underlying human development.[389] His methodological approach challenged prevailing American theories about racial classification, while maintaining the fundamental assumption that scientific observation could reveal essential truths about human nature and divine creation. Wilson's early rejection of simplistic skull-based racial categorization exemplified this tradition's empirical rigour. Rather than abandoning racial classification, Wilson advocated for more systematic observational methods, convinced that careful study would reveal divine patterns underlying human development. This approach embodied what Berger identifies as the evangelical Protestant conviction that scientific investigation, properly conducted, would ultimately confirm rather than challenge religious understanding of the natural world.[390]

C.T. Currelly's Methodist background, informed by close contact with Indigenous communities during his formative years, fostered an approach that recognized universal elements within diverse human cultures, grounded in a religious doctrine that emphasized careful observation of divine design in nature. This intellectual framework shaped his vision for the Royal Ontario Museum as a universal institution that would house the magnitude of human cultural production while encouraging systematic observation in pursuit of what he understood as scientific revelation of divine truth and beauty. However, the establishment of the Royal Ontario Museum during the 1910s can also be interpreted through the lens of national identity formation that defined itself in opposition to cultural difference. This process, intensified by the immigration surge of the early twentieth century, exemplifies what Anderson identifies as a colonial dynamic: the introduction of ethnic categories by colonizers creates classificatory frameworks that subsequently shape how colonized peoples understand their own identities.[391]

Furthermore, this "overall classification of knowledge" operated within broader epistemological frameworks where scientific principles of observation, experimentation, and

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[389] Carl Berger. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada: The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures.* University of Toronto Press, 1983. P.43

[390] Carl Berger. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada: The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures.* University of Toronto Press, 1983. P.31-52

[391] Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006). P.184

systematic categorization were increasingly applied to human societies.[392] Museums, as institutions dedicated to collecting and preserving material culture, functioned simultaneously as repositories of objects and repositories of knowledge, with their classificatory practices establishing them as sites of cultural authority.[393] The act of dividing collections into natural specimens and cultural artifacts — seemingly neutral taxonomic decisions — often reflected imperial assumptions that conflated scientific objectivity with colonial hierarchies.[394] Within this context, anthropological collections served not merely as documentary evidence, but as instruments for organizing human diversity according to evolutionary frameworks that positioned European societies as the standard of civilizational development.[395] Currelly's vision for the Royal Ontario Museum as a universal institution thus participated in these broader dynamics of knowledge production, where claims to scientific comprehensiveness masked the cultural specificity of classificatory systems that rendered Indigenous societies as objects of study rather than subjects of their own cultural narratives.

The visual practices employed in Canadian archaeological and ethnographic documentation reveal a fundamental contradiction: while claiming scientific objectivity through systematic observation and taxonomic classification, these practices operated through Protestant epistemological frameworks that positioned Christian colonization as civilizational progress and Indigenous cultures as primitive specimens requiring documentation and preservation. This Protestant-informed approach to material culture visualization — from C.T. Currelly's Methodist training to Daniel Wilson's comparative evolutionary studies — conditioned both the methodological assumptions and the visual conventions that transformed Indigenous artifacts into scientific evidence supporting settler Canadian narratives of territorial inheritance and cultural superiority.

The descriptive visual culture that supported museum collections and cultural institutions functioned as a crucial technology of Visual Nationalism, aggregating scholarly authority over historical consciousness while providing an apparently objective foundation for Indigenous cultural appropriation. By embedding claims to divine revelation within scientific methodologies, this visual culture enabled the systematic transformation of Indigenous

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[392] Shelly Nixon. *Faith in a Glass Case: Religion in Canadian Museums*. PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 2012. Repository, Université d'Ottawa.

[393] Alex Gordon and Peter Cannon-Brookes, "Housing the Burrell Collection—A Forty-Year Saga," *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 3, no. 1 (1984): 116.

[394] Miriam Kahn. 1995. "Heterotopic Dissonance in the Museum Representation of Pacific Island Cultures." American Anthropologist 97 (2): p. 324

[395] Elizabeth Edwards, "Historical relations and contexts," in *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 3-17. Edwards demonstrates how anthropological practices positioned Indigenous societies within evolutionary frameworks that served colonial power structures while claiming scientific neutrality.

knowledge systems into national heritage resources suitable for mass circulation through educational materials and popular publications. C.W. Jefferys exemplified this convergence of religious ideology, archaeological authority, and nationalist pedagogy — his extensive networks with figures like Currelly and his systematic appropriation of institutional sources positioned him as both inheritor and transmitter of this colonial visual tradition, ultimately enabling his pictures to achieve unprecedented circulation as authoritative representations of Canadian historical consciousness.

3.4 A Genealogy of Ethnographic Sources

Returning to *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* as the starting point for investigating archaeological and anthropological visual practices within the Canadian nation-building project, we must recognize that the sources for Jefferys' illustrations constitute a genealogy of colonial representations of Indigenous peoples in North America. As previously analysed, Jefferys worked simultaneously as collector of pictures, scholarly critic evaluating the accuracy of pictorial sources, and archivist organizing images according to taxonomic classifications of historical events and material culture. He positioned his picture gallery as an authoritative consensus regarding proper representation of the Canadian past — a consensus claiming universality despite its restrictiveness to European-descended white men. This limitation appears explicitly in his opening statement, identifying the sources of "*our knowledge*" as "*descriptions and drawings of white men who visited Indians living in primitive ways.*"[396]

The genealogy extends from early European travellers like Champlain and Lafitau through later centuries of artists and academics who employed similar claims to realistic cultural representation, including museums and anthropological institutions. The sources for Jefferys' "*Indian Section*" can thus be interpreted as both a history of colonial pictures of Indigenous North American peoples and a non-linear history of anthropological visualization. While Jefferys organized these sources according to his thematic criteria, they can be reorganized chronologically into three distinct phases of ethnographic sources: first, early settlers and explorers documenting initial contact with the New World (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); second, ethnographic expeditions recording supposedly vanishing exotic cultures (nineteenth century through early twentieth century); and third, anthropology

[396] C.W. Jefferys, *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. Pg. 1

as an established academic discipline operating within institutionalized frameworks of scientific objectivity (first half of the twentieth century).

Jefferys' selection of source material follows his concept of *visual records,*[397] which reduced the number of pictures created for illustrated newspapers, magazines, and other kinds of widely disseminated print media, even though, paradoxically, Jefferys' own pictures of Indigenous cultures were intended for broader audiences. Again, we must recall that Jefferys' picture gallery presents itself as the product of rigorous historical criticism, grounded in scholarly sources and what he considered cutting-edge research. Furthermore, his explicit positioning within "*descriptions and drawings of white men"* reveals the colonial nature of scientific anthropological knowledge and, within the *Picture Gallery*, demonstrates his uncritical acceptance of what he perceived as neutral and accurate representations of Indigenous life — representations that nevertheless served as vessels for racialized, Christian supremacist, and fundamentally bigoted interpretations of cultural otherness.

The overall effect of Jefferys mobilizing colonial depictions of Indigenous cultures under the sign of *accurate* representations of *primitive life* is the construction of historical continuity and national belonging that connects Canadian identity with exploratory missions, settler agency, missionary campaigns, and scientific scrutiny of what colonial discourse characterized as a wild nature inhabited by wild peoples. The visual history constructed by this allegedly objective and descriptive collection of images reproduces the same motifs, symbols, and ideologies found in the narrative scenes employed in illustrated textbooks analysed in the previous chapter. These representations constitute another manifestation of Visual Nationalism, appropriating the visual economy of earlier centuries to foster identification with the imagined community while simultaneously classifying and ordering cultural difference into hierarchical categories of primitiveness, exoticism, and vanishing Indigenous cultures. This dual operation — fostering national identification while marginalizing Indigenous presence — exemplifies how pictures functioned as instruments of both inclusion and exclusion within the settler colonial nation-building project, transforming historical colonial encounters into naturalized components of Canadian national heritage.

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[397] For Jefferys' concept of "pictorial records," see Chapter 1, section 1.5. Jefferys argued that visual evidence, when subjected to the same critical examination as written documents, constituted legitimate historical testimony, asserting that "a tangible object cannot lie or equivocate so successfully as a word." This formed the theoretical foundation for his "visual reconstruction of history," which combined systematic collection of authenticated visual sources with imaginative reconstructions based on documentary evidence.

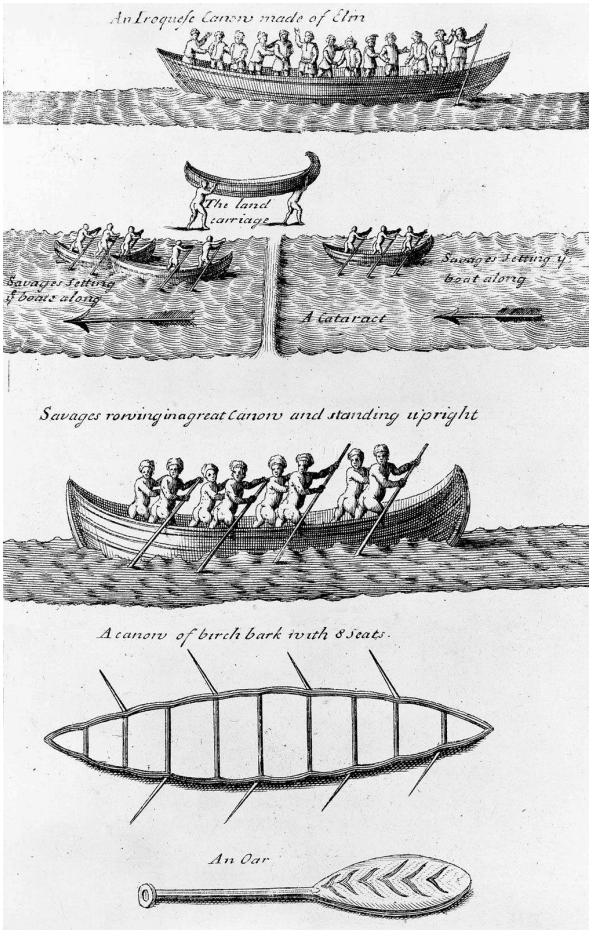
The following analysis examines this genealogy of colonial representations through three chronological phases: early European explorers and missionaries documenting initial contact (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), nineteenth-century adventurer-artists recording supposedly vanishing cultures through ethnographic expeditions, and early twentieth-century anthropological institutions establishing scientific frameworks for Indigenous cultural documentation. Each phase contributed distinct visual conventions and epistemological claims that Jefferys systematically appropriated to construct his comprehensive visual narrative of Canadian national heritage.

3.4.1. Early Colonial Encounters (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

Fig. 3.13 - Lahontan. Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale, La Haye, 1703. P. 106

The first section of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, vol. I, contains seven pictures that integrate this category of representations created by missionaries or explorers documenting early encounters with Indigenous cultures and natural history. These appear in the *Picture Gallery* either as drawn copies of prints from published voyage accounts or as "pictorial reconstructions" that Jefferys created based on written descriptions by early European settlers and explorers. On page 7, Jefferys included a reproduction of an *Early picture of a beaver*, from Baron de Lahontan's *New Voyages to North America* (1703) [Figure 3.13]. The original image was part of a travelogue published by the Baron de Lahontan (1666-1716), documenting nine years of exploration while serving in the French military in New France. The volume contains 23 maps and cuts, employing visual conventions and mythical constructions that, although characteristic of early eighteenth century travel

literature, later influenced the development of scientific ethnological practices. Through claims to merely description and documentary observation of Indigenous life, Lahontan participated in establishing the "Noble Savage" myth, or the general theory of cultural primitiveness,[398] a persistent framework identified throughout the settler Canadian project analysed here.[399] The images throughout Lahontan's volume employ specific visual practices to establish claims of accuracy and documentary observation, including: natural history illustrations that function as descriptive evidence [Figure 3.13]; maps and schematic representations of Indigenous territories; and depictions of Indigenous practices related to resource extraction.



[398] David Allen Harvey. "*The Noble Savage and the Savage Noble: Philosophy and Ethnography in the 'Voyages' of the Baron de Lahontan*." *French Colonial History* 11 (2010): 161–91.

[399] Cultural primitivism, the ideological construct that positions non-Western societies as representing earlier stages of human development or as embodying a lost state of natural innocence, is as old as Western thought itself, and as Gaile McGregor has recently demonstrated, it remains a central feature of contemporary Western consciousness that shows no signs of disappearing. See Gaile McGregor, *The Noble Savage in the New World Garden: Notes toward a Syntactics of Place* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

Fig.3.14 - Lahontan. Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale, La Haye, 1703. P. 26

These images functioned not as neutral documentation, but as foundational elements in a colonial visual economy that transformed Indigenous realities into consumable knowledge for European audiences. Lahontan's illustrations establish what would become a persistent pattern of colonial observation, employing what I term the *Peeping Eye* mode of presentation to depict Indigenous action from a detached European perspective, as seen in his depiction of *"savages rowing in a great canoe and standing up right*" [Figure 3.14]. This colonial gaze extended over practices and artifacts, though the artistic conventions of seventeenth-century travel illustration differed significantly from the naturalistic approaches employed by twentieth-century illustrators like Jefferys. Significantly, cultural elements that would later become associated with *Canadianness*, such as birchbark canoes, were beginning to be appropriated as markers of New France's cultural identity through the circulation of these images among European audiences. Within this plate, Indigenous practices are juxtaposed with images of material culture (the canoe and an oar), displayed through a decontextualized, axonometric view that exemplifies the *Museum Exhibitor* presentation mode.

Figure 3.15. - Left: C.W. Jefferys. *Hunting the Bison*. Page 8 of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, c. 1942. Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper. Right: Louis Hennepin. "Taureau sauvage." *Voyage ou Nouvelle découverte d'un très grand pays*, 1704. Engraving. Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Another demonstration of Jefferys' appropriation of early colonial encounter sources is an *early picture of Bison* derived from descriptions by the French missionary Louis Hennepin (1626-1704), which Jefferys incorporated into the two-page montage titled *Hunting the Bison*

analysed in Chapter 1 [Figure 3.15]. The deployment of natural history illustrations functions as descriptive evidence supporting the "eyewitness effect," while simultaneously integrating these animals into broader narratives of European colonization and emergent Canadian identity formation. The designation "*early picture*" operates ideologically to establish European priority in visual documentation, suggesting that these "exotic samples" achieved representational existence only through settler colonial observation and collection. Jefferys' strategic placement of this illustration within a montage that spans early colonial sources, nineteenth-century artist-ethnographers like George Catlin, institutional archaeological documentation, and his own dynamic hunting scenes constructs genealogical continuity that masks historical ruptures while reinforcing the scholarly legitimacy of his own pictorial project.

This curatorial approach creates an illusion of unbroken documentary tradition extending from initial European contact through contemporary archaeological science, positioning Indigenous cultures as persistent objects of Western observation rather than dynamic societies with their own historical agency. Thus, Jefferys' montage functions as a colonial metapicture that transforms Indigenous ecological relationships into naturalized Canadian national symbols through centuries of European visual appropriation. The mechanical reproduction processes involved in Jefferys' redrawings constitute a significant transformation in meaning: natural history and ethnographic woodcuts are redrawn through pen-and-ink technique, photographed, and deployed in educational materials, also transforming images originally contained in travelogues destined for elite audiences into nation-building volumes destined for children and English-language learners, thereby advancing a Visual Nationalist narrative of natural greatness.

Fig.3.16 - C.W. Jefferys. *Indian Agriculture*. In: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. vol. I, 1942. P. 11

Plate 11 of *The Picture Gallery*, titled *Indian Agriculture*, demonstrates Jefferys' systematic appropriation of colonial images through a temporally layered process of extraction and redeployment. The source picture — an engraving from Joseph-François Lafitau's ethnographic publication (1681-1746) — represents a foundational moment in what would become a century-spanning genealogy of colonial visual practices. Lafitau operated within early eighteenth-century missionary networks and established comparative methodologies[400] that classified Indigenous peoples according to European civilizational hierarchies, creating what would later crystallize into institutional frameworks for ethnography. By selectively redrawing only agricultural elements while systematically excluding maple syrup production from the foreground [compare figures 3.16 and 3.17], Jefferys transforms Lafitau's ethnographic documentation into a targeted illustration of Indigenous agricultural "primitiveness", compressing a 200-year temporal span while accumulating authoritative power through genealogical affiliation. Jefferys' redeployment of Lafitau's material achieves three epistemological functions: it legitimizes *The Picture Gallery* through association with established anthropological authority, reinforces settler colonial Visual Nationalism through systematic Indigenous cultural appropriation, and enabled the circulation of colonial knowledge systems as apparently objective historical documentation.

[400] William N. Fenton, and Elizabeth L. Moore. "J.-F. Lafitau (1681-1746), Precursor of Scientific Anthropology." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 25, no. 2 (1969): 173–87.

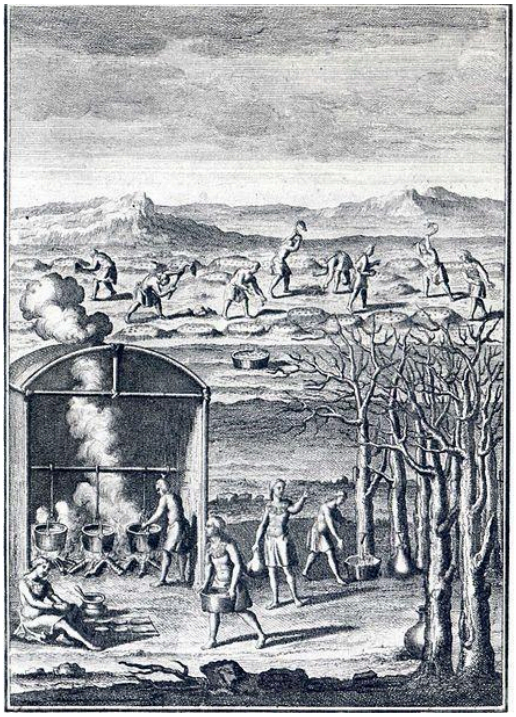


Fig. 3.17 - Joseph-François Lafitau, *Fabrication du Sirop*, from *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* (Paris: Saugrain l'aîné, 1724).

Moreover, Jefferys' inclusion of such pictures reproduced from Lafitau, Hennepin or Lahontan serves very similar purposes to those for which Lafitau himself reproduced pictures of Léry or De Bry. First, they punctuate scientific discourses with 'monuments' whose essential value is making visible the narrative, often creating counterpoints to written discourse.[401] Second, these pictures have the force of authority, serving Jefferys in the same way they served Lafitau, framing them as pieces of evidence. Third, and it is a new analytical dimension for the anthropological images in *The Picture Gallery*, these images are "allegories" or "types" of primitiveness, symbols that denote an ancient, primeval temporality and satisfy the need to glimpse the beginnings of history. Underpinned by Lerý's, Lafitau's and Jefferys' Christian worldviews, this possibility of seeing the origins of human life (and the origins of Canadian life, for Jefferys) is a profound impulse for ethnology. This temporal dimension becomes explicit when Jefferys' contribution through a *peephole* view to the agricultural scenes subtly discloses the naked bodies of Indigenous women, partially clothed in the lower body, resonating with Christian Edenic beginnings [Fig. 3.16].

[401] This trifold analysis of Lafitau's visual practices is based on scholarship examining the Christian underpinnings of his ethnographic methodology and his systematic deployment of images as scientific evidence. While Lafitau's work establishes precedents for the visual practices later employed by Jefferys, each deserves individual consideration within their respective historical contexts and institutional frameworks. See: Michel de Certeau and James Hovde, "Writing vs. Time: History and Anthropology in the Works of Lafitau," *Yale French Studies*, No. 59, Rethinking History: Time, Myth, and Writing (1980), pp. 37-64; and Robert Launay, "Lafitau Revisited: American 'Savages' and Universal History," *Anthropologica*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2010), pp. 337-343.

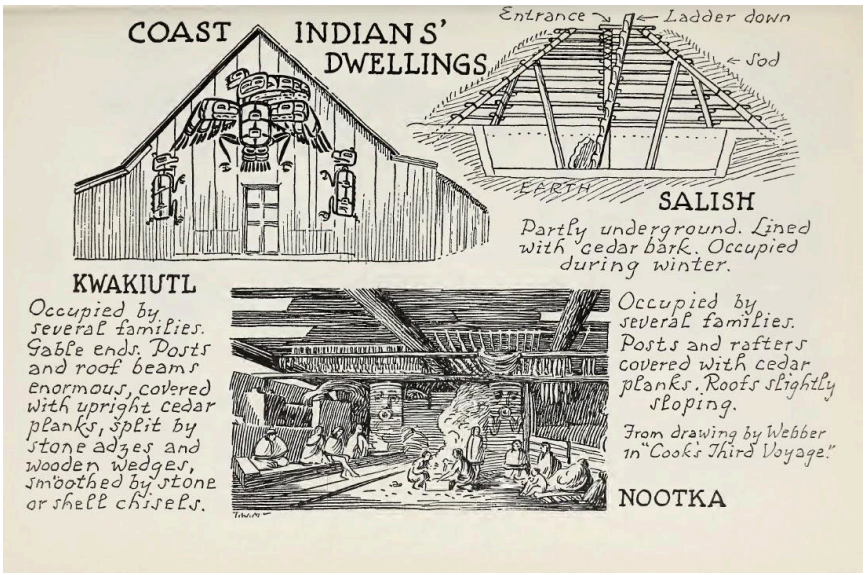


Fig.3.18 - C.W. Jefferys, assisted by T.W. McLean. *Coast Indian's Dwellings*. In: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. vol. I, 1942. P 19

Plate 19 [Figure 3.18] demonstrates the technical processes underlying *The Picture Gallery's* interactions with the visual economy through T.W. McLean's final version of *The Inside of a House in Nootka Sound*. McLean is credited as assistant for "the Indian section" alongside his wife Mary McLean, and he signs this plate (T.W.M., in the bottom picture) despite archival evidence revealing Jefferys' assembly of a plate with a printed copy of John Webber's original 1778 expedition sketch [Figure 3.19]. This plate exemplifies Jefferys' collaborative approach to image-making, drawing on his collection of visual culture and established networks of artists to enhance the project's scholarly credibility. McLean's reproduction demonstrates how Jefferys and his collaborators systematically employed photomechanical reproductions of colonial prints as source material, transforming eighteenth-century ethnographic documentation into twentieth-century national heritage through technical intervention. The selection process itself reflects their collecting practices: prioritizing visual rarity and supposed authenticity over documentary precision, as Webber's sketch represented one of the few available depictions of Indigenous domestic space "barely affected by the white man" [Figure 3.20]. Most significantly, McLean's version operates through extensive imagetext interventions that exceed mere reproduction — adding explanatory callouts, practical annotations, and ethnographic classifications that position the collaborators as interpretive authorities over Indigenous cultural practices [Figure 3.18].

These technical modifications reveal how twentieth-century Visual Nationalism operated by transforming colonial sources into pedagogical tools, enhancing the pictures' capacity for constructing settler Canadian historical consciousness.

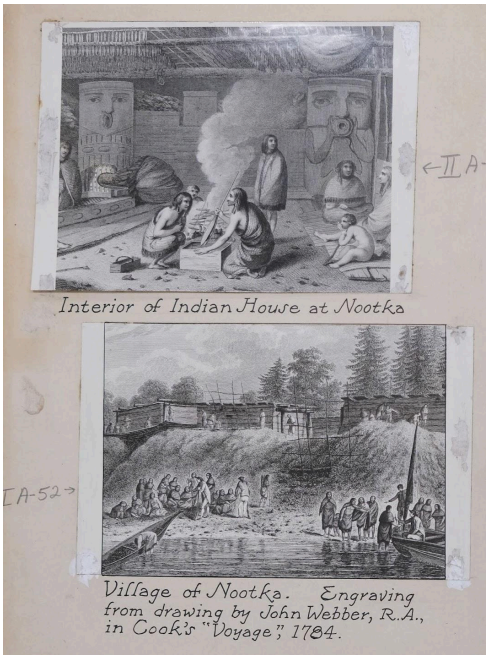


Figure 3.19 - C.W. Jefferys. Assembled plate featuring reproduced fragments of John Webber's Nootka Sound pictures, c. 1940s. Unused material prepared for The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C.W. Jefferys & Robert Stacey Fonds, MG30-D217, Box A624-01, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

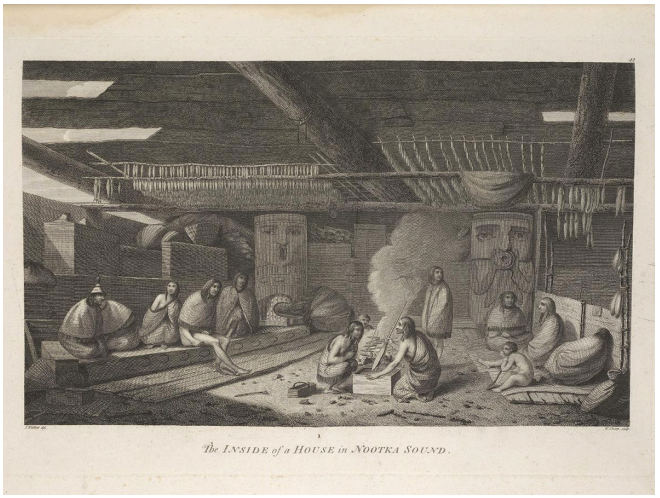


Fig. 3.20 - John Webber (artist, 1751–1793); William Sharp (engraver, 1749–1824). *The Inside of a House in Nootka Sound*, in James Cook et al., *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* Atlas of Plates. London: W. & A. Strahan for G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784. Copper engraving. P. 42.

3.4.2. Adventurer-artists (nineteenth and early twentieth centuries).

Fig. 3.21 - C.W. Jefferys. *Indian Dances*. In: *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. vol. I, 1942. P. 37

Figure 3.21 demonstrates Jefferys' strategic mobilization of nineteenth-century adventurer-artists like George Catlin (1786-1872), Paul Kane (1810-1871), and DeCost Smith (1864-1939).[402] This homogeneous group of artists grew up in North America and sought exploration trips to depict Indigenous cultures still living in remote areas far from colonisation in the west of the continent. Fitting in a category that has been defined as salvage ethnography,[403] Catlin's pictures emphasize exoticism and supposed savagery, focusing an ethnographic gaze on what would be for his audience a shocking, bizarre scenes of tribes wearing buffalo heads to summon them, or warriors holding up scalps of their enemies to celebrate a military victory. Although claiming to capture traditions that were believed to be vanishing, the underlying premise is their disappearance based exactly on their primitiveness and incongruity with progress, specially in the context of the westward expansion both in the US and in Canada. Jefferys' reproductions inform us about the history of anthropology in the nineteenth century, when artists had a central place in producing images of material culture

[402] The concept of "adventurer-artists" is drawn from Francis Flavin, who analyzes nineteenth-century artists who sought expeditions to depict Indigenous groups supposedly "untouched by white civilization," and whose romantic representations significantly contributed to the stereotypes that later circulated widely through print media. Flavin, "The Adventurer-Artists of the Nineteenth Century and the Image of the American Indian," *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, no. 1 (March 2002): 1-29.
[403] Sherry Smith, (2000). *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo Eyes, 1880-1940*; Carter, Edward, ed. (1999). *Surveying the Record: North American Scientific Exploration to 1930*.

and also collecting traces of culture like songs, words, and ways of craft. However, the inclusion of a plate originally crafted almost 100 years before *The Picture Gallery* contributes to the time-compressing effect, creating the illusion that these images depict contemporary Indigenous groups on a never changing primitivized temporality, reinforced by the *Peeping Eye* mode of presentation that covers the colonial gaze.

Fig. 3.22. - Selected details from: Left: George Catlin, *Scalp Dance, Mouth of the Teton River*, c. 1832-1837, oil on canvas, Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1985.66.438. Right: George Catlin, *Buffalo Dance, Mandan*, 1835-1837, oil on canvas, 20 × 27⅜ in., Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr., 1985.66.440.

The cropped details demonstrate Catlin's systematic visual practices in representing Indigenous ceremonies [Figure 3.22], emphasizing elements that would reinforce settler colonial audiences' preconceptions about Indigenous "savagery." Both paintings employ similar compositional strategies: exposed bodies, contorted poses and facial expressions, prominent display of weapons that serve as visual signifiers of violence and primitiveness. These spectacles of otherness functioned within the colonial gaze to position Indigenous peoples as exotic subjects for white consumption. Catlin's focus on what appeared to be violent or shocking elements reveals how adventurer-artists constructed Indigenous cultures as fundamentally different from European "civilization," serving as "historians" for that "*interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth*".[404] These romantic depictions received many reprints and were translated to many European languages.

[404] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of North American Indians* (2 vols., London, 1841; reprinted in one volume, New York,1973), 2.

Catlin's work also originated an “Indian Gallery” that toured the U.S., featuring tepees, mannequins, and enactments of Indigenous dances, with both books and exhibitions targeting youthful and adult audiences.[405] So, the similarities with Jefferys own project resonate, as Jefferys' strategic selection and appropriation of these specific elements served broader narratives of colonial superiority within Canadian Visual Nationalism. By mobilizing Catlin's authority as an established adventurer-artist, Jefferys' reproductions transformed nineteenth-century ethnographic documentation into twentieth-century nation-building tools that reinforced settler Canadian claims to civilizational progress for wider audiences.

These *Peeping Eye* scenes demonstrate how adventurer-artists employed ethnographic visual practices to appropriate Indigenous cultural elements within European classificatory frameworks. Following Lafitau's precedent, these artists systematically categorized Indigenous practices into taxonomic labels — *dance*, *play*, *religion*, *hunting*, *agriculture* — serving European anthropological expectations. However, it was through portraiture that the adventurer-artists have become mostly renowned, especially by the portraits of chiefs, painted in classic European conventions of representation. George Catlin was the most notorious portraitist, firstly creating a collection of over 600 portraits (the "Indian Gallery"), which toured American and European cities in the late 1830s. Paul Kane also got recognition for a series of portraits painted in the 1840s, the result of a deep immersion in the vast northwest. They were later criticized for arranging scenes and adapting Indigenous peoples' cultural singularities to meet Eurocentric expectations, creating a romantic and exotified account of wilderness.[406] However, their field sketches of cultural practices were generally considered more authentic, in a tension between romanticism and the quest for realism and objective representation.[407] Although incorporated into Canadian visual culture as stereotypical images that served as offensive views on Indigenous cultures, recent scholarship has been scrutinizing their textual ethnographic contributions, providing balanced views that acknowledge the value in these records.[408]

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[405] Francis Flavin. "The Adventurer-Artists of the Nineteenth Century and the Image of the American Indian." *Indiana Magazine of History* 98, no. 1 (March 2002): 6-8.
[406] Diane Eaton; Sheila Urbanek, (1996). Paul Kane's Great Nor-West, UBC Press.
[407] Ann Davis; Robert Thacker, (Winter 1986). "Pictures and Prose: Romantic Sensibility and the Great Plains in Catlin, Kane, and Miller”.*Great Plains Quarterly*.
[408] Ian S. MacLaren. *Paul Kane’s Travels in Indigenous North America: Writings and Art, Life and Times*. 4 vols, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2024

Figure 3.23 - Paul Kane, *Nesperces Indian*, Nez Perce, c. 1849–56, oil on canvas, 64.2 x 51.2 cm, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

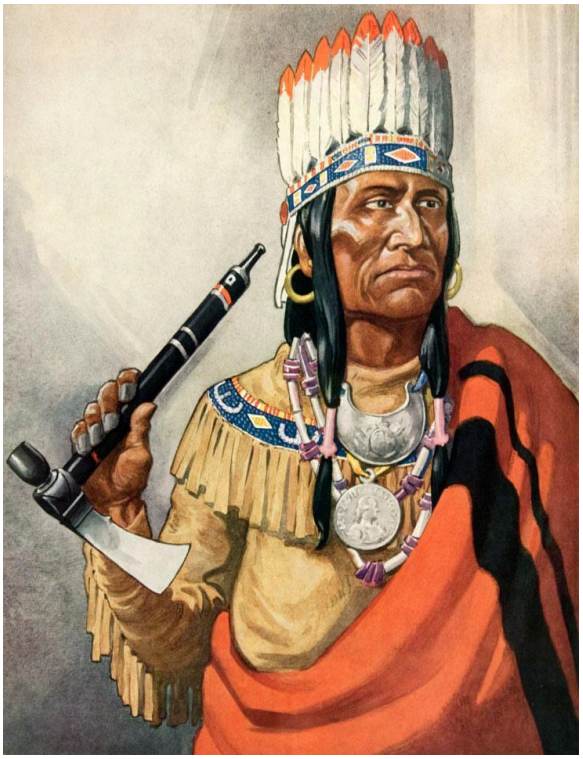

Figure 3.24 - C.W. Jefferys. Seneca. Indian Portraits. c. 1943, lithograph from watercolour, 12" x 18" (30cm x 39cm). Atlas Steels Calendar.

The visual practices employed by nineteenth-century adventurer-artists and C.W. Jefferys demonstrate striking continuities across nearly a century of Indigenous portraiture. Both Kane's *Nesperces Indian* (c. 1849-56) and Jefferys' *Seneca* (c. 1943) deploy identical colonial visual conventions: dignified poses with prominent cultural markers of otherness — facial painting, pierced nose,[409] painted nails, pipe tomahawk — set against undefined, romanticized backgrounds that isolate subjects from contemporary contexts [Figures 3.23 and 3.24]. These pictures exemplify what the colonial gaze constructed as "noble savage" portraiture,[410] transforming Indigenous individuals into ethnographic specimens through European aesthetic frameworks. Significantly, both portraits functioned as sponsored cultural capital: politician George William Allan commissioned Kane's western expedition portraits to

[409] Recent scholarship by Ian MacLaren has demonstrated that this portrait constitutes a composite representation of two separate individuals, with the pierced nose representing an anachronistic addition likely incorporated during the oil painting process to enhance the work's exotic appeal to European audiences. Ian MacLaren, "*Paul Kane's Travels in Indigenous North America*" (lecture, Alberta Archaeology, April 25th, 2025); see also I.S. MacLaren, *Paul Kane's Travels in Indigenous North America: Writings and Art, Life and Times* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2024).
[410] Terry Jay Ellingson, *The myth of the noble savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). P.186.

document "vanishing" cultures,[411] while Atlas Steel deployed Jefferys' images as corporate propaganda linking Canadian industrial expansion to Indigenous heritage appropriation. This genealogical continuity reveals how settler Canadian Visual Nationalism operated through persistent colonial visual practices, transforming Indigenous peoples into symbols serving Euro-Canadian institutional interests across generations of mechanical reproduction and mass circulation.

3.4.3. Museum collections and anthropological publications (early XX century)

By reproducing sources from anthropological and archaeological publications, Jefferys simultaneously popularized specialized knowledge and constructed authority for his own picture gallery. From the 1890s through the 1920s, museums and institutions dedicated to natural history, anthropology, and material culture proliferated throughout North America, systematically deploying mechanically reproduced pictures as vehicles for disseminating scientific knowledge. Jefferys' career emerged from and contributed to this institutional visual culture, positioning him as both collector and producer within established networks of cultural authority. Canadian institutions like the Royal Ontario Museum, directed by Charles Thomas Currelly — himself a key contributor to *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* — and the Victoria Memorial Museum operated not merely as repositories for material culture, but as active sites of knowledge production that established methodological standards for historical and anthropological studies.[412] These institutions transformed individual collecting practices into systematic visual practices that served both scientific documentation and national identity construction, creating the institutional framework that legitimized Jefferys' synthesis of archaeological authority with popular historical consciousness.

In comparison to past phases of the anthropological visualization, the production of pictures for ethnographic purposes assumed a clearer scientific character within early twentieth-century institutions. This alleged scientific *ethos* manifested primarily through the media where pictures were displayed. Instead of galleries and travelogues, the specialized journal became the privileged venue for these prints. Jefferys copied illustrations from the *Bulletin 37* of the *Anthropological Series* of the Victoria Memorial Museum (1923), and the *Anthropological Papers* of The American Museum Of Natural History (1915), among others.

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[411] Arlene Gehmacher, "Significance & Critical Issues," in Paul Kane: Life & Work (Art Canada Institute, 2014), para. 5, https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/paul-kane/significance-and-critical-issues/.
[412] G. Killan. *David Boyle: From Artisan to Archaeologist*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1983. Hamilton, M. *Collections and Objections: Aboriginal Material Culture in Southern Ontario*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

These publications employed systematic visual practices that followed what this chapter has analysed as the *Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation: images organized by taxonomic categories — spears, clothing, vessels, pipes — with objects systematically removed from cultural contexts, presented through standardized two-dimensional views, and rendered with simplified techniques that transformed cultural artifacts into scientific specimens [see figure 3.25]. As demonstrated throughout this analysis, this mode of presentation exemplified how archaeological and ethnographic visual practices claimed scientific objectivity while serving the broader project of colonial knowledge production, transforming Indigenous material culture into consumable evidence for settler Canadian audiences.

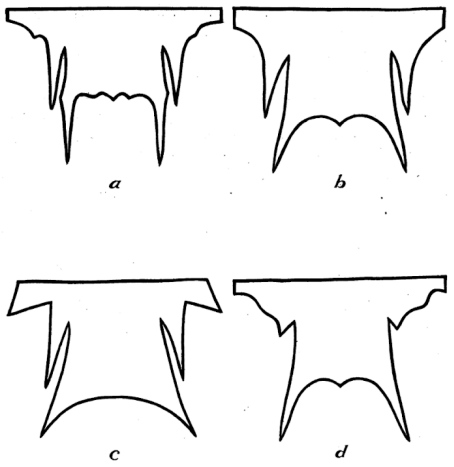

Fig. 3.25 - Clark Wissler. Costumes of the Plains Indians: Shirt Patterns for Men. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVII, Part II. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1915. P. 54

The transformation of archaeological documentation into instruments of Canadian Visual Nationalism required an intermediary operation that Jefferys perfected: the systematic translation of specialized academic materials into popular visual culture accessible to broader audiences. By the early twentieth century, anthropological publications had developed sophisticated analytical frameworks, as evidenced by the *Anthropological Papers* declaring their intent to "*present some of the results*" of "*intensive study of specimens*" using "*structural analysis*" to "*determine the place of Blackfoot culture in the Plains group*."[413] These mechanically reproduced pictures from institutional publications proved ideally suited for Canadian Visual Nationalism, combining scientific authority with mass reproduction

[413] Victoria Memorial Museum (Canada), issuing body. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art* / by Harlan I. Smith. · Bulletin ; no. 37. Anthropological series ; no. 8. Pg. 2

capabilities while providing uniquely Canadian cultural markers that differentiated the nation from both the U.S. and the British. Indigenous material culture offered settler Canadians distinctive national symbols, transforming archaeological specimens into exclusive heritage resources. Unlike the predominantly narrative historical scenes dominating Canadian textbooks, these sources employed a distinct visual epistemology that claimed descriptive objectivity while appropriating Indigenous cultural production as evidence of Canadian territorial and cultural inheritance. Through his curatorial visual practices, Jefferys transformed Indigenous artifacts into national symbols, deploying the *Museum Exhibitor* mode of presentation to legitimize cultural appropriation as historical preservation.

His distinctive contribution lay not in original artistic innovation, but in recognizing how these sources could serve Visual Nationalism through systematic redeployment in popular media. The collaboration with Ryerson Press proved crucial in achieving mass circulation far beyond the limited audiences of archaeological and ethnographic publications, while subsequent corporate reproduction by Imperial Oil and Atlas Steel extended these images to unprecedented popular reach. This corporate appropriation revealed how Visual Nationalism ultimately served broader settler colonial objectives, with cultural institutions and nationalist images functioning as technologies of legitimation for capitalist expansion and territorial consolidation. Through this convergence of scholarly authority, mass reproduction, and corporate dissemination, Jefferys' *Picture Gallery* achieved what specialized academic publications could never accomplish: the transformation of colonial knowledge systems into widely shared visual culture that naturalized settler Canadian identity through Indigenous cultural appropriation, while disguising colonial violence as heroic nation-building moments.

Conclusion

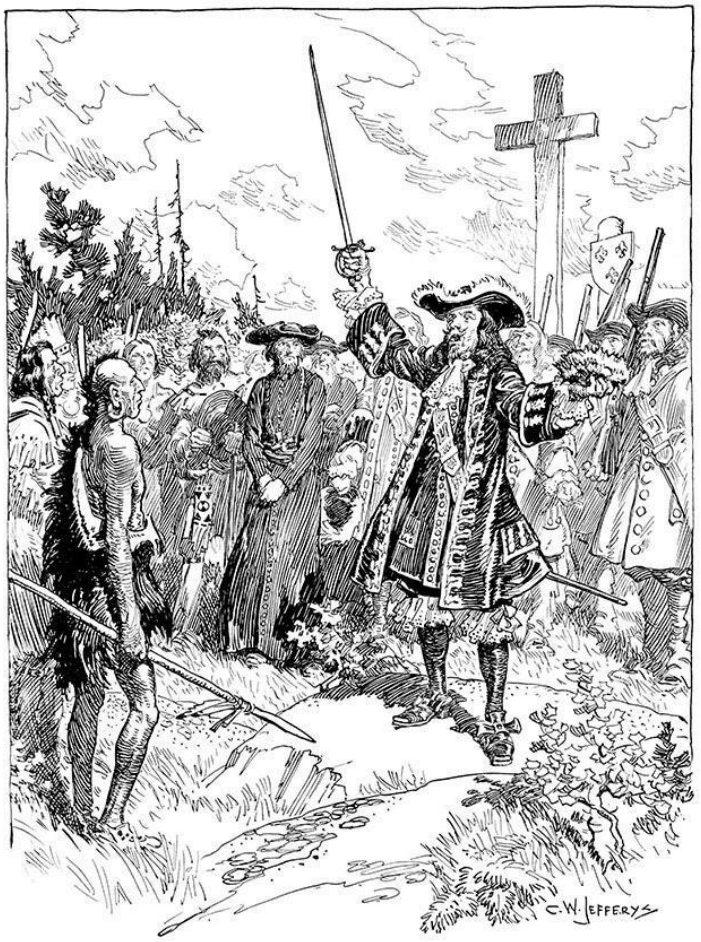

Fig.4.1 - C.W. Jefferys, "*St. Lusson Taking Possession of the West at Sault Ste. Marie*", *Page 157 of The Picture Gallery of Canadian History. C. 1942*, Photomechanical reproduction of pen and black ink over paper.

The image that launched this investigation now crystallizes its central findings. Drawing on European documentary sources for a territorial appropriation ceremony, Jefferys' picture focuses on the French colonial agent as the heroic figure within a foundational settler Canadian narrative — pompously dressed in full regalia, arms spread wide, sword prominently displayed, declaring sovereignty amid the vastness of Canadian wilderness. Military and religious officials accompany him, embodying both the veiled threat of violence and the promise of patriarchal protection under colonial authority. The subjects of this colonial project — Indigenous peoples constructed as "vanishing" — stand passively in the foreground yet are visually marginalized to the left corner of the composition. Through this visual arrangement, they represent hundreds of Indigenous nations whose historical agency was systematically erased by European colonization, now reintegrated into a settler historical

narrative that appropriates Indigenous knowledge and territorial relationships only insofar as they serve colonial claims to natural heritage, disguising territorial violence as necessary protection from constructed "savagery."

Recalling its conditions of production and circulation, this image epitomizes the central arguments constructed through three chapters of this research. First, it demonstrates the pivotal role of C.W. Jefferys within Canadian Visual Nationalism, which relied on both his artistic skill and his scholarly authority to construct compelling visual narratives of the Canadian past. Second, the embedding of this picture within a visual culture that prioritized reproducibility over uniqueness reveals how mechanically reproduced images enabled the mass circulation of recognizable symbols of Canadianness — symbols defined by their Christian, settler colonial, and masculine character. These pictures achieved reproduction in the thousands, fitting seamlessly within institutional frameworks to provide audiences with nationalist ideals, transform historical events into mythological narratives, and generate cultural capital for the companies and individuals establishing dominant positions within the country's hegemonic networks. Third, this picture exemplifies how Jefferys' entire visual practice claimed scholarly rigour through systematic reliance on historical sources and institutional publications to construct epistemological authority. This approach transmitted what appeared to be credible, descriptive, and objective representations of the past to Canada's rapidly expanding population. However, it systematically concealed the highly interpretive character of these visual constructions, especially in their treatment of Indigenous cultures and colonial violence.

Fig. 4.2 - William Wollet, after Benjamin West. *The Death of General Wolfe*. 1776. Etching and engraving on paper. 470 mm X 604 mm. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Although Jefferys endured economic hardships and remains marginalized in Canadian art history — lacking comprehensive scholarly treatment beyond his characterization as a romantic illustrator for children's textbooks — this research positions him in crucial dialogue with a foundational work in both historical illustration and visual historiography: Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770), deliberately examined here through William Woollett's authorized engraving (1776). The extraordinary commercial success of this print — which generated £15,000 for the engraver alone and became "*by far the single most successful venture in the burgeoning business of reproductive prints of works by English artists*"[414] — demonstrates not merely market appeal but the emergence of the phenomenon central to this study: mechanical reproduction as constitutive of colonial visual practices. Where scholarship typically emphasizes West's innovation in depicting contemporary dress rather than classical costume, the West-Woollett partnership reveals something more profound: the transformation of colonial conquest into profitable visual commodity, establishing a transnational visual economy that enabled dispersed viewers across Britain, America, and the future Canada to

[414] Alan McNairn. *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century*. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP, 1997. P.149

participate in imperial mythology through affordable mechanical reproduction. This precedent makes Jefferys not an isolated figure creating nationalist pictures, but the inheritor and systematizer of an already-established colonial visual culture.

This connection reveals that Canadian Visual Nationalism didn't emerge from some authentic national essence — as nationalist discourse would later claim for the Group of Seven — but from the systematic reproduction and institutionalization of colonial visual practices that were, from their inception, commercial products designed for mass circulation. The transformation from Woollett's profitable enterprise to Jefferys' pedagogical illustrations demonstrates how the commercial and ideological dimensions of Visual Nationalism were always intertwined: colonial conquest was transformed into naturalized national heritage through pictures that circulated as both commodities and mythologies. West's composition achieved this transformation through explicitly religious symbolism, the Christian Pietà motif sacralizing imperial violence as divine sacrifice. Most significantly, the silent, crouching Indigenous figure in West's composition — contemplating European destiny while occupying the painting's margin — established a template that Jefferys would reproduce 170 years later: Indigenous presence operating to validate rather than contest European occupation, their witnessing transformed into consent.

Jefferys' rejected West's seminal work from *The Picture Gallery* for its ubiquity and historical inaccuracy,[415] and this illuminates the transformation of visual practices constituting Canadian Visual Nationalism across this 170-year span. First, Jefferys' adoption of scholarly discourse — grounding authority in extensive archival research and "accurate" sources — intensifies West's innovation of depicting contemporary dress rather than classical costume and using Indigenous artifacts as models. Second, while Woollett's engraving succeeded commercially by targeting bourgeois consumers who could afford this luxury commodity, Jefferys' pictures circulated through institutional frameworks, marking the convergence of print-capitalism with educational apparatus and scholarly authority — the completion of a journey from selective commercial consumption to compulsory pedagogical encounter. Third, this shift reveals a crucial paradox: while West and Woollett profited handsomely from individual sales, Jefferys remained economically marginal despite his pictures achieving unprecedented mass circulation — the economic rewards now captured by publishing houses like Ryerson Press, corporate sponsors like Imperial Oil, and educational institutions, demonstrating how Visual Nationalism's profits had migrated from cultural producers to institutional apparatus, with artists relegated to minor compensation while their pictures

[415] C.W. Jefferys. *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. p.I

generated substantial value for state and corporate interests. Fourth, and most tellingly, Indigenous peoples remain silenced witnesses in both moments — yet while Jefferys' inclusion of Indigenous subjects constituted a progressive practice by early twentieth-century standards, his claimed scientific accuracy actually marks the sophistication of evolving colonial visual practices.

Furthermore, the comparative view between Jefferys' prolific work and the cultural phenomenon marked by *The Death of General Wolfe* sheds light on the epistemological value of images as representations of the past, leading to a broader understanding of their role in historical consciousness, beyond their relevance in art history. Benjamin West's claim that his intention had been to act as a "*historian*," recording "*the facts of the transaction*"[416] demonstrates how pictures could simultaneously claim documentary authority while functioning as marketable commodities. The picture's commercial success — spurring numerous reproductions, including original and unauthorized copies, porcelain figures, and ceramic goods — exemplifies what Bleichmar and Schwartz identify as visual culture's power to generate new concepts of historicity rather than merely contain historical meaning.[417] Following their analysis, West's innovation lay in collapsing temporal distance through spatial displacement: instead of depicting ancient events that felt "long ago," he made recent colonial encounters feel immediately present by setting them "far away." This temporal collapse transformed contemporary events into "instant history," making them feel simultaneously eyewitnessed and epic, factual and mythological.

Jefferys' visual practices operated through identical mechanisms when his historical pictures achieved wide circulation through textbooks, postcards, illustrated magazines, and calendars. These are not specificities of Jefferys' individual genius or Canadian cultural contingencies, but demonstrate broader effects of print-capitalism's power to transform pictures into nation-building commodities. Through Visual Nationalism, early Canadian colonial encounters were made to feel both historically foundational and immediately relevant to twentieth-century audiences, collapsing temporal distance between figures like St. Lusson, Champlain, General Brock, and Tecumseh and their Canadian viewers, who could experience these colonial moments as both distant enough to be heroic and immediate enough to be personally meaningful. This temporal collapse operated by Visual Nationalism through mechanically reproduced print media served a crucial ideological function: it created an

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[416] West, cited in Leo Costello, *J. M. W. Turner and the Subject of History* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 32.
[417] Daniela Bleichmar, and Vanessa R. Schwartz. "*Visual History: The Past in Pictures.*" *Representations 145*, no. 1 (February 1, 2019): 1–31.

artificial sense of continuity and tradition with the colonial enterprise, constructing historical depth for what remained a recent and contested political formation still facing significant challenges in the first half of the twentieth century.

The contemplative Indigenous warrior witnessing General Wolfe's martyrdom epitomizes many conclusions this research reached regarding the deployment of pictures of Indigenous peoples within Canadian Visual Nationalism. West attempted to render an accurate Mohawk figure, yet this representation served the colonial category of *Indian*, which embodies a fundamental paradox within settler colonial visual culture. Depicted with bare torso, the figure simultaneously adheres to classical history painting's heroic nude tradition — establishing associations of nobility, virtue and civilization through proximity to European artistic conventions[418] — while his contemplative pose, Indigenous attire, and partial nudity reinforce constructs of the vanishing and primitive. This dual operation allowed West to create the dignified portrayal expected by eighteenth-century audiences while maintaining the requisite ennobling distance — one of geographic locale rather than historical time, setting spatial distance from British audiences while encompassing the Empire's reach across the Americas.[419]

For Canadian nation-building narratives, the inclusion of this Indigenous witness performs a crucial mythmaking function: it appropriates what were actually complex and shifting Indigenous-European alliances and transforms them into a British imperial argument for Indigenous submission to the Crown. However, Canadian Visual Nationalism amplified this template to pacify British-French tensions by expanding the "natural allies" framework to encompass all European settlers. Jefferys' depiction of St. Lusson's ceremony demonstrates this evolution — a French colonial figure performs the identical civilizing mission, with Indigenous peoples positioned as equally willing witnesses, constructing an all-encompassing European settler Canadian character that united British and French colonizers under shared colonial authority. In broader terms, *The Death of General Wolfe* provided a foundational model for settler Canadian mythology by portraying Europeans as natural allies of Indigenous peoples, legitimizing both British and French colonial appropriation as cooperative enterprises, thereby achieving settler unity through shared Indigenous subjugation.

We must reflect on the possibilities of accuracy in historical pictures to conclude this comparative analysis, which situates the results of this research within broader Visual

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[418] Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992. P.19

[419] Carole McNamara and Clayton A. Lewis, *Benjamin West: General Wolfe and the Art of Empire* (Ann Arbor, 2012)

Nationalism frameworks extending back to Benjamin West's *Death of General Wolfe*. The Visual Nationalism defined here operates through three interconnected dimensions: the technological encounter that enabled the circulation of mechanically reproduced pictures as mass commodities of nation and empire; the colonial practice of crafting mythologizing images that promoted ideological constructs of the ruling classes through institutional frameworks that naturalized them; and the deployment of Indigenous figures and material culture to mobilize either selective belonging — positioning Indigenous peoples as markers of singularity for the all-encompassing British Empire or cooperative Canada — or as technologies to control and hierarchize Indigenous difference within settler colonial perspectives. All of these dimensions relied fundamentally on constructs of historical accuracy, whether in West's or Jefferys' *imaginative pictures*.[420] As established by Jefferys for the *Picture Gallery*, this category designates pictures created from *pictorial records* or eyewitness accounts, depending on the artist's trained judgement to properly translate source material into credible pictures of the past. This embodied the epistemological virtue identified by Daston and Galison, conditioning perceptions of accuracy or objectivity to an artists' selective judgement and technical abilities.[421]

To achieve this objective effect, both West and Jefferys claimed the artist-historian badge, collected evidence of material culture,[422] grounding their visual practices in contemporary scholarly research.[423] While historical accuracy in depicting clothing initially met resistance in 1770 before being praised as a revolution that would shape historical painting, by 1930 such practices had become standard, yet Jefferys' leverage within an institutional fabric that funded and distributed his artistic work. Their use of source material established their visual practices as scholarly rather than merely artistic or aesthetic constructions, increasing their value as historical representation, as commodities, as mass-produced mythologizing artifacts, and as controlling technologies over Indigenous cultures. By merging the heroic and martyred with the descriptive and accurate, these visual practices enhanced Visual Nationalism's persuasive capacities. Ultimately, while both artists occasionally included Indigenous cultures previously ignored or portrayed only as enemies,

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[420] C.W. Jefferys. *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History*. Vol. I. Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1942. P. VI
[421] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity.* New York: Zone Books, 2007. P. 318-321
[422] Vivien Green Fryd. "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe.'" *American Art* 9, no. 1 (1995): 73–85.
[423] Although West selectively used historical accuracy in clothing, he created a completely fabricated scene where neither the Indigenous figure, the other officials, the Christ-like composition, nor the background were accurate representations. West knew about these departures from accuracy and chose them deliberately. Vivien Green Fryd, "Rereading the Indian in Benjamin West's 'Death of General Wolfe,'" *American Art* 9, no. 1 (1995): 73–85.

and while providing historically valuable information regarding Indigenous material culture, the broader ideological frameworks of their era positioned Indigenous peoples as primitive, savage, or vanishing, which shaped even well-intentioned representations.[424] For settler colonial audiences, trained judgement functioned as a technology of power and control — a recognition that remains essential for understanding how visual practices continue to shape historical consciousness today.

Robert Stacey and the Persistence of Visual Nationalism

Much of what we can study about C.W. Jefferys beyond his own publications is due to the late art historian and archivist Robert Stacey (1949-2007), a prominent figure within Canadian art historical scholarship after the 1970s and Jefferys' grandson. Stacey functioned as a central mediating figure in cataloguing and organizing archives of key Canadian artists from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, serving as researcher and systematizer of Canadian visual culture. His contributions encompassed publications on landscape art, graphic arts, and sculpture, while also establishing himself as a distinguished art critic, curator, cultural advocate, and editor.[425] Regarding his grandfather's work, Robert Stacey extensively catalogued, organized, and preserved comprehensive archival materials, now primarily housed at the E.P. Taylor Library in the Art Gallery of Ontario and Library and Archives Canada. Stacey collaborated with Imperial Oil Company in the 1970s to organize a national exhibition of Jefferys' work, contributing a complete biographical booklet that proved essential to this research. Most significantly, as manager of Jefferys' estate and noted scholar, Stacey expanded Jefferys' scholarly relevance through systematic popularization efforts and rigorous academic enterprises that facilitated subsequent research. Perhaps the most enduring expression of this endeavour is the C.W. Jefferys website, which centralizes and organizes the visual material created by the artist alongside scholarly commentary developed by Stacey and the family heirs.

Through Stacey's extensive contributions, Jefferys' role as a pioneering figure in Canadian visual history becomes evident, as his influence as a beacon for Visual Nationalism extended into the 21st century. The most distinctive of these works is *The Illustrated History of Canada* (1987), in which Robert Stacey served as picture editor. An all-encompassing

[424] These ideological frameworks pioneered by West in depicting Indigenous peoples created stereotypes that were reproduced long after the painting and throughout the twentieth century. Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 19.

[425] Burant, Jim. "Introduction to the Life of Robert Stacey / Robert Stacey : Une Introduction." *National Gallery of Canada Review* 8 (2017): 1–18.

history of Canada driven by textual narrative but richly illustrated, this bold and extensive volume was a collaborative effort between leading Canadian historians, acclaimed as a one-volume comprehensive history of Canada, reaching its seventh edition in 2014, including a revised 25th Anniversary edition in 2012, attesting to its sustained success and strong-selling standard across decades. Stacey contributed by selecting the illustrations and securing their rights, arriving at the project as "*someone who knew every image of the Canadian past, knew what it signified and how to use it, and knew where to secure prints and rights at blinding speed*".[426] The parallels with Jefferys' encyclopedic knowledge of Canadian visual culture and his collecting practices are evident through Jim Burant's accounts of Stacey carrying "*more than 1,500 photographic reproductions of artworks or photographs of Canadian history*",[427] positioning Stacey as inheritor of the systematic visual practices and as curator of the crucial repository of Canadian visual sources, preserving, circulating and critically examining them.

The Picture Gallery of Canadian History volumes served as foundational texts for Canadian Visual Nationalism in subsequent publications. *Canada: A Visual History* (1966), by D.G.G. Kerr and R.I.K. Davidson, referenced *The Picture Gallery as the only* work cited in its preface, adopting a stance of reverence for its usefulness while departing from Jefferys' approach by excluding later interpretive sources (such as his *imaginative drawings*)[428]. The underlying assumption behind this editorial choice involved maintaining objective rigour by showcasing only contemporary historical sources — although uncritically reproducing pictures from colonial sources including Samuel de Champlain, Herman Moll (1654-1732) and Paul Kane without adequate contextualization. Likewise, Robert Stacey's brief preface for *The Illustrated History of Canada* reveres *The Picture Gallery* as foundational to this editorial genre in Canada, but adopts a much more appraising tone, positioning Jefferys as "*the dean of Canadian historical artists*" and praising his pioneering role "*in a shift from the mythic and heroic to the social and material"*.[429] Although these later publications were led by textual narrative, both extend Canadian Visual Nationalism as a framework for representing history in association with nation. They employ many of Jefferys' visual sources as, adopt similar chronological organizational structures, and reproduce the same modes of

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[426] Christopher Moore's History News (blog), "*Robert Stacey 1949–2007*," http://christophermoorehistory.blogspot.ca/2007/11/robert-stacey-1949-2007.html.
[427] Burant, Jim. "Introduction to the Life of Robert Stacey / Robert Stacey : Une Introduction." *National Gallery of Canada Review* 8 (2017): 1–18.
[428] D.G.G. Kerr, and R.I.K. Davidson. *Canada: A Visual History*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966. Pg. 1.
[429] Robert Craig Brown. *The Illustrated History of Canada*. Toronto, Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987. Pg. xiii

presentation systematized in *The Picture Gallery*, benefitting from the pictures' capacity to operate across different modes of nationalism.

Although extensive comparative analysis would prove fruitful for understanding transformations and accommodations within Canadian Visual Nationalism, an initial assessment of these works' patterns for depicting Indigenous cultures demonstrates Jefferys' influence as a systematizer of visual culture. Furthermore, it reveals a genealogy of Visual Nationalism and its key characteristics throughout the twentieth century: mechanically reproduced pictures fostering collective national identification through standardized symbols and visual conventions, ultimately categorizing Indigenous cultures either as exoticized scientific specimens, or as stereotypical representations from settler colonial sources.

One picture that both Jefferys and Stacey included in their visual histories was *The Inside of a House in Nootka Sound* (1778), an engraving based on a watercolour from John Webber [Figure 4.3], artist commissioned in James Cook's third voyage. This picture appears in Chapter 3 of this research, where I documented it within Jefferys' personal collection of prints and reproduced in *The Picture Gallery*, demonstrating the transformation of eighteenth-century ethnographic documentation into twentieth-century national heritage. Through Stacey's reproduction, the continuity of these practices reinforces the settler colonial affiliation that disregards the image's interpretive character and the agency of the Nuu-chah-nulth people in controlling their own representation (potentially concealing certain elements while displaying others for European consumption).[430] As a precursor of the *Peeping Eye* mode of presentation, this picture demands that twenty-first-century viewers acknowledge the strategic choices involved in allowing a European artist to depict their domestic space rather than celebrating the British artist's supposed triumph in establishing this form of colonial gaze. The mechanical reproduction of this watercolour for European audiences constitutes another dimension requiring recognition, inscribing potential biases into what remains a valuable yet limited ethnographic source.

[430] Bernard Smith. *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. Yale University Press, 1992. Pp. 105-108.

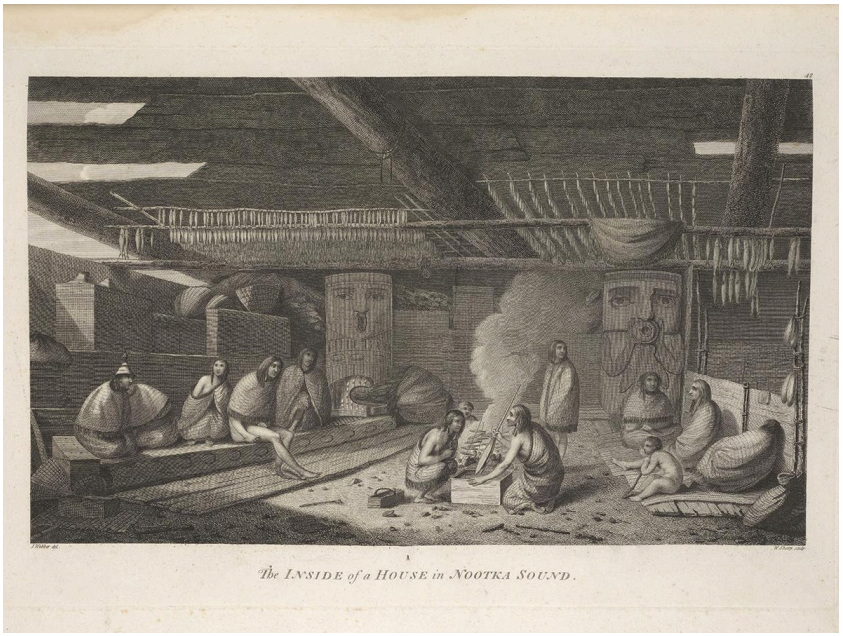
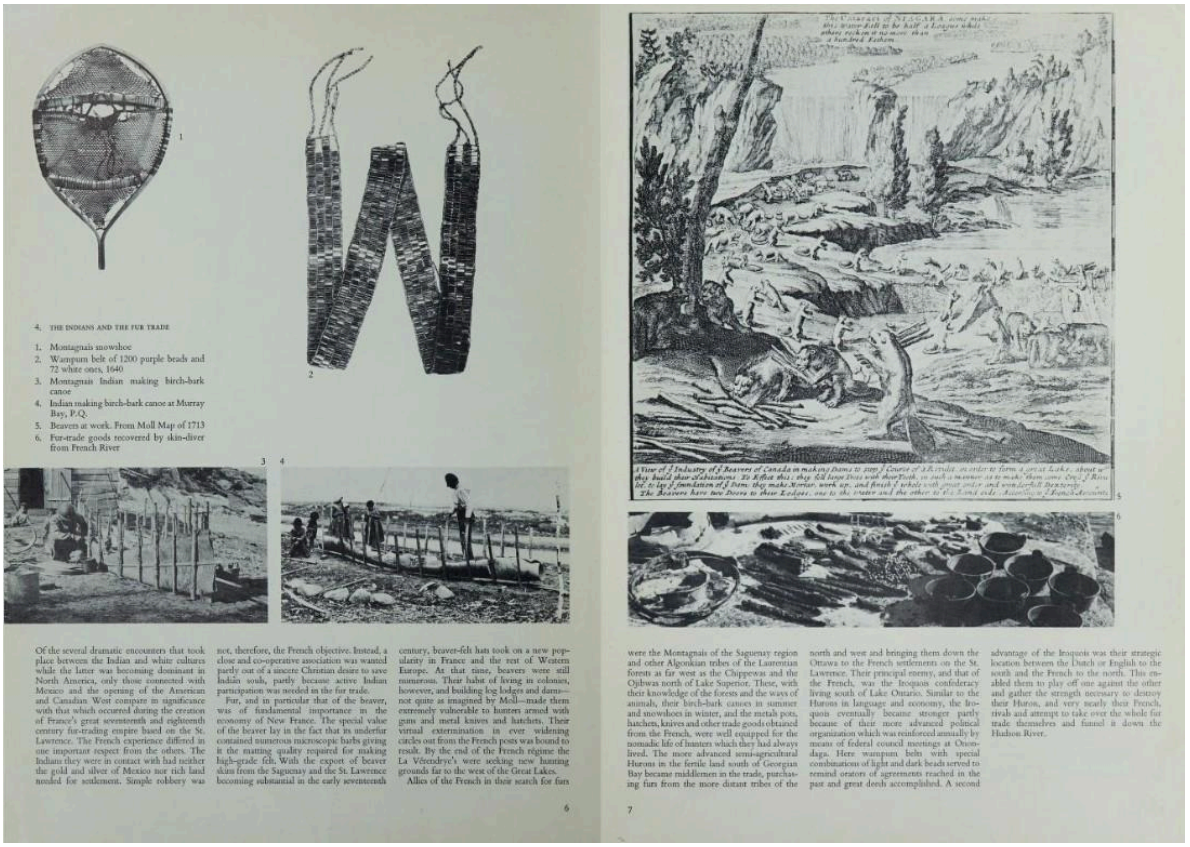


Fig. 4.3 - John Webber (artist, 1751–1793); William Sharp (engraver, 1749–1824). *The Inside of a House in Nootka Sound*, in James Cook et al., *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean …* Atlas of Plates. London: W. & A. Strahan for G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784. Copper engraving. P. 42.

A common characteristic of these three visual histories is their deployment of what I have termed *The Museum Exhibitor* mode for presenting Indigenous material culture, often combined with complementary modes of presentation that ultimately construct narratives of heritage appropriation and cultural continuity. As *The Illustrated History of Canada* consists primarily of textual historical narrative, pictures of material culture appear infrequently and function mainly as ethnographic curiosities rather than as representations of central Canadian cultural practices, as they do in Jefferys' work. *Canada: A Visual History*, a large-format publication that features images prominently throughout, incorporates collections of material culture more systematically, particularly in opening chapters dedicated to pre-contact and early contact periods. As a distinctive characteristic of Visual Nationalism, these pictures operate alongside maps, historical scenes, and depictions of cultural practices, demonstrating a sophisticated synthesis of nationalist representation that derives authority from this convergence of diverse visual sources [Figure 4.4].



4. THE INDIANS AND THE FUR TRADE

1. Montagnais snowshoe
2. Wampum belt of 1200 purple beads and 72 white ones, 1640
3. Montagnais Indian making birch-bark canoe
4. Indian making birch-bark canoe at Murray Bay, P.Q.
5. Beavers at work. From Moll Map of 1713
6. Fur-trade goods recovered by skin-diver from French River

Of the several dramatic encounters that took place between the Indian and white cultures while the latter was becoming dominant in North America, only those connected with Mexico and the opening of the American and Canadian West compare in significance with that which occurred during the creation of France's great seventeenth and eighteenth century fur-trading empire based on the St. Lawrence. The French experience differed in one important respect from the others. The Indians they were in contact with had neither the gold and silver of Mexico nor rich land needed for settlement. Simple robbery was not, therefore, the French objective. Instead, a close and co-operative association was wanted partly out of a sincere Christian desire to save Indian souls, partly because active Indian participation was needed in the fur trade.

For, and in particular that of the beaver, was of fundamental importance in the economy of New France. The special value of the beaver lay in the fact that its underfur contained numerous microscopic barbs giving it the matting quality required for making high-grade felt. With the export of beaver skins from the Saguenay and the St. Lawrence becoming substantial in the early seventeenth century, beaver-felt hats took on a new popularity in France and the rest of Western Europe. At that time, beavers were still numerous. Their habit of living in colonies, however, and building log lodges and dams—not quite as imagined by Moll—made them extremely vulnerable to hunters armed with guns and metal knives and hatchets. Their virtual extermination in ever widening circles out from the French posts was bound to result. By the end of the French régime the La Vérendrye's were seeking new hunting grounds far to the west of the Great Lakes.

Allies of the French in their search for furs were the Montagnais of the Saguenay region and other Algonkian tribes of the Laurentian forests as far west as the Chippewas and the Ojibwas north of Lake Superior. These, with their knowledge of the forests and the ways of animals, their birch-bark canoes in summer and snowshoes in winter, and the metals pots, hatchets, knives and other trade goods obtained from the French, were well equipped for the nomadic life of hunters which they had always lived. The more advanced semi-agricultural Hurons in the fertile land south of Georgian Bay became middlemen in the trade, purchasing furs from the more distant tribes of the north and west and bringing them down the Ottawa to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. Their principal enemy, and that of the French, was the Iroquois confederacy living south of Lake Ontario. Similar to the Hurons in language and economy, the Iroquois eventually became stronger partly because of their more advanced political organization which was reinforced annually by means of federal council meetings at Onondaga. Here wampum belts with special combinations of light and dark beads served to remind orators of agreements reached in the past and great deeds accomplished. A second advantage of the Iroquois was their strategic location between the Dutch or English to the south and the French to the north. This enabled them to play off one against the other and gather the strength necessary to destroy their Hurons, and very nearly their French, rivals and attempt to take over the whole fur trade themselves and funnel it down the Hudson River.

Figure 4.4 - Pages 6-7 from D.G.G. Kerr and R.I.K. Davidson, *Canada: A Visual History* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966), showing the publication's characteristic integration of multiple images with historical narrative.

These subsequent works demonstrate considerable developments and sophistications, and it would be unproductive to characterize Visual Nationalism as a fixed, strictly homogeneous historical phenomenon. For example, the expanded use of photography revolutionized visual representation, challenging the modes of presentation established within earlier visual culture, Indigenous practices, landscapes, and architecture. Although Jefferys employed photography, its use in the 1960s and 1980s became more pervasive as photographic technologies achieved higher representational capabilities. Moreover, socio-political contexts transformed significantly, particularly with the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which protected the rights and freedoms of Indigenous peoples and institutionalized multiculturalism.[431] The charter recognized the rights of Indigenous peoples to protect their culture, customs, traditions and languages, creating new opportunities for Indigenous peoples to politically mobilize and challenge settler colonial narratives. *The Illustrated History of Canada's* recognition of oral traditions as valuable historical sources

[431] Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11.

and its acknowledgment of Indigenous narratives demonstrates not only these political advances, but also historiography's evolving capacity to address historical injustices while providing nuanced, multiperspectival interpretations of history and nationalism.

This genealogical analysis of Canadian visual histories from 1942 to 1987 reveals Visual Nationalism's institutional resilience and adaptability. Through family networks, publishing houses, and educational institutions, Jefferys' methodological frameworks persisted across decades of political transformation — from wartime nationalism through constitutional patriation and official multiculturalism. The mechanical reproduction of colonial images like Webber's Nootka Sound watercolour exemplifies how Visual Nationalism transformed ethnographic sources into national heritage while privileging European visual documentation as authoritative historical evidence. This persistence relied on the very mechanisms that had made Visual Nationalism successful in the first place: scholarly authority, mass reproduction, and educational networks working together to transform individual collecting into shared historical understanding. Yet this institutional success reveals the complex dynamics of early twentieth-century cultural preservation efforts, particularly when examining how these visual practices emerged from scholarly traditions that sought to document Indigenous cultures while remaining embedded within settler colonial institutional frameworks.

The Paradox of Preservation Through Appropriation

This study adopted a critical positioning of Canadian visual culture, benefitting from an outsider perspective that enabled seeing naturalized colonial structures. It has excavated the earth underneath a solid symbolic building of Canadian identity, scrutinizing historical figures, institutions, events and icons established across centuries as part of Canadian heritage, touching upon topics that might be approached with greater prudence if analysed from within Canadian frameworks. However, I must recognize genuine scholarly contributions despite ideological frameworks supporting them, understanding that critique doesn't negate the historical value of a rich visual archive built with collective effort by individuals who certainly didn’t profit much from their decades of dedication, such as C.W. Jefferys. A fundamental condition of mythmaking enterprises, like Canadian Visual Nationalism, is precisely the naturalness it conveys and the sense of mission that it creates for its actors, mostly unaware of the ideological constructs they are embedded in.

In this sense, we must accept the tension between preservation impulse and colonial appropriation that marked the work of figures like Harlan I. Smith, C.T. Currelly and C.W. Jefferys. The national project of which they were part actually created an unprecedented visual archive of Canadian material culture before many artifacts were lost, established methodological standards for visual documentation that influenced generations of scholars, and effectively democratized access to historical knowledge through print-capitalism and mass reproduction. If one should evaluate the success of this visual nationalist project in terms of: a) institutional longevity, b) preservation of vanishing practices and artifacts, c) national consciousness formation; for all criteria one could argue that it was very successful, and that *The Picture Gallery* achieved all three. However, the cost of these practices were paid by Indigenous cultures, still positioned within asymmetrical power relations, systematically incorporated through undesired frameworks, and having their knowledge and culture transformed and appropriated by colonial practices. In this complex dynamics, the *Museum Exhibitor* mode preserved material culture while stripping its cultural context, and the collaboration with Indigenous communities was portrayed as inevitable and not as strategic action.

Furthermore, in extending this critical reading beyond dismissive critique toward generative analysis, I propose that the very frameworks which accomplished much in preserving Canadian historical heritage can be transformed rather than abandoned. Mitchell's concept of pictures as quasi-subjects[432] with their own "wants" and "needs" offers particular promise: the extensive visual archive constructed through colonial visual practices can now serve post-colonial narratives, with images testifying against the very ideological frameworks that produced them. These colonial metapictures, once instruments of appropriation, can contribute to polyvocal visual narratives that layer multiple perspectives onto historical events and practices. When repositioned within Indigenous-centered visual epistemologies, the same pictures that once operated through the *Museum Exhibitor* and *Peeping Eye* modes can function through entirely different cultural frameworks, enabling shared authority over representation and interpretation. This transformation is already underway in Canadian institutional settings: museums are evolving from sites of display to spaces of dialogue,[433] while educational materials increasingly adopt transparent ideological positioning that

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[432] W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 28-29.

[433] Royal Ontario Museum, "*Daphne Cockwell Gallery Dedicated to First Peoples Art & Culture*," ROM website, accessed 07/08/2025. The ROM acknowledges: "Over the years, Indigenous people have advocated for a shift from advisement to greater authority over how we are represented in museums. In a new process at ROM, Indigenous museum professionals will lead critical changes to this gallery."

acknowledges how historical consciousness is constructed rather than discovered.[434] These developments suggest that Visual Nationalism's infrastructure — its print-capitalism networks, institutional frameworks, and vast pictorial archives — need not be dismantled but can be redirected toward more inclusive and critically informed purposes.

Limitations and Silences

History isn't just about what gets written and shown — it's equally shaped by omissions and limitations. This section acknowledges some key silences in this research, hoping future scholarship can address these gaps while recognizing the practical constraints I faced.

Most importantly, Indigenous voices and agency remain largely absent from this analysis. While I engaged extensively with Indigenous scholarship, my research focused primarily on how settlers created and circulated visual representations rather than examining how Indigenous communities received, resisted, or appropriated these visual narratives for their own purposes. This represents a fundamental gap: I failed to explore how Indigenous peoples interpreted, contested, or transformed settler colonial images to serve their own needs. The scholarship on Indigenous responses to these visual practices remains limited, though Indigenous artists today are actively debating, reinterpreting, and resignifying colonial images in ways that illuminate the very Visual Nationalism this study examines. I also recognize that Western theoretical frameworks and terminology — including my own analytical concepts — may inadequately capture Indigenous ways of seeing and knowing. These limitations point toward the need for more expansive frameworks that better integrate Indigenous epistemologies, rather than simply applying postcolonial theory to settler-Indigenous relations.

While I've tried to put Ontario's dominant strand of Visual Nationalism into broader perspective — including the Henri Julien case study and other historical actors and institutions from Montreal through their shared settler colonial attitudes — this approach may have missed a crucial opportunity. Rather than examining the genuine differences between anglophone and francophone traditions, I focused on their common colonial frameworks. This wasn't meant to undermine Quebec's distinct contributions or belittle Québécois identity

[434] Olive Patricia Dickason and William Newbigging, *Indigenous Peoples Within Canada: A Concise History*, 5th ed. (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2019). Now in its fifth edition, this textbook has been widely adopted in Canadian schools and universities, exemplifying the shift toward transparent ideological positioning and Indigenous-centered perspectives in educational materials.

formation, but it does represent a significant gap in understanding how Quebec's nationalist visual culture related to settler colonialism in ways that differed from the Anglo-Canadian model.[435]

Beyond the Canadian focus, this research also lacks sufficient comparison with Visual Nationalism in the United States and other settler colonial contexts throughout the British Empire and European ex-colonies in the Americas. The comparative framework I developed could be much stronger with systematic analysis of how different settler societies used visual culture for nation-building. Similarly, my focus on settler Canadian cultural elites meant limited engagement with the experiences of other immigrant communities and how they navigated or contributed to these dominant visual narratives.

Future Research Directions and Natural Extensions

While C.W. Jefferys' work is far from exhausted as a source of analysis—his collection at Library and Archives Canada deserves both a proper publication program and deeper examination—several topics naturally emerged from this research that could benefit from fresh scholarly attention. One area ripe for investigation is the institutional landscape of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century artist associations like the Toronto Art Students' League. Despite extensive archival material, few contemporary works have applied new analytical frameworks to understand how these organizations operated within Canada's developing visual culture.[436] The growing hegemony of photography, photomechanical reproduction, and early cinema during this period fundamentally altered the visual practices of an entire generation of cultural producers, creating unprecedented claims to documentary objectivity while enabling new forms of mass cultural control, yet we still lack comprehensive analysis of how these technological shifts transformed both the images themselves and the networks that created and circulated them. A visual culture approach to this material could

[435] For recent literature on Québec's interplay between nationalism and visual culture, see Dufresne, Bibeau-Gagnon, Drouin, Cloutier, and Brie, "*Quebec National Symbolism and Its Effects on Political Attitudes*," Nations and Nationalism 31, no. 3 (July 2025); Fortin, "*De l'art et de l'identité collective au Québec*," Recherches sociographiques 52, no. 1 (Automne 2011): 19–44; Phillips, "*Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-Membering and Re-Membering Canadian Art History,*" in Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History, ed. Carla Rice and Eric Lyons (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 340–68; and Bouchard, ed., *National Myths: Constructed Pasts, Contested Presents* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013).

[436] Robert James Belton's *Sights of Resistance: Approaches to Canadian Visual Culture* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001) remains relevant despite its age, offering analytical frameworks for examining visual culture as both instrument of domination and site of resistance in Canadian contexts. Belton's interdisciplinary methodology and attention to counter-hegemonic practices could valuably extend the frameworks developed here.

reveal much about how mechanical reproduction technologies intersected with nationalist ideology and institutional power during this crucial period of Canadian cultural formation.

A theme central to Canadian visual culture since its colonial roots is war iconography — images of violence praised and dignified as representations of glory. A natural extension of this research would examine how military imagery and memorial culture reinforced settler Canadian nationalism while systematically marginalizing Indigenous military contributions and contemporary sovereignty claims. Yet images of Indigenous battles, weapons, and war dances also abound in Canadian visual culture, demanding interpretation that centres Indigenous knowledge systems and perspectives on these representations. This connects to another significant research direction emerging from this work: corporate Visual Nationalism and its relationship to militaristic imagery. An extensive archival investigation could explore how railway companies, mining corporations, and other industrial enterprises deployed war imagery alongside other visual culture for both commercial promotion and imperial nation-building within the broader British Empire context. The Atlas Steel calendars and Imperial Oil's educational materials represent just the tip of this iceberg—corporate archives likely contain vast collections of visual materials that linked industrial expansion, military conquest, and national identity formation in ways that deserve systematic analysis.

Finally, this Canadian case study demands dialogue with transnational colonial studies. Having developed a profound understanding of Canadian Visual Nationalism through this research, I'm now well-positioned to undertake comparative analysis with Brazilian and broader Latin American contexts, expanding analytical frameworks that could generate insights for both regions. The extensive scholarship on visual colonialism in Asian contexts offers another crucial avenue for understanding global patterns of settler visual culture and identifying gaps in current theories of Visual Nationalism. These transnational directions point toward the broader significance of this project: understanding how Visual Nationalism operated in Canada illuminates not just the construction of one national identity, but the systemic ways that settler colonial societies have used visual culture to legitimize territorial appropriation and cultural domination across multiple contexts. The frameworks developed here offer tools for analysing how images have served power throughout the colonial world, while the Canadian case reveals both the specificities of North American settler colonialism and its connections to global patterns of imperial visual culture. In this sense, visualizing the Canadian nation becomes a window into visualizing settler colonialism itself.

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