**Landscaping a Sovereign North:
Photography and the Discourse of North
in the Publications of the
Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918**

By

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ABSTRACT

The Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918), led by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, was sponsored by the Geological Survey of Canada and the Canadian Department of the Naval Service to explore and document the north western Canadian Arctic and Arctic Archipelago. Photography was employed by expedition members as a data-collecting mechanism and to give visual form to the journey itself. Over four hundred of these photographs were reproduced in the expedition's publications: the fourteen volumes of government reports, Stefansson's popular exploration narrative *The Friendly Arctic* (1921) and Diamond Jenness's *People of the Twilight* (1928). Through photography, I contend, these publications construct a landscape of North as *terra nullius* (empty land) that is visible as an extension of Canadian governmental sovereignty in the region. By looking to North as discourse, this thesis questions the role of the visual in representing the north as region, experience, or idea in Canadian visual culture.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAE	Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918)
GSC	Geological Survey of Canada
IBS	International Boundary Survey
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
ISR	Inuvialuit Settlement Region
ITK	Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
NLCA	<i>Nunavut Land Claims Agreement</i>
SAE	Stefansson-Anderson Expedition (1908-1912)
USAE	United States Anglo-American Expedition (1906)
USGS	United States Geological Survey

INTRODUCTION

Visualizing North

Six little white specks on a hillside were apparent now on what I thought was the mainland, a mile or two from the beach. The sky was clear and there was that quivering, wavy motion in the atmosphere which is due to the sun shining on areas of different nature...Through such an atmosphere all things have blurred outlines even if their shapes are not otherwise distorted, and the shape may easily appear fantastic. Small stones, round or flat, may look like tall pillars and even appear to move.¹

In this passage from Vilhjalmur Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*, the author recounts his experience of a caribou hunt during his sojourn north² with the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918). In a hunter's guise, Stefansson invites the reader to look through his squinting eyes onto an indefinite, surreal landscape dotted with shapes and shadows. His is a voice of quiet confidence peppered with uncertainty:

My six specks looked round and had blurred outlines, so there was no telling whether they were stones or caribou until one's mind was made up by study. They might have been white geese, for in looking across a range of hills and then over some invisible ice beyond to a second land, there is no easy way of estimating distance...³

In the language of measurement and deduction, Stefansson surveys the landscape before him looking for signs of the familiar and the real: the outline of a hill once traversed, the pile of stones marking a shoreline, or the slow motion of the caribou walking in the distance. Celebrating the primacy of his reasoning skills and personal experience, Stefansson begins to lay claim to what he sees: the "six white specks" become "my six specks" as fantastic outlines slowly sharpen into focus:

It took about half an hour of watching before one of the bodies moved with reference to the other five. These were then not stones, since one of them had moved...By a process of elimination, they were caribou, which had all been lying down, until just now when one got up and moved a few steps.⁴

A region haunted by invisible ice, with stones that morph into pillars, is no longer surreal. Patience, logic, and keen observation yields a satisfying result for the hunter who is now able to identify—with irrefutable certainty—what lies before him.

As I read the above passages in *The Friendly Arctic*, I sensed that Stefansson was writing for the camera: his deductions navigated me through the scene unfolding in my imagination; his words were a voice-over whispering descriptions and offering glimpses of clarity. A stream-of-consciousness writing style creates the intimacy of a shared encounter, a space in which reader and author share in the sanctity of the gaze upon these caribou that appear as geese through the quivering atmosphere. Through description, Stefansson offers an experience of North and directs the reader to view its supposed reality. His musings continue on the pages that follow:

Since I began to know the North, its beauty, freedom and friendliness have continually grown upon me. They were there from the first but my eyes were holden and I could not see them, for even in that clear air I walked wrapped in the haze of my bringing-up. With southern feelings and an assumption of the inferiority of that which is different, I failed to see the resources and values where they lay before me.⁵

Visceral images abound (the “clear air” of north or “wrapped in the haze of my bringing-up”) and are punctuated by two photographs appearing on the opposite page: one of land, the other of floating ice (see figure Intro.1). Upon first glance, the subject matter of the upper photograph is indecipherable, although a landscape is suggested by the sliver of a horizon line dashed across the top. In the middle ground, a semicircle of rounded objects (perhaps stones?) rest on a rough, pockmarked terrain; a dark blur in the foreground directs my gaze downward to the caption which reads “A Tent Ring.” I quizzically look back to the image for clues (the smoothness of the stones against the turf, the pattern of their arrangement) and find recourse to its identity through the text—“a tent ring,” a relic,

Stefansson explains, of an abandoned “Eskimo”⁶ campsite, “circles of stones that had been used to hold down the flaps of a tent.”⁷

Drawing on the author’s prior descriptions, I seemingly adopt the guise of Stefansson-the-hunter surveying the photograph for caribou through mystical shapes and shadows; or I am Stefansson-the-explorer wrapped in his “southern misconceptions.” I engage in a viewing of an imaginary North and reaffirm his descriptive rhetoric through my own visual experience. While my reception of the image is closely directed by Stefansson’s narrative, within the context of *The Friendly Arctic*, photograph and word combine to shape my understanding of North in a visual process. Nonetheless, I have agency as a viewer. My interpretation of Stefansson’s rhetoric and my understanding of North remain in the domain of my own experience.

The Friendly Arctic is but one volume in a body of literature published by members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE). Stefansson, an explorer with training as an ethnologist, led the enterprise which, between 1913 and 1918, collected, explored, surveyed, and mapped the coastal regions and islands of the western Canadian Arctic. Under the joint supervision of the Canadian Department of the Naval Service and the Geological Survey of Canada, this complicated operation was, at the time, the largest Arctic expedition ever funded by the Canadian government. Its objective was to secure sovereignty over Canada’s northern latitudes. Photography was used by members of the CAE as a data-collecting mechanism and as a tool with which to record the explorative journey, resulting in an archive of over 2,500 images of North.⁸

Embarking from Esquimalt, British Columbia on June 17, 1913, the expedition headed north by tracing the Alaskan coast to the Beaufort Sea and progressing eastward

to the Coronation Gulf region (see map, figure Intro.2). Splitting into two groups around the Mackenzie River Delta, the expedition's Northern Party, led by Stefansson and committed to the exploration of new territory for the Canadian Department of the Naval Service, headed north through the "uncharted" waters of the Beaufort Sea while the Southern Party, led by zoologist Rudolph Martin Anderson and responsible to the Geological Survey of Canada, followed the coast to the Coronation Gulf to analyse the surrounding area. Stefansson's party discovered Borden (1915), Brock, Meighen, and Lougheed (1916) islands and, as well, completed the first soundings of the continental shelf beneath the Beaufort Sea. Anderson's party supplied the Geological Survey of Canada with a variety of scientific specimens, data, and ethnological material on the Coronation Gulf region and its Inuinnat (Copper Inuit) and Inuvialuit inhabitants. At the same time, the CAE saw one of the greatest disasters of Arctic exploration since the Franklin expedition⁹ in the sinking of its flagship the C.G.S. *Karluk* in January of 1914. Of the twenty-five members on board, the tragedy caused eleven deaths and the marooning of survivors on Wrangel Island (Ostrov Vrangelya), north of Siberia, until their much publicized rescue in September of 1914.¹⁰

Expedition results were published in a series of fieldwork updates reproduced in the annual reports of the Department of the Naval Service and the annual summary reports of the Geological Survey. *The Friendly Arctic*, published by New York's Macmillan Company, is Stefansson's popular account of his journey north with the CAE; as in his previous tome, *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913), chronicling Stefansson's expedition with Anderson from 1908-1912, this later publication is a thick volume replete

with photographs and maps, promising exotic adventure in a region foreign to the majority of its readership.

In contrast, members of the CAE's Southern Party—the zoologists, botanists, geologists, and anthropologists working directly for the Geological Survey of Canada—produced scientific reports that were published by the Canadian government (see appendix A). Each volume, out of the fourteen that went to press, had its own highly specific, professional audience and did not easily lend itself to general public consumption. Entomological researchers, for example, would have been the most likely readers of Arthur Gibson's "Lepidoptera" from Volume 3, *Insects*, while the potential corporate investor would examine geologist J.J. O'Neill's estimate of the copper mining potential of the region as laid out in Volume 11, *Geology and Geography*. CAE ethnologist Diamond Jenness even prefaces his first contribution, Volume 12, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, with an admission: "In this, the first of the ethnological reports, and the only one that is likely to interest the general public, the simplest spelling possible has been adopted for all Eskimo words, in order to make the book more readable."¹¹ Jenness also published *People of the Twilight* with Macmillan in 1928, a popular narrative of his experience as ethnographer with the Southern Party of the CAE.¹²

In addition, reports were only published when the data became available for compilation by an editorial staff, or when summaries were completed and submitted by expedition members following their return from the north. As a result, expedition findings appear in print as early as 1919 and as late as 1946.¹³ In the case of Rudolph Martin Anderson, zoologist and second-in-command of the expedition, research was not

published in the official body of CAE reports but circulated to colleagues in various journal articles and government department summary reports.¹⁴

A common link in these disparate publications, apart from the historical “event” of the five-year expedition, is their incorporation of photography. With few exceptions, each volume reproduces images taken by either expedition members, who used the camera as an extension of their data-collecting practice, or by CAE photographer George Hubert Wilkins (later Sir Hubert Wilkins), a photographer and cinematographer employed by Stefansson through the British Gaumont Company and United Newspapers Limited. Black and white photographs dot the pages of these publications fusing words and images into a spatial configuration of North collected and miniaturized, one which can be looked upon, “experienced,” and claimed.

Taking the photograph as a point of departure, this thesis argues that the publications of the CAE constitute a landscape of North readable as an extension of Canadian sovereignty in the western Arctic during the early twentieth century. A primary feature of this landscape is its construction as a *terra nullius* to be discovered, explored, and collected in order to be claimed by the Canadian government. *Terra nullius* (meaning “empty land”) is a colonial doctrine of international law on which ownership of “newly discovered” territory (*terra incognita*) by sovereign nations was often based; it is also, I will argue, a “way of seeing”¹⁵ North as a landscape of nature capable of sovereign acquisition. Canadian Arctic sovereignty, I contend, is not *predicated* on the construction of the north as a space of nature “waiting to be discovered” and claimed by virtue of international law; it is a complex process which continually and actively *produces* North as such. By looking to the photographs in the publications of the CAE, I hope to show

how Canadian governmental sovereignty in the Arctic is naturalized through the continual visualization of *terra nullius* and *terra incognita* in both word and image. I also hope to show how this construction of North reinforces a concept of Canada-as-North which remains remarkably current today.

In reading the CAE publications as landscape, I am drawing on W.J.T. Mitchell's notion of landscape as a verb, an active mode of representation implicit in social dynamics of power and knowledge.¹⁶ Mitchell employs the work of Benedict Anderson and Edward Said (among others) to assert the constructedness of landscape as a visual process naturalizing imperial structures of power. At the same time, I will map the Northern landscape of the CAE using Michel Foucault's concept of the discursive formation as outlined in his essay "Orders of Discourse" and articulated in the *Archaeology of Knowledge*.¹⁷ Foucault enables me to translate the specificity of the north projected by the CAE to the general level of North as discourse, without intimating a sense of hierarchy or progressive development. This model of North as a discursive formation has been conceptualized by Sherrill Grace in her seminal *Canada and the Idea of North*. North, for Grace, is an ambivalent, multifarious, and continually changing spatial configuration through which knowledge and power operate. I have also looked to Foucault for his emphasis on the institutionally-sanctioned manifestation of power through knowledge. This dynamic will be underscored throughout these chapters in order to assert North as both imagined construct and concrete political reality.

In my examination of the photography of the CAE, I will not follow the narrative outlined in the chronological order of the reports—as they were planned by the editors of the Arctic Publications Committee formed to manage the distribution of CAE material.

Instead, I move back and forth between the reports as a means of questioning their hierarchical formulation by discipline. At the same time, in my creation of the data tables which form the appendices of this study, I have reinscribed the process of classification and boundary-formation of which I am critical. The data tables reflect my need to categorize the photographs in order to map out, and hence understand, the use of photographic captions to determine meaning and the way in which the images were duplicated.

Overall, this thesis is intended to establish the theoretical apparatus for my future research, which will engage in a more exhaustive analysis of the images themselves. For example, I want to analyse why certain images were chosen over others, who made the selections, and postulate as to why key images were consistently repeated in subsequent discourse on the CAE. This present study, therefore, is more theoretical than applied and its purpose is to place the photographs and publications of the CAE within (and exterior to) the discursive formation of North.

The CAE photographic archive is extensive, comprising over 2,500 images taken by expedition members and 3,000 feet of motion picture film. The images range from encyclopaedic close-ups of flora and fauna, to portraits, to vast landscapes and panoramas of ice floes. Two-hundred-and-forty-seven of these images were used to illustrate the official government reports of the expedition, Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic* and Diamond Jenness's popular narrative *People of the Twilight*; the remaining photographs have rarely been viewed outside of their archival context. Given the broad scope of this material and my interest in photographic representations of North and Canadian identity, I have chosen to frame my analysis around the CAE photographs most directly linked to

governmental ideas of North: those used to illustrate the official government reports of the expedition and CAE leader Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*, which was written in lieu of his government-prescribed expedition narrative. Each publication bears the stamp of official government sanction: publication directives were issued by Order-in-Council; each report was officially addressed to Canada's Governor General and "made public" through an official reading in Parliament; even the introduction to Stefansson's "unofficial" book *The Friendly Arctic* was written by former Canadian Prime Minister Robert Borden. I have also chosen to study the publications, as opposed to the entire CAE photographic archive and motion picture film, because they were widely circulated, reproduced, and viewed by a broader spectrum of the public. This allows me to understand how the photographs used to illustrate these publications actively engaged viewers in "imagining" a North embedded in a complex, social historical context of Canadian government ideology, nation-building, and identity formation during the early twentieth century. The interaction of the reprinted photograph with its surrounding text and its articulation within the context of the publication will, therefore, be vital to my analysis.

Thesis Organization

My interest in the interrelationships of identity, nation, and ideas of North places this study in a postcolonial framework allowing me to analyse how photographic "ways of seeing" engage in the creation and maintenance of difference at a national level. The rhythm of this study will consequently move between the general and the specific in a continuous questioning of meaning and identity which informs the "politics of location" endemic to postcolonial studies.¹⁸ A central issue of these publications is their aspiring to

present a comprehensive North, whether as experience, idea, or empirical object. Examining this topic through north-as-discourse reflects the inconclusiveness of such a project. To emphasize the continually shifting nature of North-as-discourse, I have structured this thesis around active concepts. The chapters that follow examine how a landscape of North was constructed photographically by the CAE.

Chapter One introduces the photography of the CAE and its publications in the context of their production as objects. Chapter Two presents a literature review of scholarship from which the theoretical perspective of this thesis is drawn. My study is particularly modelled after the influential work of Sherrill Grace in *Canada and the Idea of North*¹⁹ and this chapter discusses the methodology Grace adapted from Foucauldian discourse analysis. Chapter Three addresses the authority of the CAE to represent North by looking to sovereignty and international law. With the fourth chapter, this study moves to a more specific level. This chapter offers detailed analyses of images produced under the auspices of the CAE. The publications of the CAE naturalize Canadian governmental “sovereignty” in the Arctic through their continual visualization of *terra nullius* and *terra incognita* in both word and image: by repetitively narrating the journey of exploration to establish a presence in the region; by simultaneously evoking the landscape as “empty” and full of resource development potential; and by conflating an aboriginal presence on the landscape with the landscape itself, constructing an exotic locale with “Stone-Age” inhabitants.²⁰ The documentary properties of the photographic medium as a mechanism of “truth” are mobilized through narration to naturalize this process into a neutral presentation of empirical “knowledge” about north. Throughout this study, I analyse the CAE as an historical entity while simultaneously—through self-

reflexivity, for example—suggesting the ways that the CAE and other narratives of North continue to shape Canadian identity.

Canadian Arctic Expedition in Literature

Described as “one of the most ambitious and controversial expeditions undertaken by the Canadian government,”²¹ the “first major Canadian government-sponsored scientific expedition to the Arctic”²² and the largest exploratory venture of the period involving the Geological Survey of Canada²³ offering an incalculable contribution “in terms of scientific knowledge and mapping of uncharted shores,”²⁴ the CAE is noted by a range of scholars for its discovery of four islands in the Arctic Archipelago; its thorough natural history of the north-western Arctic; Diamond Jenness’s ethnology of the Inuinnat (Copper Inuit) and Inuvialuit of what is now the Inuvialuit Settlement Region of the Northwest Territories and north-western Nunavut; and for the personality of explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, the expedition leader, who championed the region traversed by the CAE as a “friendly Arctic” and potential “polar Mediterranean.”²⁵

While there is no definitive, critical analysis of the expedition as a whole,²⁶ when included in historiographies of the Canadian north, the CAE is usually positioned in accordance with its mandate of asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic Archipelago and north western Arctic during a period of perceived international encroachments on the region.²⁷ A common thread in these narratives is the perception of Canadian government neglect and indifference towards the north following 1880, when Britain officially transferred ownership of its northern territories to Canada.

In terms of photography, Pamela Stern has placed the photographic practice of the CAE in the context of government assertions of Arctic sovereignty during the early

twentieth century.²⁸ Stern's study is part of *Imaging the Arctic*, a collection of essays resulting from the 1996 conference "Imagining the Arctic: the Native Photograph in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland."²⁹ Contributions deal with the role of photographic practice in picturing the North American Arctic "as a social, cultural, and geographical space."³⁰ Kesler Woodward provides an overview of the Stefansson Collection of Arctic Photographs at Dartmouth, focusing on Stefansson's selection of images for lantern slides used to illustrate his lecture tours as "consciously forging a particular view of the Arctic and its native inhabitants—a view emphasizing the 'friendly' aspects of the land itself and the capable, industrious and ingenious character of its indigenous peoples."³¹ As will be discussed at length in Chapter Two, Peter Geller has woven the CAE into connecting state-sponsored scientific practice with an impulse to picture the North for a Southern audience.³²

A second compilation of essays, *Narrating the Arctic*, engages in studying "the domination and appropriation of northern people and territories," as well as investigating "the strategies by which the empires write back, in an interplay of narratives concerning national identity as well as localized practices."³³ This interdisciplinary volume investigates "the dominance of science in the Arctic as a place of cultural imagination"³⁴ and represents recent efforts by scientists to rethink Arctic science in terms of the construction of North as a "knowable" and "possessible" space.

Richard Condon, in his general historical overview of photographic technology and the Arctic, includes the photography of CAE members Jenness and Wilkins with respect to ethnographic photography and cinematography shaping public impressions of North.³⁵ Condon incorporates the photographs of the CAE into his history of Arctic

photography emphasizing the value of the camera as a data-collecting tool for the anthropologist, describing photographs by Jenness and Wilkins of the Inuinnat (Copper Inuit) as evidence of how “photography had become accessible enough to be utilized as a standard documentary technique for anthropologists working in the Arctic.”³⁶ In the past two decades, critical reappraisals of anthropological practice have resulted in studies of Jenness’s body of work: Terence Wright has placed Jenness’s photography in the context of changes in ethnographic fieldwork fostered by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.³⁷ Peter Kulchyski has re-read Jenness’s ethnographic literature as reflecting linkages with government power in Canada.³⁸

While the photographic practice of the Canadian Arctic Expedition has been addressed by scholars as part of the Canadian government’s display of sovereignty in the Arctic during a period of perceived international encroachments on the region, the legal basis of this sovereignty—and its continual naturalization through narration and visual representation—has not been adequately addressed in the domain of historical photography.

Contemporary historical scholarship on the CAE has focused on either biographies of individual expedition members or on placing the CAE within a narrative of governmental administration in the Arctic. George Hubert Wilkins, who was the subject of earlier biographies by Lowell Thomas and John Grierson,³⁹ is once again the focus of recent interest. Wilkins, the CAE photographer and cinematographer, is examined in two recent volumes: Simon Nasht’s *The Last Explorer* and Stuart Jenness’s *The Making of an Explorer*. Both treat Wilkins’ experience with the CAE as an individual rite of passage from newsreel photographer to Arctic explorer.⁴⁰ For Nasht, the

CAE is a formative event in a life-history, instilling within Wilkins a passion for North which drew him into subsequent explorations of the Arctic and Antarctic; Jenness concentrates solely on Wilkins' experience with the CAE and offers a retelling of the expedition narrative through Wilkins' personal diaries, emphasizing his role as an explorer's apprentice. Photographic practice in both texts is secondary to the narration of Wilkins' personal transformation. Wilkins' diaries do, however, offer insight into the photographic practice of the CAE as will be addressed throughout this thesis.

The bulk of biographical scholarship on the CAE concerns its leader, Vilhjalmur Stefansson. In addition to Stefansson's autobiography, *Discovery*, standard accounts include Hanson's *Stefansson: Prophet of the North*; LeBourdais' *Stefansson: Ambassador of the North*; and William R. Hunt's *Stef*.⁴¹ Each of these works defends Stefansson's interpretation of events in his life, demonstrating a clear bias in his favour. Richard Diubaldo's *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic* offers a more balanced critical assessment of Stefansson's relationship with the Canadian government, focusing on the "curious reversal of fortunes" of Stefansson during the time he was most active in Canada (1906-26).⁴² Diubaldo's quest is to understand how Stefansson's popularity in Canada and his close governmental ties had dissipated by the mid-1920s. The explorer "had been unofficially ostracized from Canada and, for all intents and purposes, has been forgotten here."⁴³ Diubaldo addresses Stefansson's impact on Canadian culture during this period as one which successfully turned Canadian attention towards the North, promoted Stefansson's vision of northern resource development, and his ideas "about Canada's northern destiny had fired the imagination of Canadians."⁴⁴

Nordic anthropologist Gísli Pálsson has positioned Stefansson's expedition diaries within a post-colonial analysis of his ethnography. In *Writing on Ice*, Pálsson presents selections from the ethnographic notebooks kept by Stefansson during his first two Arctic ventures (1906 and 1908-12) in order to ascertain his contributions to anthropology, an aspect of his career overshadowed by his successes in exploration and his "mixed identity as scientist and showman."⁴⁵ Pálsson deemed Stefansson's diaries from the CAE of "little ethnographic value"⁴⁶ as his pursuits with the Northern Party were mainly geographical exploration and descriptions of methods of travel. Pálsson's most recent treatment of Stefansson, *Travelling Passions*, recuperates the explorer's connections with his Inuit companions—namely his Inupiat wife, Panningbluk, and their son Alex—of whom Stefansson never spoke or incorporated into his Arctic writings.⁴⁷ Pálsson suggests that Stefansson's fascination with the "Blond Eskimo" was a covert vindication of his personal relationships. *Travelling Passions* reads Stefansson's career through issues of race and gender and places it within the disciplinary contexts of anthropology, science, and Arctic exploration.

Visualizing the North and Postcolonialism

The main argument of *The Friendly Arctic* is that Canada's northern regions are ripe for settlement and resource exploitation, but only if each individual (like Stefansson) is willing to look beyond their misconceptions of a stereotypically lifeless, frozen North and actually "see what lies before them." As we saw in his description of the caribou hunt and the "tent ring" at the opening of this chapter, Stefansson chose to describe his line of vision, thereby retaining the epistemic privilege of the white male Arctic explorer: one who has "gone north" and "seen" what the majority of his readers can presumably only

imagine through his guidance. The central message of this description is not only Stefansson's *ability* to look upon such a landscape and describe his experience – an opportunity afforded by his role as an Arctic explorer and writer – it is also his *willingness* to look. The rhetorical strength of *The Friendly Arctic* comes from the author's talent for translating his personal experience to the realm of an individual will to understanding. Stefansson accomplishes this through an emphasis on the visual: the above passages appeal to an individual desire and capacity to see, supposedly offering "glimpses of the real" within the construction of his narrative.⁴⁸ This desire is seemingly satiated by photography: *seeing* becomes analogous to *understanding* and cements Stefansson's rhetoric in a Western, scientific tradition that privileges observation, proof, and cumulative knowledge.

A second image of the "tent ring" appears in *Life of the Copper Eskimos* (see figure Intro.3) as part of Diamond Jenness's ethnographic portrait of Inuit hunting practice. The photograph is a close-up of what appears to be another semicircle of stones on the same pockmarked ground of the "tent ring." The image is one of three comprising Plate 6, "Eskimo Landmarks," of the photographic appendices at the back of the volume. Its caption reads: "A pit, *tallu*, where a hunter has concealed himself from approaching caribou. Bernard Harbour, 1915. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins)." Replicating the insider/outsider dichotomy of Stefansson's narrative, the ethnologist underscores his experience of North by providing not only an English definition of the photograph's subject ("a pit") but also his interpretation of its Inuktitut name (*tallu*). The specificity of the geographic location adds to the authority of Jenness's attribution; unlike Stefansson's generalized Arctic landscape containing a "tent ring," the ethnologist directs my attention

to a precise point—Bernard Harbour—that I can situate spatially by returning to the map on a previous page.⁴⁹

What is not clear in the caption is the date: does it refer to Jenness's first sighting of the *tallu*, or when the photograph was taken? Did both happen simultaneously? Had this *tallu* just been created and was it being used? Was it made for the ethnologist as a demonstration? Or did Jenness and his party "come upon" these relics of a prior hunt the way in which Stefansson encountered his "tent ring"? The inclusion of the photographer's name in the caption conflates these questions by providing a stamp of authorship—further objectifying the image and directing my questions towards "the *tallu*" as a cultural "artifact."

Jenness fleshes out his explanation of the photograph in the main text of *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. In Chapter 11, "Hunting and Fishing," he attests to the ingenuity of the Inuit hunter who uses the earth as camouflage during caribou drives:

He [the hunter] stabs [a sharpened antler] into the turf...in a few minutes he has made a saucer-shaped depression faced with turf and stones or snow to make it as inconspicuous as possible. Here he lies, face downwards, with his bow and arrows by his side, waiting for the deer to be driven within range.⁵⁰

To authenticate this description, Jenness includes a reproduction of a drawing by Ikpakhuak,⁵¹ whom he identifies as a "Copper Eskimo" (see figure Intro.4). Ikpakhuak's image illustrates the caribou drive itself and is dotted with three semicircular shapes echoing the written description of the *tallu*. The caption reads: "Fig. 49. A representation of a caribou drive, drawn by the Copper Eskimo Ikpakhuak."⁵² Jenness incorporates Ikpakhuak's drawing into his text as a cultural artifact—a specimen collected by the ethnographer from an "authentic" Inuit hunter—and is labelled as such. In contrast to the many diagrams which appear throughout his report,⁵³ the drawing by Ikpakhuak does not

display conventional Western pictorial codes of representation. For example, it lacks the illusion of three-dimensionality afforded by techniques of perspective and foreshortening, or in the modelling of figures through chiaroscuro. The result is a highly two-dimensional, schematic illustration which, in the context of the ethnographic report, serves to reinforce a belief in the “primitive” character of Inuit culture—the object of the ethnographer’s gaze. Jenness compounds this belief by using the word “representation” as a descriptor while the photograph, taken by a non-native, and following conventional perceptions of photography, seems to conflate signifier and signified. This distinction draws attention to the evidentiary capacity of the photographic medium—what Roland Barthes has described as the “that-has-been” of the photograph.⁵⁴ In contrast to the hand-traced lines of Ikpakhuak, the camera is posited as a neutral mechanism of scientific measurement aiding the ethnographer in his pursuit of fact.

The intention of my analysis of the above examples is not to debate the validity of each author’s interpretation of the subject matter in these two photographs or to establish the accuracy of my own experience of their words and images. What I hope to demonstrate is the malleability of photographic meaning and the manner in which visualizing North (as both author and viewer) can naturalize beliefs about North as region, experience, or idea. While Stefansson invited me to directly share in his gaze over an Arctic landscape and experience the hunt as an explorer, with Jenness I assumed a guise of scientific objectivity and watched the ethnographer generalize his experience to the level of “Copper Eskimo” culture. Ikpakhuak offered me his visualization of a hunting strategy and helped to ease Jenness’s translation. At the same time, I brought my own ideas of North to the process: the North I have only imagined in books, such as Kenn

Harper's *Not Without My Father's Body*; in the quiet photography of Peter Pitseolak; or viewed in Zacharias Kunuk's film *Atanarjuat*. I have not travelled to the coast of the Amundsen Gulf and will most likely never live near Victoria Island's Forsyth Bay—which Ikpakhuak may have called home for a few months of the year. My North has been projected onto movie theatre screens, framed upon gallery walls, and unfolded through the glossy pages of *National Geographic* magazine. It has also surfaced in the archival files and still photographs of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. My "experience" of North is my access to a complex representational process and my ability to engage in this process—through academia—knowing my voice may be heard.

But have I really "seen" North through this visual process? Had I travelled to the regions traversed by the CAE—or at least north of the 60th parallel—would I be able to make that claim? Or am I trying, like Rudy Wiebe, to "walk into the true North of my own head"?⁵⁵ Such questions deconstruct the authority of "experience" and assert the precariousness of articulating identity in a representative framework. As a white, female, middle-class Canadian of British ancestry living in Southern Ontario, writing about North as a process of representation (thereby creating my own depiction of North), am I reinforcing a scholarly tradition dominated by Southern writers speaking about, or in place of, Northerners?⁵⁶ Perhaps I am inadvertently appropriating a sensitive political and cultural issue in order to establish—and justify—my own position in an academic tradition.⁵⁷ By articulating my position as a white, Southern Canadian, have I laid the groundwork for negotiating the boundaries of racialized and political difference (White vs. Inuit, North vs. South, Western vs. non-Western, Colonizer vs. Aboriginal) or have I underscored the divide? More directly, by labelling myself as "Canadian" do my ideas of

North—melded with my individual, personal identity—necessarily become generalized to the level of official, national definitions of Canadian culture?

My self-reflexivity is intended to highlight the interrelationship of identity, representation, nation, and North which permeates the CAE as a topic of study. This thesis is indebted to postcolonial discourse. I use the term “postcolonial” to mean “all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day.”⁵⁸ In adopting a postcolonial approach to this subject matter and emphasizing the role of identity, I am deliberately problematizing the role of authenticity and experience in producing meaning. This problematization is itself a political act, as it risks neutralizing the voices—the authority and experience—of Inuit communities who have been continuously marginalized in the Canadian political arena. While the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (NLCA), the largest aboriginal land settlement in Canadian history,⁵⁹ saw the political and geographic map of Canada redrawn with the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999, Inuit-Federal relations remain a continually negotiated—and uncertain—process. Jose A. Kusugak, former president of Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami or ITK (“Inuit are united in Canada”), a national Inuit advocacy organization, described this political dynamic:

Inuit have negotiated our land claims. We have the provisions and benefits those claims provide. We also developed policies and recommendations to address the pressing issues that are not in the land claim, and remain the fiduciary responsibility of the Federal Government. I am speaking here of health, social, environmental and economic challenges that continue to plague our Inuit communities.⁶⁰

Kusugak’s observations, published in ITK’s 2003-2004 Annual Summary Report, are couched in a fluid, visual language:

Advocating and championing for Inuit issues and rights can sometimes be compared to hunting at the flow edge. You may have had great success,

with plenty of seafood to take home to your family and friends. Then you realize you have been ‘*uukkarujjaujuq*’ (cut off from the ice and drifting), and you can’t cross.⁶¹

Kusugak’s metaphor of the ice floe grounds his argument in an image of rippling waters and shifting boundaries to illuminate the precariousness of the Inuit-Federal Government relationship. The “land” mass of the ice floe, while momentarily solid and stable, constantly threatens to break away. Here, Inuit communities are the protagonists navigating the terrain of a Northern (and Southern) political landscape—with both struggle and success. Echoing Stefansson’s visual rhetoric in *The Friendly Arctic*, the author traces sightlines across an imaginary photograph of North that is far from still, suggesting a vanishing point that may never be reached:

For the past several years I have felt as Inuit, our relationship with the Federal Government was also ‘*uukkarujjaujuq*’, and we’ve found ourselves moving back and forth, at the bureaucratic and political flow edge, unable to see our land claim settlements fully implemented or our policy ideas and recommendations fully considered. Yet, we can see and sense the need in our communities that lie just beyond, but we cannot cross, because of the gulf that has opened up between ourselves and the Government of Canada.⁶²

Kusugak’s pronouncement “we can see” is a poignant, political statement when analysed in the context of visual representations of North. The slow and seemingly aimless drift of the ice floe attributes a helpless feeling, born out of increasing distance and alienation, to Inuit experience of the negotiating process. Kusugak’s statement “we can see”, within the geographic language of crossings, gulfs, and communities that “lie beyond”, replicates Stefansson’s celebration of vision-as-understanding to insist upon the tenacity of Inuit advocacy. It also firmly establishes Kusugak’s “experience” as authoritative and representative of a generalized Inuit political entity. As in Jenness’s ethnography,

italicized Inuktitut words intermingle with English and French and lend an aura of knowledge, authority, and experience to Kusugak's position.

Critically engaging the CAE as an element of Canadian visual culture promotes a questioning of North as a construction while acknowledging its concrete, political manifestations. What, for example, was the idea of North promoted by the CAE? Was it a "friendly Arctic" or a vast *tabula rasa* "waiting" for future exploration and settlement? How do Stefansson's arctic ideas manifest in the scientific material with which they circulate and vice versa? How have these ideas of North, represented in text and photographic image, been received by viewers? In short, how does the CAE contribute to this ongoing dialogue on Canada-as-North? The chapters that follow address these questions.

¹ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions*, rev. ed. (1921; repr., New York: Macmillan, 1943), 228.

² Throughout this thesis, I capitalize the term "North" to refer to the imagined construction, while "north" indicates a geographical space.

³ Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 229.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 258.

⁶ While I prefer the specificity of the terms Inuit, Inuinnat, or Inuvialuit to refer to the native inhabitants of the northern region explored by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, in the publications forming the subject of this study the word "Eskimo" is employed. For historic accuracy, I have adopted the language of the CAE.

⁷ Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 256.

⁸ Stuart E. Jenness, son of CAE ethnographer Diamond Jenness, compiled a catalogue of all photographs and motion-picture films produced by members of the expedition. See, Stuart E. Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, One of Canada's Little Known Historic Treasures: An Annotated Catalogue* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001).

⁹ Richard J. Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, rev. ed. (1978; repr., Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 83.

¹⁰ In *The Friendly Arctic*, Stefansson includes an account of the *Karluk* disaster as told to him by John Hadley. See: Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 704-730. For other detailed accounts of the *Karluk* disaster, see: Robert A. Bartlett and Ralph T. Hale, *The Karluk's Last Voyage: An Epic of Death and Survival in the Arctic* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1916), written by the *Karluk*'s captain; the publication by the CAE's meteorologist and magnetician, William Laird McKinlay, *Karluk: The Great Untold Story of Arctic Exploration* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976); More recently, Jennifer Niven released *The Ice Master: The Doomed 1913 Voyage of the Karluk* (New York: Hyperion, 2000); for a documentary film featuring archival photographs and newsreel footage of the rescue of *Karluk* survivors, see: David Gullason and Wil Aaron, *Icebound: The Final Voyage of the Karluk* (Caernarfon, UK and Edmonton: Cwmni Da and Kaizen West Productions, 2005).

- ¹¹ Diamond Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 12, part A (Ottawa: Acland, 1922), 11. Henri Beuchat originally held the title of Chief Ethnographer for the CAE's Southern Party and Jenness was working under his supervision. When Beuchat was lost on the *Karluk*, Jenness assumed his duties.
- ¹² Diamond Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, with drawings by Claude Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1928).
- ¹³ As listed in appendix A, the final volume of CAE reports to be issued was Diamond Jenness's *Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo*, published in 1946.
- ¹⁴ This is due, in large part, to Anderson's controversies with Stefansson. Anderson's publications will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter One of this study.
- ¹⁵ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC/Penguin, 1972).
- ¹⁶ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 1.
- ¹⁷ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," trans. Ian McLeod, in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 51-78; Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 1972).
- ¹⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- ¹⁹ Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
- ²⁰ The descriptor "Stone Age" was initially applied to the Inunnait (Copper Inuit) by Stefansson in his tome *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913): "I had merely to look and listen; for here were not remains of the Stone Age, but the Stone Age itself, men and women, very human, entirely friendly, who welcomed us to their homes and bade us stay." See, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimo* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 174.
- ²¹ Judy Hall, "Geologists, Whalers and Anthropologists: The Building of a Museum Collection of Inuit Clothing," *American Indian Art Magazine* (Autumn, 1991): 42.
- ²² Trevor H. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration, 1818-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1.
- ²³ Morris Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks: The Story of the Geological Survey of Canada 1842-1972* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975), 319.
- ²⁴ Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North 1936-1950* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 12.
- ²⁵ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Northward Course of Empire* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).
- ²⁶ There is an exceptional virtual exhibition providing an overview of the expedition completed by David Gray in 2003 for the Virtual Museum of Canada. It reproduces many CAE photographs and provides examples of Wilkins' motion-picture film from the CAE. See: David Gray, *Northern People, Northern Knowledge: The Story of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003), <http://www.civilization.ca/hist/cae/splashe.html> (accessed August 26, 2007).
- ²⁷ Standard accounts are by Morris Zaslow: *The Opening of the Canadian North: 1870-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971); and *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 1-2, 9-21. See also Zaslow, *Reading the Rocks*, 319-325. Other treatments include: Kenneth Coates, *Canada's Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1985), 161-165; Richard Finnie, *Canada Moves North*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1948), 22-24; Grant, *Sovereignty or Security*, 12-13; and R.A.J. Phillips, *Canada's North* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 102-104.
- ²⁸ Pamela Stern, "The History of Canadian Arctic Photography: Issues of Territorial and Cultural Sovereignty," in J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi, eds. *Imaging the Arctic* (Seattle and Vancouver: University of Washington Press and University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 46-52.
- ²⁹ King and Lidchi, *Imaging the Arctic*. This compilation is borne out of the 1996 conference "Imaging the Arctic: the Native Photograph in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland." Contributors ranged from researchers and archivists to curators and contemporary photographers, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, from Canada, the United States and Great Britain.
- ³⁰ King and Lidchi, "Introduction," *Imaging the Arctic*, 11.
- ³¹ Kesler E. Woodward, "Persuasive Images: Photographs of Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the Stefansson Collection on Polar Exploration at Dartmouth College," in King and Lidchi, *Imaging the Arctic*, 176.

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- ³² Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-1945* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004).
- ³³ Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin, "Preface," *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices* (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 2002), vii-viii.
- ³⁴ Bravo and Sörlin, "Preface," *Narrating the Arctic*, vii.
- ³⁵ Richard G. Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," *Arctic Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (1989): 62.
- ³⁶ Condon, "Arctic Photography," 62, 78.
- ³⁷ Terence Wright, "The Fieldwork Photographs of Jenness and Malinowski and the Beginnings of Modern Anthropology," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 22, no. 1 (1991): 41-58.
- ³⁸ Peter Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 2 (Summer, 1993): 21-50; For an analysis of Jenness's Arctic ethnography in the context of developments in Canadian anthropology, see Robert Hancock, "The Potential for a Canadian Anthropology: Diamond Jenness's Arctic Ethnography," (master's thesis, University of Victoria, 2002), 38-75; For Jenness's work in the sphere of the anthropological institution, see Kathleen O'Reilly, "Two Arctic Adventures: A Comparison of the Arctic Collections of Diamond Jenness and Joseph Bernard" (master's thesis, Carleton University, 2003).
- ³⁹ Lowell Thomas, *Sir Hubert Wilkins: His World of Adventure, a Biography* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); John Grierson, *Sir Hubert Wilkins: Enigma of Exploration* (London: Robert Hale, 1960).
- ⁴⁰ Simon Nasht, *The Last Explorer: Hubert Wilkins Hero of the Great Age of Polar Exploration* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2006); Stuart E. Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1916* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
- ⁴¹ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Discovery: The Autobiography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); Earl Parker Hanson, *Stefansson: Prophet of the North* (New York and London: Harper and Bros., 1941); D.M. LeBourdais, *Stefansson: Ambassador of the North* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1963); and William R. Hunt, *Stef: A Biography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Canadian Arctic Explorer* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).
- ⁴² Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, xi.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴⁵ Gisli Pálsson, ed. *Writing on Ice: The Ethnographic Notebooks of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 16.
- ⁴⁶ Pálsson, *Writing on Ice*, 32.
- ⁴⁷ Gisli Pálsson, *Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*, trans. Keneva Kunz (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005).
- ⁴⁸ Philippe Hamon, "What is a Description?" in *French Literary Theory Today*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov, trans. R. Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982), 147-178. Hamon uses the phrase "glimpses of the real" in his discussion of description as a device in Émile Zola's body of work.
- ⁴⁹ Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 126. As can be seen in tables 1 and 2 of this thesis, the photograph of the "tent ring" in Stefansson's text carries Geological Survey of Canada negative number 51223 while Jenness's *tallu* follows at number 51222. According to the archival records at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, both images were taken in succession by CAE commercial photographer Wilkins on July 8, 1915 at Bernard Harbour, NWT. The archival description retains Jenness's interpretation of the image.
- ⁵⁰ Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 149.
- ⁵¹ Ikpakhuak's name appears in several different forms throughout the reports of the CAE. In Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, it is written as Ikpuquaak, Ikpuakuak, Ikpuak, and Ikpakhuak; in his Volume 12, Part B, *The Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos* it appears as Ikpuak and Ikpakhuak; in Volume 14, *Songs of the Copper Eskimos* by Helen Roberts and Jenness, it appears as Ikpakhuak; Anderson's field notes record the name as both Ikpuakhuak and Ikpuakuak. I have adopted the spelling used in Jenness's caption for purposes of clarity.
- ⁵² Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 151.
- ⁵³ See Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 66-67 and 78, for examples.
- ⁵⁴ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 77.

⁵⁵ Rudy Wiebe, *Playing Dead: A Contemplation Concerning the Arctic*, rev. ed. (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2003), 127.

⁵⁶ As Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison have observed, “[M]ost writing on the Canadian north has historically been the work of southerners speaking to a southern audience.” Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, “Writing the North: A Survey of Contemporary Canadian Writing on Northern Regions,” in “Representing North,” special issue, *Essays on Canadian Writing* (Fall 1996): 5.

⁵⁷ Coates and Morrison also describe literature as having “served as a major element in a kind of intellectual colonialism, substituting southern voices for indigenous northern expression.” Coates and Morrison, “Writing the North,” 5.

⁵⁸ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.

⁵⁹ *Nunavut Act, Statutes of Canada* 1993, c. 28; *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, Statutes of Canada* 1993, c.29.

⁶⁰ Jose A. Kusugak, “President’s Message,” in Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Annual Summary Report, 2003-2004* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004), 2-4.

⁶¹ Kusugak, “President’s Message,” 2.

⁶² Kusugak, “President’s Message,” 4.

CHAPTER ONE

Containing North: Photography and the Publications of the CAE

The Arctic photographs which form the subject of this thesis are physical objects: half-tone reproductions which have been cropped, reduced or enlarged and, in some cases, retouched for clarity of detail. These images are literally embedded into the fibres of the page—some inhabit the space of the printed text while others appear separately as plates on a higher quality of paper, adding weight to the bound volume. Acknowledging the materiality of these images enables me to understand the multisensory and interactive relationship between image, viewer, and place serving as a reminder that photographs are “both images and physical objects that exist in time and space and thus in social and cultural experience.”¹ The photograph-as-object is often overlooked or conflated with the subject it signifies during the visual process: “A specific photograph...is not *immediately* or *generally* distinguished from its referent,” Roland Barthes has observed. “Show your photographs to someone—he will immediately show you his: ‘Look, this is my brother; this is me as a child,’ etc.”²

This chapter examines the publications and fieldwork photographs of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE) in the context of their production as objects. Looking beyond the surface of the image, Elizabeth Edwards has suggested an “archaeological” approach to the analysis of photographs and acknowledges their complexity as statements that “belong to very different layers of history.”³ The photograph as an object of material culture is the subject of *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, a compilation of essays drawing on recent methodological trends in art history, anthropology, cultural studies and museology.⁴ “Material culture” privileges the first-hand experience and observation of an

object that is neither passive nor fixed in terms of meaning; it is experienced within an active system with a “complex and fluid relationship between people, images, and things.”⁵ Understanding photographs as complex moments in historical processes of representation,⁶ involves connecting with photographic discourse in its theoretical, ideological spaces—its “images” or “imaginings”—as well as interrogating its physical manifestations.⁷

Historical photographs, from this point of view, are not unbiased windows into the past but reflect the cultural conditions from which they emerged and subsequent conditions pertaining to their circulation.⁸ Woven into my analysis will be the history of the CAE itself as it pertains to photography, publishing, and the mandates of its institutional sponsors. The half-tone reproductions I discuss appear in the fourteen volumes of government reports published by the Department of the Naval Service and the Geological Survey of Canada, as well as in two works of non-fiction produced independently of the government: CAE leader Vilhjalmur Stefansson’s *The Friendly Arctic* (1921) and expedition ethnographer Diamond Jenness’s *People of the Twilight* (1928).⁹ Collectively, these publications reproduce the north as a landscape—a *terra nullius* capable of being claimed by the Canadian government. Following is a brief overview introducing the CAE publications as objects in order to demonstrate how they construct North as a space capable of being articulated and defined.

North in Miniature: Introducing the Publications of the CAE

As a whole, the publications resulting from the Canadian Arctic Expedition (see appendix A) generally make claims to comprehensiveness and broadness in scope, presenting the Arctic as a coherent space capable of being isolated, analysed, and

understood in its entirety. The titles of the popular narratives by Stefansson and Jenness—“friendly arctic” and “people of the twilight”—trace the boundaries of this seemingly exotic region and its inhabitants, while the specificity of the scientific reports promises to illuminate its every surface and depth. As objects, whether lined up together on a bookshelf or stacked upon a table top, these publications impart a sense of contained totality. “The metaphors of the book,” explains Susan Stewart, “are metaphors of containment, of exteriority and interiority, of surface and depth, of covering and exposure, of taking apart and putting together.”¹⁰ Here Stewart is summarizing Derrida’s distinction between the closed “totality” of the book versus the infiniteness of “text” inside: “The book sits before me closed and unread; it is an object, a set of surfaces. But opened, it seems revealed; its physical aspects give way to abstraction and a nexus of new temporalities.”¹¹ The introduction of photographs to the interior space of the book exacerbates this sense of infinity.

Collectively, the publications of the CAE circulate 402 images taken by expedition members in the field: photographer and cinematographer George Hubert Wilkins (191); ethnologist Diamond Jenness (53); geologist John J. O’Neill (49); oceanographer (as well as botanist and entomologist) Frits Johansen (52); second-in-command and leader of the Southern Party, American zoologist Rudolph Martin Anderson (27); topographer Kenneth Chipman (12); geographer John R. Cox (7); and expedition leader Vilhjalmur Stefansson (5). In addition, 2 images were secured by whaler Storker Storkerson, who aided the Northern Party in its explorations in the Arctic Archipelago.¹² Along with fieldwork images, the publications contain specimen photographs—some of which are produced through microphotography—as well as hand-

drawn illustrations, charts, and maps which were produced by the Geological Survey's drafting and photographic divisions. A total of ten maps are reproduced in text figures or plates, tucked away into pockets at the back of a volume, or disrupt the closure of the book by folding out and thereby extending its physical borders.

Most of the scientific staff had prior photographic experience through fieldwork: Stefansson and Anderson used naturalist Graflex cameras, supplied by the American Museum of Natural History, on their Arctic expedition from 1908-1912;¹³ Stefansson had also used photography during his first Arctic sojourn in 1906 as ethnographer with the Anglo-American Polar Expedition. Photographs from both these excursions were reproduced in *The Friendly Arctic* (see table 3).¹⁴ Jenness also had prior photographic experience, gained during his first expedition to New Guinea from 1911 to 1912;¹⁵ and Johansen would likely have used the camera as a collecting tool while working as a naturalist with Mylius Erichsen.¹⁶ Additional assistance was provided by L. W. Brownell's *Photography for the Sportsman Naturalist* (1904) which had been purchased from the Macmillan Company as part of the expedition's library.¹⁷

In terms of geological and geographical reconnaissance, the camera had been well established within the Survey as a tool for fieldwork, due to the efforts of Édouard G. Deville as Surveyor General of Canada in the late nineteenth century.¹⁸ According to Deville, photography "was proposed to illustrate surveyors' reports by reproducing their photographic views, thus adding interest to their descriptions."¹⁹ Deville's *Photographic Surveying* (1895) was a common instructive text²⁰ and it is therefore assumed that O'Neill, Chipman, and Cox gained knowledge of photographic techniques through their professional training.

Much of the CAE fieldwork photography has been enlarged as full-page frontispieces or plates; others are cropped and arranged in overlapping presentations; frequently, they have been reduced to the size of a small paragraph and displayed in a rhythm of twos and threes, as if pasted into the pages of a photographic album. In all instances, these photographic half-tones are smaller in scale than the object of the book itself—they have been modified by photomechanical processes in order to be placed within the structure of the printed page. In this physical context, the indexical of the photograph—with its subject matter culled from explorative fieldwork—presents a “miniature image-world”²¹ of North reproduced and disseminated as a coherent space:

...for in the miniature we see spatial closure posited over temporal closure. The miniature offers a world clearly limited in space but frozen and thereby both particularized and generalized in time—particularized in that the miniature concentrates upon the single instance and not upon the abstract rule, but generalized in that that instance comes to transcend, to stand for, a spectrum of other instances.²²

As miniature image-worlds, these representations visualize a supposedly “unknown” colonial space while at the same time showing that space to be, literally, within one’s grasp and capable of definition. Through the object of the book, North becomes contained and scaled-down to manageable proportions for the individual reader.

In the exterior “closed” object of the book, however, little is evinced of the numerous images inhabiting the interior space. As can be seen in figure 1.1, the hardcover editions of the governmental reports²³ feature an olive green cloth binding offset by embossed gold lettering spelling “Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18” above a stylized map of northern Canada by illustrator Claude E. Johnston.²⁴ According to minutes of the Arctic Publications Committee, formed to facilitate the publication of CAE material, “Mr. Johnson [*sic*] regretted his inability to think of any appropriate Arctic

design that had not been used before. He tried to work in the Northern Lights, but as they are rather indefinite in form, could not produce anything recognizable, and he had to fall back on the map motif.”²⁵

While the Arctic Publications Committee debated using the customary blue cloth binding often featured in scientific publications and considered appropriate for Arctic expedition reports,²⁶ green cloth and gold lettering were chosen to distinguish the series from other publications in circulation²⁷ and—according to Stefansson—reflects the importance of the results obtained by the CAE:

Norway, Denmark, United States, Britain, and other countries have published Arctic reports which have been regarded as extremely valuable....There is certainly good ground for the view that this Arctic Expedition is of so unusual a nature and will reflect such great credit on the Dominion that the kind of publication containing the results seems to be a matter of very great importance, and a worthy publication would bring credit to Canada in other countries.²⁸

The cover of the reports reveals little in terms of content, but is very specific in mapping the Arctic region as Canadian both temporally and spatially. The title, “Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18,” inserts both the historical “event” of the expedition and map gracing the cover into an historical progression of chronological time. The expedition’s proper name is repeated throughout the reports, on all title pages and as header text,²⁹ grounding the presentation of Arctic “knowledge” within the narrative of the exploratory enterprise and binding it to a national framework. The tiny map traces the Arctic Archipelago and coastline of northern Canada underneath precise gridlines of latitude and longitude. A dotted line signals the “Arctic Circle” and sweeps across shiny patches of embossed oceans, seas, and bays which are announced: “Arctic Ocean,” “Baffin Bay,” “Davis Strait,” and “Gulf of Alaska.” International boundaries are also cemented: “Asia,” “Alaska,” and “Greenland” encircle “Canada” firmly establishing,

through cartographic discourse, the islands of the Arctic Archipelago as Canadian soil. The simplicity of the exterior design uniformly repeated throughout the fourteen volumes of reports serves to bind together a solid unit of scientific discourse. Through the physical structure of the reports, the procurement of data by the expedition team is instantly generalized to a definition of Canada's national borders.

In contrast, the titles of the popular non-fiction accounts of the CAE, *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions* and *People of the Twilight* make no reference to "Canada" or the "Canadian Arctic" and instead visualize a general Northern space. As shown in the book's frontispiece, *The Friendly Arctic* connects a generic Arctic landscape and its perusal with the actions of the individual explorer. The image of Stefansson (see figure 1.2) taken by CAE photographer George Hubert Wilkins, presents a fur-clad figure, head lowered, rifle and spear in hand, dragging a dead seal across an anonymous snowy expanse. The lack of specificity in the book's title—"Arctic" and "Polar Regions" are general descriptors as opposed to precise, geographic locations—is echoed by the anonymity of the figure moving slowly across the picture plane. The only subject identified with precision on this page is the author—Stefansson—whose name becomes a caption for Wilkins' photograph. Through the interplay of text and image, Stefansson-the-explorer is transformed into a symbolic Arctic hunter, pulling the expedition narrative forward, across, and over a generic Arctic clime. National Geographic Society president Gilbert Grosvenor was Stefansson's editor and is credited with formulating the book's title, which Stefansson deemed "controversial." Potential readers, according to Stefansson, either responded with scepticism and disbelief or with curiosity aroused: "They want to know, 'Friendly to what?' Upon reading they arrive at

several particular answers—friendly to mosquitoes, to polar bears, to caribou on land, to fish in water, and to people who adapt themselves to conditions instead of fighting them.”³⁰ Wilkins’ frontispiece, in conjunction with the title, “helps to sell the book” and the quality of the photograph is extolled by Stefansson as typical, “true to life on the pack ice...Artists comment upon it as a remarkable piece of composition.”³¹

Jenness’s title, *People of the Twilight*, eschews a geographical identification of space by establishing boundaries of North through reference to time. “Twilight” is suggestive of transition³² and illuminates the book’s frontispiece, a full-length photographic portrait of Jenness’s primary ethnographic informants identified by caption as “Ikpuck and Icehouse.” This photograph, taken by Wilkins, also forms the frontispiece of Jenness’s report for the CAE the *Life of the Copper Eskimos* (see figure 1.3)—only in the official monograph, the caption’s tone is objective, professional and distant, retaining the specificity of ethnographic detail: “Ikpakhuak and his wife Higilak in full dancing costume.” Echoing the spirit of salvage ethnography pervading Jenness’s *People of the Twilight*, time becomes a crucial device through which the difference between “civilized” and “non-civilized” defines the borders of North.³³

Publishing and Exploration

The volume of information circulated during and subsequent to the Canadian Arctic Expedition attests to the centrality of the published narrative to both the exploratory process and to the Canadian government’s assertion of sovereignty claims in the Arctic. Scholars of Canadian writing and exploration literature have emphasized the key role played by narratives of exploration in replicating the journey and disseminating it to a wider public, as a completing phase in the exploration process. T.D. MacLulich has

likened explorers to historians when preparing their journals for publication;³⁴ I.S. MacLaren questions how the intent to publish impacts the exploration encounter itself;³⁵ and in her overview of Sir John Franklin's nineteenth-century narratives, Christy Collis concludes, "Discovery, it seems, was less a matter of flagging than of narrative completion."³⁶ For the purposes of this thesis, which interrogates the role that visualization played in Canadian sovereignty over the Arctic, I will focus on how the reproduction of fieldwork photographs within these narratives "played an important role in the establishment of imperial claims."³⁷

The initial guidelines for the CAE were established by Order-in-Council 406 on February 22, 1913.³⁸ In terms of the publications, expedition findings were to be worked up and disseminated "by the Chiefs and by each of the members of the scientific staff as soon after the return of the expedition as is practicable."³⁹ While the above-mentioned publications were produced following the period of exploration—1913 to 1916 for the Southern Party of the CAE and 1913 to 1918 for the Northern Party—intermittent summary reports of progress were required to be submitted by the leaders of the Northern and Southern Parties and by members of the scientific staff "yearly, if possible" to George J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister of the Department of the Naval Service. These updates were published in the annual reports of both the Department of the Naval Service and the Geological Survey of Canada throughout the course of the expedition as a means of keeping the public informed. The narration of expedition movements and research activities—including maps which visualized the team in the region—in federally published form occurred concurrently with the historical "event" of the CAE itself, further cementing the presence of the expedition in the region with the sovereign

authority of the Canadian government. That these reports were transcribed from correspondence written “in the field” by expedition members, exacerbated the immediacy—and veracity—of their contents.

Frequently, the photographic practice of the CAE was referenced in these summaries in conjunction with the scientific collections obtained through fieldwork. They often extol the value of camera as an illustrative tool: “Johansen made a practically complete collection of local flora....photographs of the nests of Arctic birds were also taken.”⁴⁰ Still photography was also relied on as a means of securing quantifiable data: photographs of animals “in their natural habitat”⁴¹ and specimens *in situ*⁴² were noted by Anderson for their “scientific and artistic value.” In one instance, Wilkins’ role as expedition photographer is treated as a separate branch of scientific inquiry:

Wilkins has made many studies with camera and cinematograph, making over one thousand film and glass plate negatives and about 9,000 feet of cinematograph exposures of Eskimo life, natural-history objects, and Arctic scenery and topography. All the members of the scientific staff made numbers of photographs also to illustrate their work.⁴³

This is echoed in Anderson’s progress report on the transportation of scientific material out of the region during the final days of the Southern Party’s expedition in 1916:

The extensive collections made by the party in geology and mineralogy, ethnology, and archaeology, terrestrial and marine biology, botany and photography, and the records and papers of the Southern party...landed safely at Nome [Alaska, for transporting back to Ottawa].”⁴⁴

As a collection, fieldwork photographs become a cohesive unit of scientific “knowledge” about North that can be seemingly “moved from a site of observation and inscription to a site of analysis without being corrupted.”⁴⁵ The role of the photograph as a collected object will be addressed in detail in Chapter Four; however, Anderson’s statement places

photography within the scope of the natural history survey, where images “are both objects to be collected and a visual record—proof—of the collecting activity itself.”⁴⁶

Highlighting the quantity of photographs and their breadth of subject matter, these progress reports assert the CAE’s fulfillment of its research mandate which had been established by George J. Desbarats subsequent to the initial instructions. For the CAE in general, the discovery of new lands was paramount, as was information relating to the mineral composition of the region and “food fisheries which live in the sea, and as to the meteorological...conditions which prevail in these northern latitudes.”⁴⁷ The contract also stipulated that photography was an official line of investigation for the Southern Party of the expedition:

In the northern party the relative importance of the investigations are as follows: exploration – 1. geological 2. oceanographical and biological (marine) 3. geological 4. magnetical 5. anthropological 6. biological (terrestrial) (meteorological is not specified as that can always be carried on without interference in the other investigations.) In the southern party the relative importance of the investigations are: 1. geological 2. geographical 3. anthropological 4. biological 5. photographic.⁴⁸

This mandate is reflective of that of the institutions involved, and their goal of providing the public with a comprehensive knowledge of Canada and its natural resources: “In all branches of scientific work, full and representative collections are to be made, so far as possible, for the scientific collections and Museums of the Survey.”⁴⁹

This is echoed in Reginald Walter Brock’s first statement as Survey Director in 1908:

...the energy of the Geological Survey should be almost wholly directed towards assisting in the opening up of the country, and in the exploitation of its natural resources: that is, all its work should have a direct economic bearing. It does not necessarily follow that the scientific side would be neglected; for the economic problems furnish as fruitful scientific results as purely academic studies, and some problems of apparently only academic interest have a most important economic value. But in general only such work should be undertaken as gives promise of affording direct economic results.⁵⁰

The economic ties of survey work are also present in the directives for the Southern Party of the CAE:

[T]he work of the Southern party shall be primarily the investigation and areal mapping of the copper-bearing and associated rocks of the mainland between Cape Parry and Kent Peninsula, and for approximately one hundred miles inland, and on the southern and eastern Victorialand.”⁵¹

The importance of these economic goals is underscored in the regulation of fieldwork procedures: “the programme of work and freedom of movement [required by geographical and geological reconnaissance] should not be interfered with or hampered by biological or ethnological considerations.”⁵²

To the consternation of expedition scientists, Stefansson had reached an agreement with Desbarats regarding publication rights and fieldwork records just prior to the departure of the CAE; its additional stipulations were presented to the scientific staff in Victoria, B.C. in late May of 1913. All fieldwork journals and diaries were to be the property of the Canadian government and handed in at end of the expedition in order to be at the disposal of experts and other expedition members as an aid in the compilation of results for publication. This afforded a lack of privacy which, consequently, “greatly inhibited the later inclusion of personal matters in any of them.”⁵³ With few exceptions, little is documented in the fieldwork diaries, or in the published reports, regarding photographic practice other than references to subject matter and dates on which images were taken as part of a generalized narrative of daily duties. However, as photography was a methodological tool with which to approach fieldwork, it is unlikely to have been considered in any significance beyond its usefulness as a method for gathering scientific data for subsequent analysis and for the illustration of publications. As Elizabeth Edwards and Terence Wright have commented regarding Jenness’s ethnography in New

Guinea, “general commentary about the use of photography in fieldwork has been seriously neglected by anthropologists.”⁵⁴

The exception is with the diary of expedition photographer Wilkins⁵⁵ who was required to keep records of his photographic practice as per expedition instructions. Wilkins records his testing of lighting conditions before excursions,⁵⁶ his successes with flash photography in interior spaces; as well as indicating when he developed film and mailed negatives to his employers, the Gaumont Company of London and the London *Daily Chronicle*. He also recorded his photography by subject matter and noted when collecting images on behalf of other members of the CAE.

Other stipulations added to the expedition contract surrounded publication rights and usage of photographs:

On this expedition, as on all Government expeditions, the results attained are for the benefit of the Government. All the information obtained belongs to the Government, and all scientific data, including manuscript notes, specimens, photographs, or any other objects secured by the members of the expedition, are the property of the Government of Canada, and are to be turned in to the Departments as early as possible and not later than the acceptance of the manuscript report. Prints and photographs selected by him may be given to the leader of the expedition for his own use.

The members of the party will not engage in any private trading, or make any private collections of specimens or of photographs. They will also refrain from giving out any news of the expedition until authorized. They will not be allowed to write paid magazine articles or other popular descriptions of the expedition for one year after the return of the expedition.⁵⁷

An additional caveat stipulated that “Mr. Stefansson would, however, be free to deliver public lectures, write magazine articles, and make general use of the information he had acquired, provided the first use of this information is given to the Canadian Government.”⁵⁸ These stipulations were not well received by expedition members, for

whom publishing was central to the dissemination of research results within the scientific community.⁵⁹ Stefansson's priority appeared to be the timely dissemination of material to the public through lecture tours and in the writing of a popular expedition narrative—not the production of an official report for the Canadian government. William R. Hunt attributes this, in part, to Stefansson's hiring of Lee Keedick as his publicist and lecture manager prior to the departure of the CAE.⁶⁰ Keedick was recommended to Stefansson by Ernest Shackleton; it was Shackleton who impressed upon Stefansson the value of lecturing as a publicity platform: "lectures sold books, books sold lectures, and the newspapers sold both."⁶¹ The success of the lecture tour, for Shackleton, was in the explorer's returning from the expedition with "a big hurrah." Unfortunately for Stefansson, Hunt observes, "the 'big hurrah'...was proclaimed in 1918 over the end of World War One—not over polar exploration."⁶²

Stefansson, however, lectured extensively following the CAE, and continued to do so for the remainder of his career. His lantern slides consciously employed photography to promulgate his views of North-as-friendly.⁶³ He was also cognizant of the manipulability of the photographic medium:

Vilhjalmur Stefansson, as everyone knows who has heard him lecture, is capable of delightful fooling. He will throw on the screen a picture of a gaunt, snow-clad peak, telling his audience that it is 'one of Greenland's icy mountains.' Then he explains it is cold, not because it is far north, but because it is high. 'You would not [expect] the same condition[s] if this mountain was in Africa,' he says. 'In fact it is in Africa.'⁶⁴

Due to these preoccupations, Stefansson did not complete an official narrative of the expedition as was planned by the Arctic Publications Committee. Initially, the reports were to include a volume devoted to narratives of both the Northern and Southern Parties, attesting to the centrality of the exploration narrative as a framework for the scientific

analyses to follow. The only narratives of the Northern Party to be published under government auspices were those contained in the progress reports submitted by Stefansson from the region and reproduced in the annual reports of the Department of the Naval Service. Anderson's summary of Southern Party activities, which appeared in both the Department of the Naval Service Annual Report for 1917 and that of the Geological Survey, was the only narrative for the Southern Party he would write.⁶⁵ This report was also published in the *Geographical Review* and was illustrated with twenty-seven CAE photographs taken by Anderson.⁶⁶

Wilkins' engagement as photographer and cinematographer was initially welcomed by CAE scientists, as it afforded them the opportunity to obtain quality images with which to illustrate their publications. According to Anderson:

Wilkins made a large number of scientific negatives at my suggestion, some to illustrate my work, and others for the botanist and the ethnologist of the party. Many of these pictures we might have taken ourselves, and probably would have taken many more ourselves, but for economy in the use of films and plates, as well as the probability of having better work done by a professional photographer.⁶⁷

Following their return south in 1916, however, controversy ensued when it was realized that Wilkins had mailed all of his photographic negatives to his employers in England, as per his original contract with the Gaumont Company and United Newspapers Limited.⁶⁸ Anderson, supported by other Southern Party scientists, engaged in a lengthy lobbying of the government to force the return of these negatives:

...there are several scientific men of the Survey engaged in preparing reports on the Expedition, and might find such prints useful to refer to, if not to use for illustrating purposes with their reports. It may also be remembered that the principal reason given for taking a cinematograph outfit on the expedition was the scientific value of the films to be taken mainly for their ethnological interest in preserving records of aboriginal tribes, copies of the cinema film to be furnished to the ethnological department of the Survey by the Gaumont Company.⁶⁹

The resulting correspondence reflects the importance of photography as an illustrative tool for the scientific work of the Southern Party:

Mr. Wilkins, when taking these photographs was no longer an employee of the Gaumont Company but was an officer of this Department under salary as a member of the expedition. The plates were furnished by the Department and as a matter of fact a number of the photographs were, I understand, taken not by Mr. Wilkins but by other officers of the expedition. Under these conditions the negatives are evidently the entire property of this Department.⁷⁰

Most of these negatives were eventually sent to the Department of the Naval Service in 1919.⁷¹ Similar issues would arise when Stefansson requested, on two separate occasions, a complete set of CAE prints to be furnished him by the Survey.⁷² Anderson was not in favour of Stefansson using these Survey prints for publication, as he faulted Stefansson for failing to credit photographers with authorship when appropriate:

Where Geological Survey pictures have been used [by Stefansson] the Geological Survey imprint has invariably been trimmed off or matted out....The general idea has been to give the impression that they represent the work of Mr. Stefansson...such instances minimize the contributions of the Survey more than if they were not mentioned at all.⁷³

Anderson's comments suggest the centrality of photographic authorship to scientific discourse during this period, as well as to Stefansson's conscious manipulation of the medium.

Cameras and Equipment

Three types of still photography cameras were used in CAE fieldwork: two roll-film cameras by Eastman Kodak, the 3A Special Kodak⁷⁴ and the Vest-Pocket Kodak,⁷⁵ and naturalist Graflex cameras taking both roll film and glass-plate negatives.⁷⁶ The Canadian government supplied the Kodaks to expedition members courtesy of the Kodak Company, who desired their cameras and film to be tested under Arctic conditions.⁷⁷ In addition, CAE expenditure files contain a receipt for 2 stereoscopic "Hawk-eye" cameras

by Eastman Kodak, purchased on May 22, 1913.⁷⁸ There are only five stereoscopic images in the CAE photographic archive which were taken by *Karluk* crew member Fred Maurer on board the *Karluk* in August of 1913.⁷⁹ It is, therefore, likely that the Hawk-eyes were lost in the *Karluk* disaster. The popularity of stereoscopes during the early twentieth century—in the United States the stereoscopic market saw rapid expansion between 1880 and 1914⁸⁰—and the inclusion of two stereo cameras in the CAE’s photographic supply, suggest a conscious intent to mass market a visual experience of North to a widespread, popular audience. The illusion of depth afforded by the juxtaposition of stereoscopic pairs engages the viewer in an experience of the simulacrum where the landscape of North unfolds over time, as in cinema.⁸¹ Heightening the immediacy of the visual experience—what Jonathon Crary deems the stereoscope’s “reality effect”⁸²—stereoscopic views provided “sharper images which reinforced the primacy of the visual and shored up its regime of truth.”⁸³ Similar issues are raised with the CAE’s inclusion of cinematography in its pictorial practice. Motion-pictures were primarily desired by the expedition for the purposes of ethnological and zoological research. However, Stefansson’s hiring of Wilkins through the Gaumont Company of London is indicative of the marketability of such films to a popular audience outside of the realm of the anthropological institution, as well as their being projected to Inuit audiences while in the region.⁸⁴ Photography and cinematography, therefore, were dynamic processes in which Inuit agency is far more present than the publications suggest.

Wilkins had left the cinematographic and photographic equipment supplied to him by his employers, the Gaumont Company of London and United Newspapers Limited, on

board the *Karluk* when he left the ship in 1913 with Stefansson, McConnell and Jenness. Wilkins replaced his missing equipment with that of the Southern Party as well as obtaining supplies from other photographers encountered at Collinson Point that winter. In his diaries, Wilkins noted his pleasure at receiving a Graflex camera from American geologist Ernest de Koven Leffingwell, whom the CAE encountered on Flaxman Island in northern Alaska in the summer of 1913.⁸⁵ To replace his missing cinematographic equipment, Wilkins ended up purchasing a Williamson 35mm motion-picture camera from cinematographer and engineer John Clark, who was with the ship *Elvira* at Collinson Point.⁸⁶ In 1914, the Department of the Naval Service also purchased replacement photographic equipment for Wilkins.⁸⁷

Negatives were either mailed to the Geological Survey of Canada, or deposited to the Survey upon return from the North.⁸⁸ Members of the Southern Party, Anderson, Chipman, Cox, Jenness, and O'Neill, submitted their films and detailed lists of their photographs to the Survey in 1916 and 1917; Frits Johansen turned his over to the Department of the Naval Service in 1918. Stefansson took few photographs, likely due to his hiring of Wilkins as expedition photographer, and a complete list of his images does not exist.⁸⁹ While the date of Storker Storkerson's submission is unknown, his 22 negatives were included in the initial CAE photographic collection.

As photographic negatives were submitted, the Geological Survey Photographic Division assigned each image a five-digit negative number ranging from 36911 to 63585.⁹⁰ These numbers have often been etched onto the negative itself, along with the name of the photographer, physically embedding the negative into the classification system of the archive. The photographic lists by expedition members were usually

completed in chronological order and this is reflected in the GSC negative numbering system. In this thesis, I have compiled tables of all the CAE photographs which were used to illustrate the reports, Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*, and Diamond Jenness's *People of the Twilight*, (tables 1 through 4). These lists are organized by publication and I have identified each image with its original GSC negative number.⁹¹

This is not to suggest, however, that faith in the objectivity of the scientific photographic image during this period was uniform and never contested.⁹² As Joel Snyder has pointed out,

...experts who sought quantifiable data from pictures were aware that photographs could not provide the kind of information they needed. Thus, there was a division between scientists and popular opinion about photography—laypeople holding that photographs were essentially factual and scientific, while scientists used handmade drawings for their work because photographs could not provide them with the facts they needed.⁹³

Snyder's discussion concerns nineteenth century photographic practice of expeditions in the American West; by the period of the CAE, technological improvements in fieldwork cameras, notably the dry-plate process, lent them an increased portability; the Geological Survey of Canada had also increased the use of photography in the picturing of scientific specimens, and microphotography came to supplant hand-drawn illustrations. As will be seen in the publications of the CAE, however, there was still concern in the natural sciences over the ability of a "good photograph" to offer concrete, scientific evidence as opposed to that provided by the hand-drawn specimen illustration.

In introducing the material specificity of CAE photographs and the publications in which they appeared, this chapter has attempted to situate them within a broader discourse of governmental authority and imperialism. As I have shown, these photographic objects demonstrate how the CAE constructed the North as a space to be

contained and possessed. The following chapter will provide a theoretical framework for exploring how these material objects and representations functioned to define and claim the North.

¹ Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, "Introduction: Photographs as Objects," in *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (New York: Routledge, 2004), 1.

² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 5.

³ Elizabeth Edwards, quoted in "Appendix: Discussions," *Imaging the Arctic*, ed. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi (Seattle and Vancouver: University of Washington Press and University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 233.

⁴ Edwards and Hart, "Introduction," 3.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 19.

⁷ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 19.

⁸ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

⁹ While Diamond Jenness would later publish *Dawn in Arctic Alaska* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), tracing his experiences with the CAE during its first winter in Collinson Point, Alaska from 1913-1914, I have restricted my analysis to *People of the Twilight* because it was released in 1928 and is, therefore, a contemporary of *The Friendly Arctic*, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, and the reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Jenness wrote *Dawn in Arctic Alaska* in the early 1950s and it was eventually published in 1957, with the help of Jenness's son, Stuart. See Stuart E. Jenness, preface to *Arctic Odyssey: The Diary of Diamond Jenness, 1913-1916*, ed. Stuart E. Jenness (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), xix.

¹⁰ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), 37.

¹¹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 37. See also, Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 18.

¹² In addition, two images were taken by CAE member John Hadley and W.V. Bruce of the Royal North West Mounted Police. Two other photographs in this list have not been attributed, as data was unavailable (See table 1).

¹³ Stefansson's account of the expedition, *My Life with the Eskimo*, which also contains Anderson's natural history narrative, reproduces 108 of these photographs. See: Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimo* (New York: Macmillan, 1913).

¹⁴ As Stefansson explains in his preface to *The Friendly Arctic*, he chose these images because he could not find comparable ones in the CAE collection with which to illustrate his points. Stefansson, "Preface," *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions*, rev. ed. (1921; repr., New York: Macmillan, 1943), xiii.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Edwards, "Visualizing History: Diamond Jenness's Photographs of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, 1911-1912," in *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), 83-106.

¹⁶ Johansen was a naturalist on Mylius Erichsen's Danish expedition to eastern Greenland (1906-08). Stefansson, "Appendix: Scientific Staff," in *The Friendly Arctic*, 761.

¹⁷ Leverett White Brownell, *Photography for the Sportsman Naturalist* (New York: Macmillan, 1904). A receipt from the Macmillan Company is in the Rudolph Martin Anderson papers at Library and Archives Canada, listing over fifty books ordered by Anderson for the library of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. These books were shipped to Esquimalt, British Columbia prior to the departure of the CAE. Brownell's volume is the only one listed pertaining to photography and its methods and was a likely reference guide

for expedition members. See, Library and Archives Canada, Rudolph Martin Anderson and Mae Bell Allstrand fonds/MG 30 B40, "Subject Files" series, Vol. 10, "Canadian Arctic Expedition," file 8, Statements of Expenditures: Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-16.

¹⁸ Deville is recognized internationally for his adaption of the science of photographic surveying (photogrammetry) "to contemporary photographic technology." Andrew J. Birrell, *Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900, A Public Archives of Canada Travelling Exhibition* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975), 40.

¹⁹ Édouard G. Deville, "Surveyor General's Report," in *Annual Report for the Department of the Interior*, part 2 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886), 4, quoted in Don W. Thomson, *Men and Meridians: The History of Surveying and Mapping in Canada*, vol. 2, 1867 to 1917 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 137.

²⁰ Thomson, *Men and Meridians*, 133.

²¹ Susan Legêne, "Photographic Playing Cards and the Colonial Metaphor: Teaching the Dutch Colonial Culture," in Edwards and Hart, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*, 96.

²² Stewart, *On Longing*, 48.

²³ The reports were published in two manners: as a complete collection, featuring the green cloth binding and embossed gold lettering they were boxed as a unit, with subsequently published volumes added upon completion. They were also published as individual paper pamphlets—in the traditional government "bluebook" format—and made available to the public at cost.

²⁴ Sketches and mock-ups of the map by Johnston can be found at Library and Archives Canada. See: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, vol. 473, file 84-2-11/1, Printing of Arctic Reports.

²⁵ Rudolph Martin Anderson, letter to Edward E. Prince, 11 January, 1922. © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, Vol. 473, file 84-2-11/1, Printing of Arctic Reports.

²⁶ Edward E. Prince, "Further Expedition Proofs," memorandum to George J. Desbarats, 5 September 1919, Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds, RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, Vol. 473, file "Printing of Arctic Reports," 84-2-11/1.

²⁷ Edward E. Prince, "Binding of Arctic Reports," memorandum to George J. Desbarats, n.d., Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, Vol. 473, file 84-2-11/1, Printing of Arctic Reports.

²⁸ Vilhjalmur Stefansson quoted in Edward E. Prince, memorandum to George J. Desbarats, 20 January 1919, © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, Vol. 473, file 84-2-11/1, Printing of Arctic Reports.

²⁹ This was specified by George J. Desbarats, Deputy Minister of the Department of the Naval Service, in liaison with the King's Printer. George J. Desbarats, letter to Fred Cook, assistant King's Printer, 20 June 1919, Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, "Canadian Arctic Expedition" series, Vol. 481, file 84-2-37/2, Biological Reports.

³⁰ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, "Preface," v. The controversial nature of *The Friendly Arctic* may have been due to Stefansson's disputes with members of the CAE Southern Party and the Department of the Naval Service over publication of the reports, discussed in detail below. Sales may also have benefitted from Stefansson's disastrous campaign to claim the Soviet territory of Wrangel Island in the name of the Canadian government. As Richard Diubaldo surmises, "*The Friendly Arctic* was not a best seller in Canada or Great Britain, although one can be sure the controversy generated after its publication may have helped its sales." Richard J. Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, rev. ed. (1978; repr., Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 201.

³¹ Stefansson, "Preface," vi.

³² Peter Geller discusses the impact of the word "twilight" in the context of Archibald Fleming's tome *Dwellers of the Arctic Night* which was also published in 1928. Initially the text, which chronicles Fleming's missionary experiences in the eastern Arctic, was titled "Children of the Twilight," but the name was changed upon hearing of Jenness's book. Geller relates Fleming's usage of "twilight" to the ultimate goal of Christianizing Inuit communities in the region: "The correspondence between the physical conditions of the Arctic and inner life of the Inuit was encapsulated in the motif of 'twilight'. The Inuit, as

'children of the twilight,' were placed in a transitional position, in the semi-darkness between the spiritual wilderness of the Arctic night and the guiding light of Christ's way." Peter Geller, "Pictures of the Arctic Night: Archibald Lang Fleming and the Representation of Canadian Inuit," in King and Lidchi, *Imaging the Arctic*, 62.

³³ Stefansson would later include this image as the frontispiece of the 1929 reprint edition of his tome *My Life with the Eskimo*. This frontispiece establishes a visual connection between Stefansson's work and Jenness's popular CAE report *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. See Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913; repr., New York: Macmillan, 1929).

³⁴ T.D. MacLulich, "Canadian Exploration as Literature," *Canadian Literature* 81 (1979): 72.

³⁵ I.S. MacLaren, "From Exploration to Publication: The Evolution of a 19th-Century Arctic Narrative," *Arctic* 47, no. 1 (March 1994): 43-53.

³⁶ Christy Collis, "The Voyage of the Episteme: Narrating the North," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 59 (Fall, 1996): 26.

³⁷ MacLaren, "From Exploration to Publication," 43.

³⁸ Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, 66.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Department of the Naval Service, *Annual Report* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1916), 78.

⁴¹ Anderson writes, "[Wilkins] also made good photographs of growing plants, insects, etc., for the botanist and entomologist, and many photographs of birds, mammals, etc., in their natural habitat; pictures of great scientific as well as artistic value." Rudolph Martin Anderson, "The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913: Report of the Southern Division," in Department of the Naval Service, *Annual Report* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1917), 41.

⁴² Anderson writes, "A considerable number of the nests of Arctic birds have been photographed *in situ*." R.M. Anderson, "Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1915," in Geological Survey of Canada, *Summary Report, 1915* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1916), 232.

⁴³ Rudolph Martin Anderson, "The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913: Report of the Southern Division," Department of the Naval Service, *Annual Report* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1917), 63.

⁴⁴ Rudolph Martin Anderson, "The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913: Report of the Southern Division," Department of the Naval Service, *Annual Report* (Ottawa: J. de L. Taché, 1917), 64.

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Edwards, "Ordering Others: Photography, Anthropologies and Taxonomies," in *In Visible Light: Photography and Classification in Art, Science and the Everyday* (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Oxford, 1997), 57.

⁴⁶ Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 31.

⁴⁷ George J. Desbarats to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, 29 May 1913. Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth, Stef Mss 98, 4:1.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Reginald Walter Brock, "Director's Report," in Geological Survey of Canada, *Annual Summary Report* (Ottawa: Parmalee, 1908), 2.

⁵¹ George J. Desbarats to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, 29 May 1913. Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth, Stef Mss 98, 4:1.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Jenness, *Arctic Odyssey*, xxviii.

⁵⁴ Terence Wright, "The Fieldwork Photographs of Jenness and Malinowski and the Beginnings of Modern Anthropology," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 22, no. 1 (1991): 43. Wright compares Jenness's photography during his fieldwork in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago of Papua, New Guinea from 1911-1912 with that of Malinowski's Trobriand work from 1914. See also Edwards, "Visualizing History," 83-106.

⁵⁵ My knowledge of the contents of Wilkins' CAE fieldwork diaries comes from Stuart Jenness's summary published in 2004. Jenness provides a detailed summary of all of Wilkins' diaries, including direct quotes. It is not a direct transcription of the entire diary contents. See, Stuart E. Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1916* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

⁵⁶ Wilkins “spent the next three days testing his motion-picture camera and taking single photographs to ascertain the most suitable camera settings before he went on the ice trip. His subjects were some of the men, including Dr. Anderson and Stefansson, and assorted scenes about the camp.” Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 88.

⁵⁷ George J. Desbarats to Vilhjalmur Stefansson, 29 May 1913. Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth, Mss 98, 4:1. Stefansson has a hand-written note at the end of this document, stating: “This is a copy of the original instructions...it is in the main correct. It will be well for all members to read it carefully during the coming week. The paragraphs marked in pencil are those read aloud.”

⁵⁸ Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, 68.

⁵⁹ For a detailed discussion of the controversy over publication rights, specifically between Stefansson and Anderson, see Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, 187-207.

⁶⁰ William R. Hunt, *Stef: A Biography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Canadian Arctic Explorer* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 146-147.

⁶¹ Hunt, *Stef*, 146-147.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Kesler E. Woodward, “Persuasive Images: Photographs of Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the Stefansson Collection on Polar Exploration at Dartmouth College,” in *Imaging the Arctic*, eds. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi (Seattle and Vancouver: University of Washington and University of British Columbia Press, 1998), 176.

⁶⁴ William Arthur Deacon, “Explorer Stefansson Pricks Age-Old Fallacies with Sword of Mirth,” *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 1 September 1928. From Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth, Mss 98: 15B, 1913-1929 Clippings, 15-21.

⁶⁵ Anderson explains his reasons for this in a letter to Desbarats: “My idea of such a report is that it should be not merely a narrative of travel incidents and events occurring on the expedition, but one which should summarize to a certain extent in language comprehensible to the general reader the more important scientific results and information gained by the members of the party and a similar summary of the deductions of the outside specialists who have been working on the collections...I think myself that the principal value of the publication would lie in digging out and making intelligible to the general public a part of the miscellaneous information collected, and this could not be properly done until the bulk of the more important reports are published, and cross-references may be made to them for the benefit of persons desiring further information. A report which did not take into account some of these things would not be very valuable, in fact, would not be much more than an elaboration of the summary report which I prepared for publication.” Rudolph Martin Anderson, letter to George J. Desbarats, 15 July 1919. © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, “Canadian Arctic Expedition” series, Vol. 473, file 84-2-11/1, Printing of Arctic Reports.

⁶⁶ Rudolph Martin Anderson, “Recent Explorations on the Canadian Arctic Coast,” *Geographical Review* 4, no. 4 (October 1917): 241-266.

⁶⁷ Rudolph Martin Anderson, letter to George J. Desbarats, 20 June 1917, © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG 42 Series C-1, “Canadian Arctic Expedition” series, Vol. 477, file 84-2-32/1, Gaumont Company.

⁶⁸ Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, xvii.

⁶⁹ Rudolph Martin Anderson, letter to George J. Desbarats, 20 June 1917, © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG 42 Series C-1, “Canadian Arctic Expedition” series, Vol. 477, file 84-2-32/1, Gaumont Company.

⁷⁰ George J. Desbarats, letter to United Newspapers Limited, 2 October 1917, © Department of Transport. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG 42 Series C-1, “Canadian Arctic Expedition” series, Vol. 477, file 84-2-32/1, Gaumont Company.

⁷¹ Stuart E. Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, One of Canada's Little Known Historic Treasures: An Annotated Catalogue* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001), 8.

⁷² Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, 8.

⁷³ Rudolph Martin Anderson, "Memorandum re Geological Survey Photographs taken by Members of Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18," to Charles Camsell, 21 January, 1924. © Natural Resources Canada. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (2007). Source: Library and Archives Canada, Geological Survey of Canada fonds/RG45, Vol. 67, file 4078/1.

⁷⁴ With 122 size roll film yielding 10 negatives per roll (3¼" x 5½"). Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, 269.

⁷⁵ With 127 size roll film yielding 8 negatives per roll (1½" x 2½"). Ibid.

⁷⁶ Sizes: 3¼", 4 ¼", 4" x 5" and 5" x 7." Ibid.

⁷⁷ Woodward, "Persuasive Images," 176.

⁷⁸ A receipt from Chas G. Willoughby in New York City is dated May 22, 1913 and lists 2 stereo Hawkeye Cameras with Zeiss Tessar lenses in Compound shutter, including carrying cases; 350 rolls of film; 3 developing tanks; 6 duplicating outfits and additional supplies. Library and Archives Canada, Department of Marine fonds/RG42 Series C-1, Canadian Arctic Expedition series, Vol. 464, file, 84-2-2/ 2, Stefansson Arctic Expedition 1913-1916, Expenditure and purchase of equipment and supplies."

⁷⁹ Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, 3-4.

⁸⁰ Derek Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze: Photographic Practices and Productions of Space in Egypt, 1839-1914," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 207.

⁸¹ Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," in *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 291.

⁸² Jonathon Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992), 124.

⁸³ Gregory, "Emperors of the Gaze," 207.

⁸⁴ A photograph facing page 93 of *The Friendly Arctic* depicts Wilkins showing motion-picture films to Inuit at Collinson Point, Alaska (see table 2).

⁸⁵ "[Wilkins knew] that he could obtain better pictures using the Graphlex for his nature photographs than with the Special 3A Kodak camera he had brought from the *Karluk*." Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 54.

⁸⁶ Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 75.

⁸⁷ In Rudolph Martin Anderson's correspondence files related to the CAE, a receipt dated February 26, 1914 indicates that the Department of Naval Service purchased 1 4x5 Naturalist Graflex camera, tripod, Zeiss lens with telephoto attachment and film from the Topley Company in Ottawa. See Library and Archives Canada, Rudolph Martin Anderson and Mae Bell Allstrand fonds/MG 30 B40, "Subject Files" series, Vol. 10, file 8, Canadian Arctic Expedition, Statement of Expenditures and Supply Lists, 1913-16.

⁸⁸ Exclusive of CAE members who were lost on board the *Karluk*. Stuart Jenness provides a narrative as to the submission of nearly 100 CAE negatives taken by 3 *Karluk* survivors, meteorologist William Laird McKinlay, *Karluk* firefighter Fred Maurer, and sailor John Hadley, to the Geological Survey of Canada in the years following their rescue. John Hadley would rejoin the Northern Party of the CAE following his rescue in September, 1914, and submit additional photographs to the Survey. See Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 5.

⁸⁹ Stuart Jenness has compiled a list of images he attributes to Stefansson. "Most of these photos are undated [and] lack geographic location...Stefansson evidently did not submit a list of his photos." Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, 182.

⁹⁰ Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition*, 4.

⁹¹ Stuart Jenness's annotated catalogue of CAE photographs uses the original GSC negative numbers as a point of reference. For clarity and ease of cross-reference, I have also used this numbering system.

⁹² Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

⁹³ Joel Snyder, "Territorial Photography," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 201n8.

CHAPTER TWO

Approaches to the Study of Canadian Nordicity

At its core, this thesis is about the politics of representation and the structures of power inherent in the photographic encounter. I approach the publications of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE)—and the photographs reproduced therein—as elements of Canadian visual culture embedded in colonial discourse and reflective of the imperial processes surrounding their creation and dissemination. The post-colonial strategy of isolating “difference” and locating it as a “place” in which imperial hegemonies are inscribed is, therefore, central to my analysis. Broadly speaking, I will interrogate the institutional sanctioning of difference through knowledge about North; “knowledge” being predicated on the conception of North as a firmly bounded space capable of being understood—and represented—in its entirety. This involves questioning the role of authority, experience, and truth in constructing “knowledge” through difference. I do not, however, wish to suggest a pyramidal structure of power and knowledge (filtering, for example, downwards from the government institution). My objective is to assert the multifaceted, continually shifting dynamic of North as discourse. “Difference,” consequently, may be located at the intersection of a variety of discourses, each of which is circulating within (and without), what Sherrill Grace has defined as the Foucauldian “discursive formation of North.”¹

This chapter will outline key issues and theoretical models concerning the articulation of North through representational means. It also “maps” out my methodological approach, which centres on thinking of North as a Foucauldian discursive formation and on recent critical writing on landscape. Through these tools, I am able to

address issues of sovereignty and nation-building in the chapters that follow, while showing how the expedition photographs are part of a larger configuration of power and knowledge. My model for an analysis of the CAE is Sherrill Grace's *Canada and the Idea of North*.² Along with Renée Hulan's *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* and Peter Geller's *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North*, Grace's work presents North as a complex, multifaceted mode of representation that retains a responsibility to "the real"—that is, each author recognizes the risk of post-structuralist, post-colonial, and postmodern theoretical stances as not being immune from aspiring (inadvertently) to a position of transcendence.³ For me, these three texts—and, particularly, Grace's—are models for a critical engagement with North, both as a lived reality and a discursive formation.

Theorizing North

In her seminal *Canada and the Idea of North*, Sherrill Grace addresses the North as a shifting and fluid concept. Speaking as a Canadian to a presumably Canadian audience, Grace insists: "no matter who, when, or where we are, we are shaped by, haunted by ideas of North, and we are constantly imagining and constructing Canada-As-North, as much so when we resist our nordicity as when we embrace it."⁴ Grace's study builds on this premise to articulate, through a range of disciplines, how Canadian culture has continuously incorporated the concept of North to promote, question, and reinforce Canadian unity and identity. "We" are urged by the author to continue to probe, analyse, and question "our" assumptions of North and its construction and are encouraged to contribute to an ongoing dialogue about a Canada-as-North that is "not over" and will "never stay still."⁵

Grace articulates the consistency with which the north—as geographic region—as well as North—as experience or idea—and its relationship to Canadian history, culture, national identity, and economic development has been a phenomenally popular and influential subject of Canadian art, literature, photography, music, history, geography and politics. *Canada and the Idea of North* promotes an awareness of the pervasiveness of North in Canadian (individual or collective) consciousness while simultaneously asserting the precariousness of this claim. It is a postmodern dialogue and personal journey inflected with the author’s passion for North, as she grapples with the complexities of articulating identity in a postcolonial society. The study foregrounds representation as an active, interdisciplinary practice; chapters are divided into four sections to reflect the continually shifting parameters of movement: “Writing the North”, “Articulating North”, “Narrating a Northern Nation”, and “The North Writes Back”. These sections illuminate the critical issues associated with the political, cultural, and social representation of North: nation-building, techniques of visualizing North (including photography), performing North, and fictionalizing North, each of which is problematized, questioned, and continually repositioned through Grace’s “social semiotic”⁶ approach. Her methodology continuously moves between the general and specific: mapping the intersections of Northern discursive systems through Foucault’s concept of “archaeology”; articulating the dialogic relations of Northern representations in specific texts; and drawing on Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of the *habitus* which tells Grace “where to look for the social practice of a discursive formation of North and how deeply installed it is in our ‘imagined community’ of Canada.”⁷

Renée Hulan's approach in *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* is to disrupt the association of North and national consciousness in "Canadian" writing by critiquing its representation of experience. While Grace applies this perspective to her critique of individual texts and disciplinary ideologies, she treats it as a Foucauldian statement circulating within a broader "discursive formation of North"—the constitution of which (or lack thereof) is her primary subject. Hulan's project is more specific to tracing an "ethnographic impulse" in Canadian writing in which the "quest" for a "True North" and a Northern identity finds a parallel in the gendered and racial tropes of ethnographic authority and the primacy ethnography places on fieldwork experience. North, for Hulan, is a product of "writing culture"; her approach is "ethnocritical"⁸ involving a close reading of individual texts through techniques of literary theory and placing each in a broader historical context of "writing North" ethnographically. This enables Hulan to treat fiction, autobiography, and travel writing as ethnography in conjunction with "standard" texts born out of ethnographic fieldwork. "Writing" is interrogated by Hulan as a decisively political and cultural act, where "identity" rests in ethnographic notions of experience.⁹

Hulan illuminates the construction of "True North" in various literary genres such as ethnography, travel writing, autobiography, fiction, historiography, as well as "texts that cross these generic boundaries."¹⁰ While Grace's study celebrates such interdisciplinarity, Hulan is more distant and cautious in keeping with her treatment of North as a product of writing, circulating historically (in the nineteenth century as ethnography was being recognized as a discipline) and into current postmodern / postcolonial re-evaluations of ethnographic method:

Despite the opacity of the concept, 'experience' unites a variety of discourses. It is the foundation of postmodern ethnography's claim to address power in anthropological inquiry. It is the basis of identity politics. It is also the basis of the weak liberalism that manifests itself as a constant and ultimately universalist self-positioning. As aboriginal voices gain strength, they are concerned with the articulation of experience as aboriginal people.¹¹

By questioning representations of North *as they cross* disciplinary boundaries, Hulan is able to trace the "curious time lag"¹² such movement can produce. Postmodernist method becomes contextualized and Hulan admits her own perspective to be historically contingent.¹³

Hulan's aim is similar to that of Grace in that she seeks to reveal the "diversity and contingency of ideas" of North; but Hulan is critical of "*placing* North at the centre of a national, Canadian mythology."¹⁴ She views the articulation of a central, unifying national ideology as reflective of "historically contingent ideas of gender, race, and nation"¹⁵ and connects the representation of Northern experience in Canadian writing with an ethnographic impulse to imagine North in the Canadian nation. "I believe," she writes, "...that the north [in both its geographical and discursive meanings] has little if anything to do with being Canadian today. Or at least, its relevance to the majority of Canadians is obscure."¹⁶ Problematizing North-as-idea, Hulan views a national ideology as not "adequately account[ing] for the variety of Canadian experiences."¹⁷ Instead, Canada-as-North is a method of imagining nation through the German Romantic notion of consciousness.¹⁸

Historian Peter Geller addresses North through the lens of historic photography and film. His recent publication *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45* investigates how photographic practice served Canadian state, religious, and corporate interests in asserting control over the North and its inhabitants.

Geller's approach, like that of Hulan, is grounded in context: photographs are examined as cultural objects which represent and reflect their production, circulation, and reception within a social milieu. While Hulan's focus is the practice of "writing ethnographically" across disciplines, Geller's is archival and, thus, more interrogative of the visual appropriation of North by such institutional entities as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican Church of Canada, and the Canadian Government. Geller's aim is neither to define Canada-as-North nor to dispute its feasibility; his North is produced by a historically situated photographic practice motivated by a collective cultural desire: an "impulse to make the North knowable and thus under the measured control of bureaucratic imperatives and initiatives."¹⁹ His analysis invites the reader to question the role of photographic "ways of seeing" in the dynamics of power.²⁰

Geller approaches visual images as cultural products in an "attempt to recover and make sense of the past."²¹ He acknowledges the limitations of this method, particularly in terms of reconstructing the context of reception: "Given the diversity of audiences, embodying cultural, ethnic, gender, and class divisions, the historical study of reception remains...a reminder of the complexity of historical experience."²² Lucy Lippard has echoed this sentiment: "If context is all-important, it is also usually out of reach...understanding [historical] photographs is a process of reaching out for what finally is absent, rather than grasping the presence of new 'truths' and disseminating new 'information.'"²³ Geller's solution is to treat the reception of archival images in terms of an analysis of "the gaze," drawing on Lacanian psychoanalytic theory.

This complex issue of photographic reception is woven through *Imaging the Arctic*, a collection of essays resulting from the 1996 conference "Imagining the Arctic:

the Native Photograph in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland.”²⁴ Contributions deal with the role of photographic practice in picturing the North American Arctic as “a social, cultural, and geographical space.”²⁵ Kesler Woodward provides an overview of the Stefansson Collection of Arctic Photographs at Dartmouth College, focusing on Stefansson’s selection of images for lantern slides used to illustrate his lecture tours as “consciously forging a particular view of the Arctic and its native inhabitants—a view emphasizing the ‘friendly’ aspects of the land itself and the capable, industrious and ingenious character of its indigenous peoples.”²⁶

In addition, there have been a few other treatments related more specifically to the CAE as outlined in the Introduction to this thesis. Richard Condon’s historical discussion of photographic technology used in the Arctic, particularly his specific discussions of CAE photography, has offered insights for this research.²⁷ As noted above, recent revisionist anthropological literature has prompted useful reassessments of Diamond Jenness’s ethnography. Among these, Terence Wright’s discussion of Bronislaw Malinowski’s impact on Jenness²⁸ and Peter Kulchyski’s analyses of Jenness within a governmental context, have been particularly instructive for the present study.²⁹

Imperialist Legacy in the Imagined Geography of the Arctic

The recent body of literature by Grace, Hulan and Geller draws on critical theory, in part, to expose the constructedness of North. Informed by the work of Benedict Anderson and Edward Said, an underlying question within these studies of North is the tangibility of “nation” and the legacy of the imperialist idea within Canada. Both Anderson and Said question self-evident “truths” in Western political and cultural discourse by asserting their operation as productive, social systems of power.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson exposes “nation” as an active, cultural system evolving out of religious and political climates as well as technological developments of Enlightenment Europe. As a system of political and social power, “nation” unifies its members by engendering the notion of a collective consciousness; the individual “will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”³⁰ The location of nation in the individual mind is legitimized through its imagined existence at a general level; this double inscription affords a “deep horizontal comradeship” contained by the imagined limits and sovereignty of the state.³¹ This unifying system, according to Anderson, is maintained by its “naturalization” to the level of ideology, for “in everything natural there is always something unchosen.”³² The “unchosen,” with its connotations of passivity, fixedness, and inevitability, is embodied in Western notions of gender, race, and parentage—elements associated with national belonging. It is precisely the inability for action or change implied by the “unchosen” that is central to the perception of nationhood (or “nationality”) as a fixed, universal ideology. Naturalization breeds “disinterestedness”; nation is not consciously “considered” but prescribed as self-evident and, therefore, remains unchallenged.

Key to Anderson’s conception of an imagined national consciousness, and which makes him relevant for my discussion of the CAE, is his connection of the printed word (in the form of the newspaper and the novel) with the reproduction and dissemination of imagined national identities in the modern nation. Simultaneity and repetition ensure the “imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life.”³³ Anderson’s emphasis on the visual in this formulation has informed several studies on the role of photography in the

perpetuation of a Canadian national consciousness.³⁴ Of particular use to this current study is the work of James R. Ryan and Joan M. Schwartz in questioning historical photographic “ways of seeing” the imagined geographies of nation and empire in geographical discourse.³⁵ In terms of Arctic exploration, Lisa Bloom has criticized Anderson for not adequately addressing the institutionalization of gender exclusion and racial discrimination in his concept. Her critique of *National Geographic Magazine*’s promotion of the white male explorer as a “norm” through which American national identity is articulated expands on Anderson’s formulations of national consciousness.³⁶

While Anderson inverts nation from precisely defined geographical location to imagined construct, Edward Said challenges the Western imperialist legacy of “the Orient” for its prescription of cultural difference.³⁷ In his seminal work *Orientalism*, “the Orient” is both noun and verb: it is a place in the European imagination and the act of imagining cultural difference; it is both evidence of imperialism and an imperialist act. “The Orient,” according to Said, “is an integral part of European material civilization and culture” which is active and operates “as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”³⁸ Like the nation, the Orient is “not an inert fact of nature. It is not merely *there*”³⁹ but operates through the imaginings of a collective imperial consciousness. It is a method by which the West (the Occident) defines itself and its Other (the Orient). It is part of an imagined geography of empire⁴⁰ but at the same time retains a solid relationship to the “real” in order to be controlled within the imperial domain: “...none of this Orient is purely imaginative.”⁴¹ Subsequently, Said’s discussion of *Orientalism* has been criticized for reinforcing the very hierarchies of which he is

critical by privileging a western and European perspective. In particular, Said's lack of acknowledgement of indigenous agency both during and subsequent to the colonial encounter has been highlighted: "Colonial subjects," explain Breckenridge and van der Veer, "are not passively produced by hegemonic projects but are active agents whose choices and discourses are of fundamental importance in the formation of their societies."⁴² As such, the hegemonic project is influenced by and negotiated from many levels of discourse.

Recently, the concept of Orientalism has been transposed to studies of the Arctic by Icelandic anthropologist, Gísli Pálsson, who uses the term "Arcticality" in reference to the rhetoric of North employed by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in *The Friendly Arctic*.⁴³ Arcticality asserts a cultural exoticism of the Arctic region by Western culture: "the Arctic Zone was established, if not invented, as a fertile but somewhat slippery discursive space...a site useful for the exploration of particular themes in contrast to the temperate Euroamerican world."⁴⁴ Difference is articulated through a Western "Othering" of the exotic—in this case, extremes in environment—through which the Arctic is "both the home of howling, exotic wilderness (the source of 'strange' knowledge and ancient wisdom) and a semi-domestic, 'friendly' space."⁴⁵ Pálsson is borrowing his definition from David Arnold's "tropicality," a manifestation of Orientalist discourse, the "experience of northern whites moving into an alien world—alien in climate, vegetation, people and disease."⁴⁶ Arnold's study traces environmental determinism in the writings of history from the fourteenth to early twentieth century and cites "the perceived importance of environment as a site of difference (or 'otherness') between Europe and Asia, or between the tropics and temperate lands of 'Neo-Europe.'"⁴⁷ Both arcticality and

tropicality articulate discursive boundaries (North and South, extreme and temperate) in order to problematize their definition. There is a risk, however, in polarizing the discussion of environment between identities of “West” and “Other,” as it fails to disrupt the structure on which the Orientalizing project depends.

Both Anderson and Said have been influential for theorists analysing the interrelationship of identity, power, and visual representation in the construction of cultural and political difference. Echoing Geller’s examination of pictorial practice in the Canadian Arctic, historian Robert David, for example, stresses the constructedness of North by investigating how nineteenth-century imperial Britain “pictured” and “imagined” the Arctic in the written word, visual culture (including photography), geographical societies, newspapers, and museums.⁴⁸ David and other scholars draw on Anderson and Said to stress the role of visual representation in legitimizing a colonial mentality that presents the world as knowable and possessible. W.J.T. Mitchell explains this spatializing philosophy: “Empires move outward in space as a way of moving forward in time; the ‘prospect’ that opens up is not just a spatial scene but a projected future of ‘development’ and exploitation.”⁴⁹ Joan M. Schwartz ascribes this to the realm of the photographic image where the relationship between time and space is exacerbated through the medium’s perceived mimetic qualities:

As temporally specific visual descriptions, photographs had an impact on perceptions of place in two ways: their ability to stop the flow of time and thereby preserve appearances, fleeting in reality both denied and demonstrated change. Impressions of place delivered through photographs became fixed in the collective consciousness of Western audiences and persisted long after change on the ground undermined the timelessness of portrayal.⁵⁰

Both Mitchell and Schwartz assert the constructed nature of the landscape image, viewing it as an active cultural practice naturalizing the reception of space through a

representative framework. Employing the term “pictorial colonization,” Mitchell illustrates how landscape “always greets us as a space, as environment, as that within which ‘we’...find—or lose—ourselves.”⁵¹ It is through the viewer’s placement within the scene—both visually and imaginatively—that this sense of “pictorial colonization” becomes naturalized.

As noted briefly in the introductory chapter, the aim of Mitchell’s *Landscape and Power* is to change “landscape” from a noun—an artistic genre, site, or medium of representation—to a verb, an active cultural and political process implicit in nationalist and imperial structures of power.⁵² As an active cultural system, landscape is both medium *and* practice, its subject matter “always already artifice in the moment of its beholding, long before it becomes the subject of pictorial representation.”⁵³ Landscape, for Mitchell, is “a physical and multi-sensory medium,”⁵⁴ a “commodity and potent cultural symbol,”⁵⁵ a means of communication between individuals,⁵⁶ and “an abstraction from place and a reification of space”⁵⁷ to a singular, often distant, point of view. Landscape operates through the visual process to naturalize the (Western) cultural values and belief systems with which it is encoded. It generates the modernist narrative that “nature” exists, can be discovered in a state of purity, and appreciated on a solely aesthetic level unique to Western culture.⁵⁸ Its discourse is, therefore, “a crucial means for enlisting ‘Nature’ in the legitimation of modernity.”⁵⁹

Drawing on these theorizations, historical photographs can be understood not as transparent windows onto the past but as active participants in the cultural conditions from which they emerged and subsequent conditions pertaining to their circulation. “Photography,” according to Elizabeth Edwards, “played a vital role in the

demystification of the physical world in the wake of rapid European expansion.”⁶⁰ James

R. Ryan relates this to the camera’s design, which:

...stems from the specific cultural conceptions of pictorially representing space in flat images, rather than from the structure of the human eye. Yet the camera-eye analogy helps conceal the highly pervasive assumption that the ‘normal’ mode of experiencing our surroundings is as a spectator looking at pictures.⁶¹

Like the map, the camera reduces the world to two dimensions where, according to Ryan, “regularized and miniaturized, it can be imaginatively ‘seen,’ explored, and possessed.”⁶²

This emphasis on action, expansion, and distance echoes the exploration narrative of the CAE—a colonial enterprise focusing on scientific research and progressive economic development. As outlined in Chapter One, in this context, photographic practice serves to reduce scientific observation to the realm of the miniature, where “facts” can be contained, named and classified while remaining embedded in a narrative of exploration.⁶³ This contradictory framework enables the act of exploration to be repeated indefinitely – through the initial explorative encounter, and then subsequently “at a distance” each time the photograph is read. The repetition of the exploration narrative serves to perpetuate the sense of cultural and geographic difference on which the legitimacy of the CAE rests – difference that stands out as boldly as the contours of a map imprint the “boundaries” of landscape.

In this geographic framework, the act of translating the “experience” of North into visual representations serves to underscore cultural difference. The act of exploration is grounded in the crossing of cultural boundaries, difference being reinforced through the act of mapping – both literally and metaphorically. The authority of the observer is based on a privileging of such boundaries through which “one can become a citizen of one place and the Other of another.”⁶⁴ As Bhabha has noted, “difference” is an ideology

through which the construction of “otherness” operates; paradoxically it contains connotations of “rigidity and an unchanging order as well as a disorder.”⁶⁵

North as Discourse

The critical treatments of landscape and photography cited above offer insights into the Canadian Arctic Expedition, which was mandated to accumulate, represent, and disseminate *knowledge*: about North, its climate, mineral resources and natural history; about the Inuit peoples encountered in the exploration process; and about the geographic parameters of the Arctic Archipelago. Its goal was not an easily defined “North Pole” or “Northwest Passage” but a generalized pursuit of “truth” in and about a Northern space. Photography was one of its principal means of articulating this knowledge. CAE explorers⁶⁶ used the camera as a tool with which to gather information for subsequent analysis, to illustrate written descriptions, and to record data. Photography also gave concrete form to the journey itself and reveals the explorers’ reliance on the perceived mimetic function of the camera’s technology.

Knowledge, its representation through photography, and its employment in a discourse of nation-building form the core of my analysis and have led me to Michel Foucault’s concept of “archaeology” as a methodological tool.⁶⁷ In adopting this approach, I am, again, indebted to Sherrill Grace’s work. Foucault approaches knowledge not as an object of inquiry (an accumulation of facts, ideas, and concepts) or as a history of ideas⁶⁸ united by underlying themes or “truths” but as an articulation of power in social practice.⁶⁹ The conditions and rules which determine the enunciation of knowledge as *knowledgeable*—the systems of dispersion of meaning(s) at the level of enunciation—is Foucault’s line of inquiry.⁷⁰ Foucault describes his approach as an “archaeology,” that

explores, for example, not “according to what rules has a particular statement been made” but instead asks “how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?”⁷¹ How does one statement circulate as “truth” in society while others go unrecognized? Such questions focus on the conditions which permit the persistence and maintenance of power in and through knowledge as a form of representation by looking to systems of exclusion, empowerment or disempowerment, “discontinuity, rupture, threshold, limit, series, and transformation”⁷² in (and exterior to) discourse.

Theorizing knowledge as a social and political representational practice contests essentializing or totalizing concepts of “truth” in Western Enlightenment thought by locating them as historically (and materially) situated. Hegel’s notion of Absolute Knowledge,⁷³ for example, posits the existence of a pure “truth” operating exterior to language; a “spirit” or level of consciousness towards which all acts of thinking or knowing aspire:

The truth is the whole. The whole, however, is merely the essential nature reaching its completeness through the process of its own development. Of the Absolute it must be said that it is essentially a result, that only at the end is it what it is in very truth; and just in that consists its nature, which is to be actual, subject, or self-becoming, self-development.⁷⁴

In “The Order of Discourse,” Foucault describes such concepts as a philosophy of “universal mediation”⁷⁵ producing a position of transcendence in which “things and events...imperceptibly turn themselves into discourse as they unfold the secret of their own essence.”⁷⁶ Universal mediation, in concert with a philosophy of the founding subject and that of originary experience, are themes in Western philosophy Foucault identifies as complicit in activities of exclusion and limitation:

They correspond...by proposing an ideal truth as the law of discourse and an immanent rationality as the principle of their unfolding, and they re-introduce an ethic of knowledge, which promises to give the truth only to

the desire for truth itself and only to the power of thinking it. Then they reinforce the limitations and exclusions by a denial of the specific reality of discourse in general.⁷⁷

Derrida uses the term “logocentric” for such Hegelian notions to indicate the preoccupation of Western philosophy with the metaphysics of presence and “the exigent, powerful, systematic, and irrepressible desire” for a “transcendental signified.”⁷⁸ Logocentrism is a pursuit of pure truth, reason, meaning, and consciousness;⁷⁹ the articulation of ‘meaning’ as existing within itself as a founding concept. In concert with knowledge—or the *episteme*—it produces “all the Western methods of analysis, explication, reading, or interpretation.”⁸⁰ Logocentric discourse, from this perspective, is rhetorical and, therefore, has no “essence” of being.

To contest these philosophical themes, Foucault proposes three strategies, “which our thinking today tends to resist”⁸¹: to “call into question our *will to truth*, restore to discourse its character as an event, and finally, to throw off the sovereignty of the signifier.”⁸² The “will to truth” is embedded in systems of exclusion operating external to discourse—each of which is “historical, modifiable, and institutionally constraining.”⁸³ The historical constitution of the will to truth, “probably gave our will to know its general form”⁸⁴, however, “it has never stopped shifting”⁸⁵ but is constantly “reinforced and renewed”⁸⁶ and “rests on institutional support”⁸⁷. It is also renewed, “no doubt more profoundly, by the way in which knowledge is put to work, valorised, distributed, and in a sense attributed, in a society.”⁸⁸ Institutional support lends the will to truth “something like a power of constraint on other discourses”⁸⁹ and increasingly tries to assimilate them “in order to modify them and provide them with a foundation.”⁹⁰

Methodologically, Foucault proposes four principles that help to locate and expose the conditions, actions, and effects of logocentric discourse. Each principle works

in concert with the other three to help clarify the regulating notions of analysis.⁹¹ I will examine each using the photograph as an example. Foucault begins with *reversal*, which involves looking at the ways in which discourse exercises internal control by appearing to reveal a plentitude of meaning (acting positively) when it is actually revealing a scarcity (acting negatively).⁹² Foucault calls this a “rarefaction of discourse.”⁹³ The discourse of photography, for example, engages this rarefaction through the technology of the camera and its product—the photograph—as providing transparent, documentary evidence of “the real”, promising the viewer unmediated access to “what once was.”⁹⁴ *Reversal* involves asking how documentary operates to enable a seemingly closed system of signification. *Discontinuity* forms a second principle in which discourse(s) are examined as continually shifting practices which “cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other.”⁹⁵ This is the concept of the discursive formation which Foucault maps at length in the *Archaeology of Knowledge*. To view photography as discourse is to consider it an active “practice” of representation rather than a transparent, neutral document of the ‘real.’ *Specificity* is Foucault’s third principle, and is where the regularity of discursive practice can be detected. Specificity involves disregarding any logocentric assumptions of “unifying essence” or belief in “the world [as the] accomplice of our knowledge.”⁹⁶ Fracturing unity for the detection of the specific involves an awareness of discourse as event and series—as a “practice we impose on [things]”⁹⁷ with an identifiable regularity. This strategy might be applied to looking at photographs in their historical context as circulating objects whose presence is active; it would also involve analysing the practice of photography privileging the visual in terms of determining meaning and engaging

viewers in different “ways of seeing” in conjunction with other forms of representation. Lastly, *exteriority* looks to the surface of discourse rather than for hidden secrets in its inner core: “Go towards its external conditions of possibility,” Foucault urges, “towards what gives rise to the *aléatory*⁹⁸ series of these events, and fixes its limits.”⁹⁹ With the CAE, this involves looking to what institutional practices and conditions enabled the North to be photographed.

What “The Order of Discourse” has outlined in terms of Foucault’s theoretical stance, the *Archaeology of Knowledge* establishes in detailed methodology. Archaeology involves a locating and describing of statements, discourse, and discursive formations in an effort to reveal the above-mentioned systems of exclusion and limitation. The statement, in Foucault’s formulation, is where the rules which enable meaning “become manifest.”¹⁰⁰ “Discourse” is the social space¹⁰¹ in which statements function to determine the rules or conditions of meaning. Discourse is not, in this sense, an object which emerged at a particular point and time and thus possesses an easily pinpointed history; it is “from beginning to end historical—a fragment of history, a unity and discontinuity in history itself, posing the problem of its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality.”¹⁰² Similarly, the statement is a function “that cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveals them, with *concrete contents*, in time and space.”¹⁰³ That Foucault’s method acknowledges the concrete, material object makes it possible for me to discuss the historical photograph as a statement and locate it within a particular context. The statement, however, “must not be treated as an event that occurred in a particular time and place, and that the most one can do is recall it—and celebrate it from afar off—in an

act of memory.”¹⁰⁴ To treat an historical photograph as a Foucauldian statement requires me to ask not *what* it signifies (although this is still relevant at the level of individual analysis) but to ask *how* it signifies and circulates as a mode of representation.¹⁰⁵

The statement is revealed in concrete form through its enunciative function, that is, through its ability to be repeated in a network of statements.¹⁰⁶ Statements are residual (*rémanent*): “invested with the techniques that put them into operation, in practices that derive from them, in the social relations that they form, or, through those relations modify.”¹⁰⁷ It is not, however, possible to recapture their “original” meaning following the moment of utterance because once they have been said, they are transformed.¹⁰⁸ This utterance “bears a certain regularity” from which the statement “cannot be dissociated.”¹⁰⁹ This regularity is not fixed or prescribed: “it designates ...the set of conditions in which the enunciative function operates and which guarantees and defines its existence.”¹¹⁰ Each statement is, therefore, interconnected through the regularity of its enunciation; the description of this regularity constitutes the discursive formation, which Foucault summarizes as follows:

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*.¹¹¹

The discursive formation is characterized not by principles of construction but by dispersion of fact.”¹¹² Meaning is not analysed in terms of vertical or horizontal movement (such as the top-down flow of the pyramid), it continuously shifts and transforms while retaining a connection to an observable whole.¹¹³ The four concepts fundamental to the operation of the discursive formation are as follows: a referential (a principle of differentiation); a subject (not an object, but a subject “position”); an

associated field (domain of coexistence for statements), and a materiality (status, rules of transcription, possibilities of use and re-use).¹¹⁴

Archaeology locates statements and discursive formations by describing their systems of dispersion. It “sets out to establish a law of rarity”¹¹⁵ by describing what is *not* said and looking at the network of statements as “a distribution of gaps, voids, absences, limits, divisions.”¹¹⁶ This is not to suggest that an archaeology searches for and identifies a sub-text or undercurrent of statements operating silently beneath more visible ones. Archaeology analyses each statement in the discursive formation as occupying its own place and the key is trying to understand “how [each one] is isolated in the general dispersion of statements.”¹¹⁷ By doing so, archaeology questions the methods that make it possible to describe the statements in the first place. “I am not proceeding by linear deduction,” Foucault explains, “but rather by concentric circles, moving sometimes towards the outer and sometimes towards the inner [statements].”¹¹⁸ Archaeology, therefore, “does not treat discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else”¹¹⁹ but “is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a *monument*.”¹²⁰

Reading North with Foucault

Discourse analysis is a useful approach to the study of photography in the publications of the CAE for three reasons: First, it enables me to assert the multi-disciplinarity of the construction and dissemination of representations of North and, therefore, implicitly problematize disciplinary boundaries. Secondly, discourse analysis looks to representations of truth through knowledge and its institutional sanctions. Finally, it asserts the ambiguity of North-as-discourse, for “it is at the point of intersection with other discourses that any discourse becomes determined.”¹²¹ Grace’s

main goal in *Canada and the Idea of North* is to analyse North as a discursive formation, “a plurality of ideas of North that are in constant flux yet are persistent over time, across a very wide field of endeavour, and are capable of being isolated for analysis.”¹²² Using Foucault’s concept, Grace is able to locate North as a site or sites where “the relations of power and knowledge work to construct identities over time and in a certain real and imagined space”¹²³ and thereby disrupt its hegemonic authority. Like Grace, Lisa Bloom has incorporated Foucault’s analysis of historical writing and discursive formations in her analysis of gender and nationalism in the exploration narrative of Robert Peary’s quest for the North Pole, especially as presented through photography and *National Geographic* magazine.¹²⁴

Grace’s analysis operates on three levels, which she outlines with the example of Stefansson’s text *The Friendly Arctic*¹²⁵: the macrolevel involves a quantitative description of statements (photographs reproduced in *The Friendly Arctic*, for example, are listed as Foucauldian statements along with the “sentences, verbal arguments...maps, tables, charts, lists, and appendices” which make up the text); the mesolevel moves into a qualitative analysis of how various statements interact with other discourses in the broader discursive formation of North (how Stefansson’s rhetoric in the text, for example, is positioned alongside other writers in a dialogue on North); and the microlevel zeroes in on a specific statement and identifies its network of relations within the general discursive formation of North (how Stefansson’s claim “The North is friendly” is repeated in other forms both inside and outside the *The Friendly Arctic*).¹²⁶

Bill Nichols has also used discourse analysis to mobilize “documentary” as a system operating within a broader “discourse of sobriety”¹²⁷ in which disciplines such as

science, economics, and politics, “regard their relation to the real as direct, immediate, transparent” and accordingly, “assume they have instrumental power.”¹²⁸ Nichols’ study has been informative to this thesis, since the publications of the Canadian Arctic Expedition encompass a myriad of disciplines of the natural sciences, each asserting the “documentary” property of the still photograph. Nichols uses the term “sobriety” to indicate the preoccupation with non-fiction, non-narrative instrumental knowledge¹²⁹ that is “seldom receptive to ‘make-believe’ characters, events or entire worlds (unless they serve as pragmatically useful simulations of the ‘real’ one).”¹³⁰ Nichols ties this discourse directly to Marxist theory, as it “complements the engine of progress and capitalism’s productive power as a socio-economic system.”¹³¹ Nichols adds a hierarchical element to the structure of this discursive system, as “documentary is part of this discourse, yet not accepted as a ‘full equal’.”¹³²

As briefly noted earlier, approaching North as a discursive formation enables Grace to move freely from specific, detailed analyses of individual statements to the broad, ideological level of discourse in order to assert its constructedness. Critical theory, in this framework, is not a method of prescribing conclusive “truths” about North but is part of North as a discursive formation. I wish to employ this method to argue that the photographs forming the subject of this study also circulate through the discursive formation of North. These images have been, and continue to be, circulated in highly compartmentalized frameworks. The sheer number and diversity of the publications, their inconsistent distribution, and their classification by professional discipline reinforces their disparity. My goal is to disrupt these boundaries and bring together, through photography, these seemingly disparate pieces of “North” and examine how they produce

a cohesive, understandably “Canadian” Arctic region. At the same time, through my creation of this text—this form of representation—I am consequently implicated in constructing, producing, and reproducing ideas of North that circulate within the discursive formation.

The Ambivalent North: Cultural Difference

Homi K. Bhabha and W.J.T. Mitchell have been useful in helping me understand how the discursive formation can be applied to the parameters of North, visual representation, nationalism, identity formation and the negotiation of difference. Bhabha has examined English colonial literature and its strategies of representing colonial cultural authority. In “Signs Taken for Wonders,”¹³³ Bhabha reinterprets a key trope in this body of writing: the discovery of the printed English book in the locale of the subject culture. Instead of treating the presence of the book solely as an object which represents—perhaps the ultimate authority of English colonizers in the region—Bhabha chooses to describe its ambivalence as a signifier within the discourse of “culture.” The English book is not an object for Bhabha but an *act of enunciating* English culture as knowledgeable and authoritative.¹³⁴ This act of enunciation is momentary and its meaning is constantly constructed through repetition and difference: “As a signifier of authority,” Bhabha contends, “the English book acquires its meaning after the traumatic scenario of colonial difference...returns the eye of power to some prior, archaic image or identity.”¹³⁵ “English” can neither be original nor identical to a “prior” state of existence because it *only exists in the moment of its differentiation*.

This reveals a paradox in the dynamics of power and identity-formation: English cultural authority has an appearance of stability—in its definition—but its power rests on

the act of enunciating difference. “At the moment of enunciation,” Bhabha explains, “the authority of culture as a knowledge of referential truth is at issue.”¹³⁶ Bhabha locates this ambivalence in a “Third Space of enunciation” where “all cultural statements and systems are constructed.”¹³⁷ Locating “English culture” in this Third Space, English colonial presence is revealed as never complete; it “is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference.”¹³⁸ In this way, Bhabha disrupts the notion of a homogenous, unifying national culture by looking to the space in between cultural identities—to culture’s hybridity—in order to contest its hegemonic power.¹³⁹ Exploring hybridity, for Bhabha, is to “begin envisaging national, anti-nationalist histories of the ‘people’” and to “elude the politics of polarity.”¹⁴⁰

Mitchell’s notion of landscape, as previously introduced, facilitates the functioning of power through its ambivalence.¹⁴¹ Mitchell demonstrates this by citing the interconnectivity of landscape painting (as both medium and art historical genre) and Western imperialism, which he defines as “a complex system of cultural, political, and economic expansion and domination.”¹⁴² Imperialism, for Mitchell, functions at tangible, physical levels (such as violence, expropriation, its displacement of peoples, or through mutual collaboration and exchange) and simultaneously at the intangible levels of symbolism and representation “whose relation to the concrete is rarely mimetic or transparent.”¹⁴³ Simultaneity does not alone denote ambivalence; a key element is also found in Imperialism’s localized operation—what Mitchell identifies as its variation “with the specificity of places, peoples, and historical moments.”¹⁴⁴ The notion of

variation *with* specificity—in itself ambivalent—suggests the centrality of cultural difference to imperialist discourse.

This variation, however, is not to be confused with “diversity.” Bhabha’s analysis of cultural authority, diversity, and difference clarifies this point.¹⁴⁵ For Bhabha, cultural diversity can be understood instructively as a noun; he argues that “culture is an object of empirical knowledge” or “the recognition of pre-given cultural contents and customs.”¹⁴⁶ Cultural difference, in contrast, is active as “the process of the enunciation of culture as ‘knowledgeable’, authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification.”¹⁴⁷ By making cultural difference a verb—like Mitchell’s activation of landscape—Bhabha can pinpoint the power structures inherent in its operation.

The North Writes Back: Issues in Post-colonial Theories of Representation

Throughout *Northern Experience*, Hulan is mindful of placing postcolonial and postmodern theory in the context of ethnography as a discipline so as to avoid “neo-universalizing”¹⁴⁸ tendencies. “As we see in northern representation,” she explains, “postmodernist writing can also mask a will-to-power and redraw the boundaries it is supposed to blur.”¹⁴⁹ For example, Hulan parallels Rudy Wiebe’s “postmodern” narrative, *A Discovery of Strangers*, with a shift in representational practice from traditional Arctic adventure novels to “postmodern representation in first-person travel narratives” and the movement in ethnography from realism to postmodernism.¹⁵⁰ The articulation of Northern experience remains the authenticating component in both narrative strategies. Hulan extends this to academic critical circles in which positioning oneself—through critical theory and its self-reflexive strategies—echoes the power dynamics of ethnographic authority:

In the poststructuralist environment of literary criticism...Foucault's insight that there can be no 'outside', that the critic is always inside and outside discourse at the same time, frees the critic from the initiation dilemma. The effect, paradoxically, is a transcendent position.¹⁵¹

In "The North Writes Back," the concluding section of *Canada and the Idea of North*, Grace analyses North as it is written and (re)written by Northerners. In a statement from the introduction, she admits that she is attempting:

...to discover, to listen to, to pay attention to some of the voices of Inuit and northern First Nations speakers, writers, activists, artists, and historians who have written about their northern homes, have re-written the stories and histories concocted in the South to exclude them, and written back in protest, anger, and pride to the dominant discourse.¹⁵²

This explanation has an undertone of ethnographic intent and echoes of exploration rhetoric: "to discover, to listen to...voices of Inuit and northern First Nation speakers" and possibly, one could argue, reproduces the divide between those "inside" North and those "outside" of which she is critical in other chapters of her study. Grace admittedly attempts to make her voice disappear in this final chapter: "I have done all I can to confound the assumptions analysed in the previous chapters, to disrupt disciplined boundaries, and to identify—to listen for—an alternate discursive formation of North(s)."¹⁵³ Yet in her introductory statement, Grace positions herself as one of those with experience of North as opposed to those without: "[Through this book] I have harvested my thoughts, reading, and travel experiences over twenty years in an effort to understand what Canadians have meant by and continue to understand as North."¹⁵⁴

In fact, *Canada and the Idea of North* is peppered with rhetoric: "The ices of the North may not be everlasting," Grace ends her Introduction, "and none of us can afford to be impassive. Follow me while there is still time."¹⁵⁵ Another instance deals with Canadian-U.S. relations: "At the beginning of the twenty-first century the magnetic

attraction pulling Canada due south seems stronger than ever before.”¹⁵⁶ Her epilogue concludes, “[I]f we want to preserve a national identity (and I do), North still seems to me to hold the greatest attraction as a force and as an idea.”¹⁵⁷ Grace’s idea is to embrace the discursivity of North and posits her own thesis of “Magnetic North”:

To understand the Magnetic North is to understand ourselves as a people drawn by ideas of North, who accept the practical, exigent realities measured by Hamelin’s norcidity indices...to accept North is to accept north as multiple and always changing and to respect the diversity and heterogeneity of our home and native land. It is to search for new ways of creating an inclusive nationality that inscribes an empowering ideology of dialogic hybridity.”¹⁵⁸

That Grace’s journey culminates in her own concept of Canada-as-North appears to contradict her previous chapters in which she has consistently dismantled such a totalizing ethos. However, I believe this contradiction to be her main point: yes, her work is both a personal reflection on her passion for North and academic study; but Magnetic North displays the means by which academic rhetoric is equally implicated in this construction of North and is an effective dismantling of “objective distance” or “transcendence” to which Foucault’s discursive strategies may aspire. Grace replicates the rhetoric of which she is critical throughout *Canada and the Idea of North*, I believe, in an effective demonstration of her own personal biases as well as to disrupt any pretense of a cohesive discursive practice. Grace engages at every level the rhetoric of which she is critical to effectively problematize the idea of criticism, the notion of classifying her theoretical stance as postmodern or post-structuralist and her role in assuming a guise of transcendence. While the framework of her approach is post-structuralist in her use of Foucault, her reading of Blair Bruce’s painting *The Phantom Hunter* (1888) uses the structuralist semiotic analysis of Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Peirce.¹⁵⁹

Arbitrariness of representation (and acknowledging it) is, for Hulan, “no excuse for making everything we see in our own images, and it is certainly no excuse for speaking on behalf of others”¹⁶⁰ The literary elements of postmodernism such as self-reflexivity, dialogics, or intertextuality, do not, according to Hulan, adequately address the *ethical* issues associated with the representation of difference:

The postmodern celebration of construction, invention, and representation suggests that, as long as readers understand that a text is those things, almost anything goes...what happens when ‘accuracy’ and ‘authenticity’ in literary representation are abandoned is a choice between naïve credulity and anything-goes relativism, neither of which offers an ethical approach.¹⁶¹

These statements are directed to Canadian literary representations of North in which, she reminds us, “it is difficult to believe, as many of these [postmodern] writers would have it, that readers ever mistake realist representation for reality itself or that they only understand the difference if it is self-consciously presented by the text.”¹⁶² At the same time, however, an element of realism persists: “[R]eaders who pick up a text about a ‘real’ place they have never seen or a ‘real’ people they do not know do so with the belief that they might find out something they do not know, something about what ‘actually’ is.”¹⁶³ Thus, literature holds an ethical responsibility to the ‘real’ because “expectations surrounding realism remain strong.”¹⁶⁴ “Preoccupation with experience means focusing on the cultural relevance of the North in Canada rather than its political relevance,” she argues, claiming this to result from a general anthropological approach to cultural others:

Because aboriginal groups are currently viewed by the mainstream as cultural rather than political entities, the ethnographic view of aboriginal peoples dominates. By concentrating on culture rather than politics, very real inequalities in power can be softened.¹⁶⁵

Interrogating cultural products—in this case photographs—as historically and culturally contingent, is a decisively political act. Viewing photographs as cultural

artifacts, as Hulan demonstrates, utilizes an ethnographic approach to culture and risks a tendency to relegate the role of Inuit communities to the cultural sphere, rather than the political. Yet, Hulan has also been criticized for not incorporating enough of the “political” in *Northern Experience*.

This thesis draws on the work of Foucault and is modelled after recent studies of the North by Grace, Hulan and Geller. Although Grace and Hulan do not focus explicitly on photography, they equally underscore representation and nation-building as imaginative practices while also asserting the necessity of remaining responsible to “the real” by asserting the political reality of their theoretical stance. To interrogate the CAE photographs reproduced in Stefansson’s *The Friendly Arctic*, for example, as actively constructing a colonial space *without* acknowledging their importance to Inuit groups in aiding a reconstruction of an Inuit past¹⁶⁶ would be problematic.

The employment of photographs within the 2003-2004 annual report of the national Inuit advocacy group, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), cited briefly in the introductory chapter, reiterates this point. The visual language with which ITK president Jose Kusugak articulates an Inuit voice (see Introduction) interacts with the black and white photographs dotting the pages of the report, each of which provides a glimpse into Kusugak’s experiences of past and present. Archival photographs of his youth are viewed alongside contemporary glimpses of Kusugak “in action” as ITK president: negotiating, making speeches, posing with co-workers, and facilitating meetings. One of the most dominant images in the text shows a group of children informally assembled before the camera in matching jackets and hats (see figure 2.1). Each individual is identified by

name in the accompanying caption which is written in Inuktituk, English, and French; a young Kusugak stands smiling, first row on the left. The author contextualizes the image:

I've found an archival photograph snapped many years ago in Chesterfield Inlet of students from Repulse Bay. Some famous Inuit can be seen in it, such as Nunavut Commissioner Peter Irniq, Canada's Ambassador to the Arctic Jack Anawack, and my author brother Michael Kusugak.¹⁶⁷

Here, the photograph interacts with Kusugak's words to produce a visual manifestation of personal memory, experience, and a legacy of continued negotiation. By conflating "past" visual Inuit identities (in the photograph) with present Inuit identities in the Canadian political and cultural arena, Kusugak powerfully asserts a tangible Inuit presence through recourse to Western "ways of seeing."

His statement is emphasized by the visual juxtaposition of the photograph with a second archival image—one accompanied by a more general caption reminiscent of the photographic describers in Jenness's report *Life of the Copper Eskimos*: "School tea break in Repulse Bay, 1956." This second image fills the page with a group of smiling and laughing children sitting outdoors drinking out of large white tin cups. A boy in the foreground glances impishly above the rim of his cup, hand shielding his left eye, as if stifling his laughter for the camera. No textual description of the image is given but its juxtaposition with Kusugak's image of "famous Inuit" subtly deconstructs an ethnographically-based photographic tradition of non-Inuit representation of Northern communities. That Kusugak's writing is part of ITK's financial summary report, is further indication of the broad corporate/political/cultural/economic context in which his message may be received. Through the interplay of text and image, Kusugak and his community are visually embedded in the negotiating process.

Kusugak's message illustrates the complexities of using deconstruction as a theoretical tool for interrogating representations of North. Kusugak, it could be argued, as "the colonized", has appropriated the written word, writing style, and still photography of "the colonizer" as a tool with which to communicate, negotiate, and thereby foster change.¹⁶⁸ As Sherrill Grace ruminates in the conclusion to *Canada and the Idea of North*

[T]he key sign of what I take, in my present context, to be *post*-coloniality is the appropriation and deployment of writing, whether the colonization being negotiated is external, between an imperial centre and a settler society, or internal, between the dominant settler culture and the aboriginal cultures being dominated.¹⁶⁹

As a whole, this thesis explores issues raised by the photography of the Canadian Arctic Expedition in the context of Canadian visual culture. This chapter, in particular, looked to theoretical strategies of approaching North as a form of representation; specifically, Grace's utilization of Foucault and the discursive formation of North. The following chapters are informed by these methods and are structured to emphasize the continual production of North-as-discourse through the visual process. In the next chapter, I will examine the CAE in terms of sovereignty and international law, in order to question the authority of the expedition—and by extension its sponsor, the Canadian government—to represent North.

¹ Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

² Ibid.

³ Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004).

⁴ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, xii.

⁵ The author explains, "One of the greatest challenges of a book like the one I have tried to write is that the subject will not stay still. Canada is not over." Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, xii.

⁶ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 24.

⁷ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 27.

⁸ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 183. Hulan adapts the term "ethnocritical" from the writings of Arnold Krupat. See, Arnold Krupat, *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

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- ⁹ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 29-59.
- ¹⁰ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 25.
- ¹¹ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 15.
- ¹² Paul Rabinow, "Representations are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 241.
- ¹³ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 186.
- ¹⁴ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 27.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 186.
- ¹⁹ Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 167-168.
- ²⁰ Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 166. Reference is to John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC/Penguin, 1972).
- ²¹ Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 8.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ Lucy Lippard, "Introduction," *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North Americans*, ed. Lucy Lippard (New York: The New Press, 1992), 20.
- ²⁴ J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi, eds. *Imaging the Arctic* (Seattle and Vancouver: University of Washington Press and University of British Columbia Press, 1998).
- ²⁵ King and Lidchi, "Introduction," *Imaging the Arctic*, 11.
- ²⁶ Kesler E. Woodward, "Persuasive Images: Photographs of Vilhjalmur Stefansson in the Stefansson Collection on Polar Exploration at Dartmouth College," in King and Lidchi, *Imaging the Arctic*, 176.
- ²⁷ Richard G. Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," *Arctic Anthropology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1989): 62, 78.
- ²⁸ Terence Wright, "The Fieldwork Photographs of Jenness and Malinowski and the Beginnings of Modern Anthropology," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1991): 41-58.
- ²⁹ Peter Kulchyski, "Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol 28, no. 2 (Summer, 1993): 21-50.
- ³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), 6.
- ³¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6-7.
- ³² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 143.
- ³³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-36.
- ³⁴ For example, Melissa K. Rombout, "Imaginary Canada: Photography and the Construction of National Identity," *Views* (Spring 1991): 4-9.
- ³⁵ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, eds., *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003); Joan Marsha Schwartz, "Agent of Sight, Site of Agency: The Photograph in the Geographical Imagination" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 1998); Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 16-45.
- ³⁶ Lisa Bloom, "National Geographic Society and Magazine: Technologies of Nationalism, Race, and Gender," in *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 57-82; Bloom also applies this approach to her discussion of the National Geographic Society's attempt, in a 1988 commemorative video, to redress its colonial legacy through appeals to multiculturalism, which, she argues, fails to dismantle the power of white masculinity as central to Geographic's nationalist discourse. See, Lisa Bloom, "Constructing Whiteness: Popular Science and *National Geographic* in the Age of Multiculturalism," *Configurations* 2, no. 1 (1994): 15-32.
- ³⁷ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books ed. (New York: Random House, 1979).
- ³⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 2.
- ³⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 4.
- ⁴⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 54-55.
- ⁴¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 2.

- ⁴² Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, "Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 4-5.
- ⁴³ Gísli Pálsson, *Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*, trans. Keneva Kunz (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005), 308-311; Gísli Pálsson, "Arcticity: Gender, Race, and Geography in the Writings of Vilhjalmur Stefansson," in *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Scientific Practices*, ed. Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 2002), 275-309; and Gísli Pálsson, ed., *Writing on Ice: The Ethnographic Notebooks of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001), 72-78.
- ⁴⁴ Pálsson, "Arcticity," 277.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture and European Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 142.
- ⁴⁷ Arnold, *Problem of Nature*, 7.
- ⁴⁸ Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination, 1818-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).
- ⁴⁹ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) 17.
- ⁵⁰ Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson," 31.
- ⁵¹ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 2.
- ⁵² Mitchell, "Introduction," 1-2.
- ⁵³ Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 14.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 15.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness," in Mitchell, *Landscape and Power*, 265.
- ⁵⁸ Mitchell, "Holy Landscape," 265.
- ⁵⁹ Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 13.
- ⁶⁰ Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographic 'Types': The Pursuit of Method," *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990): 237.
- ⁶¹ Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 19.
- ⁶² Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 21.
- ⁶³ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, The Gigantic, The Souvenir, The Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).
- ⁶⁴ Moira McLoughlin, "Of Boundaries and Borders: First Nations' History in Museums," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 18 no. 3 (Summer, 1993): 365-396.
- ⁶⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination, and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 66.
- ⁶⁶ In this context, I use the word "explorer" interchangeably to mean both the scientists on the expedition, who built careers with scientific and government institutions and to whom exploration was a method of conducting research and the conventional "explorer" such as Stefansson: a university trained anthropologist who engaged in scientific pursuits but whose principal career was exploration itself.
- ⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 1972).
- ⁶⁸ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 183.
- ⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse," trans. Ian McLeod, in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 51-78.
- ⁷⁰ Foucault explains the descriptive elements of his method: "...instead of reconstituting *chains of inference* (as one often does in the history of the sciences or of philosophy), instead of drawing up *tables of differences* (as the linguists do), [archaeology] would describe *systems of dispersion*." (Italics in original) Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 37.
- ⁷¹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 27.
- ⁷² Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 21.
- ⁷³ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J.B. Baillie, 2nd ed. (1931; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1967).
- ⁷⁴ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Preface: On Scientific Knowledge," in *Phenomenology of Mind*, 81.

- ⁷⁵ Foucault does not specifically reference Hegel in this discussion, but describes “universal mediation” as “the movement of a logos which elevates particularities to the status of concepts and allows immediate consciousness to unfurl in the end the whole rationality of the world.” Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 66.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷⁷ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 65.
- ⁷⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 49.
- ⁷⁹ Jacques Derrida, “From Restricted to General Economy: A Hegelianism without Reserve” in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 260-262.
- ⁸⁰ Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 49.
- ⁸¹ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 66. This is a reference to structuralist thinking.
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ The external systems of exclusion include: prohibition, the binary distinction between reason and madness, and the binary true/false, which Foucault discusses as the ‘will to knowledge’ or ‘will to truth.’ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 54.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 55.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 56.
- ⁹¹ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 67.
- ⁹² Robert Young has interpreted “rarefaction” as follows: “[T]he internal procedures of rarefaction consist in discourses which exercise their own control, which limit themselves, through principles such as the commentary, the author, the ‘discipline’.” Robert Young, “Michel Foucault,” in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 49.
- ⁹³ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 67.
- ⁹⁴ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).
- ⁹⁵ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 67.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ⁹⁸ Foucault refers to *aléa* as the “dimension of chance.” Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 68.
- ⁹⁹ Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 67.
- ¹⁰⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 88.
- ¹⁰¹ In *The Empire Writes Back*, discourse is referred to as “a firmly bounded area of social knowledge.” See, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 164.
- ¹⁰² Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 117.
- ¹⁰³ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 87. (Emphasis added)
- ¹⁰⁴ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 104.
- ¹⁰⁵ For example, see John Tagg, “The Currency of the Photograph,” in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 153-183.
- ¹⁰⁶ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 105.
- ¹⁰⁷ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 123.
- ¹⁰⁸ Foucault explains that statements “do not have quite the same mode of existence, the same system of relations with their environment, the same schemata of use, the same possibilities of transformation once they have been said.” Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 124.
- ¹⁰⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 144.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 38. (Italics in original)
- ¹¹² Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 116.
- ¹¹³ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 146.
- ¹¹⁴ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 115.

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- ¹¹⁵ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 118
¹¹⁶ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 119
¹¹⁷ Ibid.
¹¹⁸ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 114
¹¹⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 138
¹²⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 138-139
¹²¹ Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back*, 166.
¹²² Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, xiii.
¹²³ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 27.
¹²⁴ Bloom, "National Geographic Society and Magazine," 57-82; Bloom, "Constructing Whiteness," 15-32.
¹²⁵ See Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 27-30.
¹²⁶ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 29-30
¹²⁷ Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1991) 4.
¹²⁸ Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 3.
¹²⁹ Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 5.
¹³⁰ Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 3-4.
¹³¹ Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 5.
¹³² Nichols, *Representing Reality*, 4.
¹³³ Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," in *The Location of Culture*, 102-122.
¹³⁴ See Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," in *The Location of Culture*, 34.
¹³⁵ Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders," 107.
¹³⁶ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 34.
¹³⁷ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 38.
¹³⁸ Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders," 107.
¹³⁹ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 38.
¹⁴⁰ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 38-39.
¹⁴¹ Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 15.
¹⁴² Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 9.
¹⁴³ Ibid.
¹⁴⁴ Ibid.
¹⁴⁵ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 34-35.
¹⁴⁶ Bhabha, "The Commitment to Theory," 34.
¹⁴⁷ Ibid.
¹⁴⁸ Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back*, 35.
¹⁴⁹ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 187.
¹⁵⁰ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 178.
¹⁵¹ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 16.
¹⁵² Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, xv.
¹⁵³ Ibid.
¹⁵⁴ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, xvi.
¹⁵⁵ Ibid.
¹⁵⁶ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 268.
¹⁵⁷ Ibid.
¹⁵⁸ Ibid.
¹⁵⁹ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 115-123.
¹⁶⁰ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 18.
¹⁶¹ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 17.
¹⁶² Ibid.
¹⁶³ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 17-18.
¹⁶⁴ Hulan, *Northern Experience*, 18.
¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ For a discussion of “visual repatriation” as a strategy with which to examine the photographic archive, see Carol Payne, “Lessons with Leah: Re-Reading the Photographic Archive of Nation in the National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division,” *Visual Studies* 21, no. 1 (April, 2006): 4-22.

¹⁶⁷ Jose A. Kusugak, “President’s Message,” in Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, *Annual Summary Report, 2003-2004* (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2004), 2.

¹⁶⁸ Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back*, 78.

¹⁶⁹ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 232.

CHAPTER THREE

Constructing the CAE as Authority: *Terra Nullius* and Canadian Arctic Sovereignty

In 1914 the Canadian Arctic Expedition established itself at Dolphin and Union Strait and spent two years in exploring the surrounding country...Finally in the summer of 1916, the Hudson's Bay Company established a post in Bernard Harbour, where the Canadian Arctic Expedition had just vacated, and other white traders and western Eskimos prepared to follow in their train. The barriers which have separated this country from the outside world for so many centuries have been swept away, and this last outpost of the Eskimo race is now thrown open to the invader.¹

The image of landscape described here by CAE ethnographer Diamond Jenness reads as a series of "outposts," settlements and establishments, mapping out the Arctic through the explorer's lens. Employing a language of containment where "barriers" are removed and "boundaries" redefined, Jenness articulates a space over which the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE) was able to traverse thereby reinforcing the Canadian government's claim to the region. Words such as "vacated," "separated," and "thrown open" attest to the active presence of the explorer, the protagonist in a narrative of discovery and Western expansion. Taken from Jenness's ethnographic report for the CAE, these sentences serve to ground the collective action of the expedition in a colonial landscape where events are represented by the lines, curves, and demarcations of the geographic map.

Jenness's words narrate a central tenet of imperialist discourse which W.J.T. Mitchell ties to landscape: the imperialist power "conceives itself precisely (and simultaneously) as an expansion of landscape understood as an inevitable, progressive development in history, an expansion of 'culture' and 'civilization' into a 'natural' space in a progress that is itself narrated as 'natural'."² The construction of north as a space of nature to be explored, documented, and subsequently analysed by experts "at home" in

the metropolitan centre establishes the authority of the CAE—and by extension, its sponsor, the Canadian government—to assert Canada’s sovereignty in the north-western Arctic and Arctic Archipelago.

Why was the CAE able to traverse this landscape of North? On what authority did/does the legitimacy of statements like those of Jenness rest? How do photographs inform—and how are they informed by—this authority? Such questions look to the dynamics of power and representation circulating within (and exterior to) North as a discursive formation. A key element of this dynamic is the CAE, which circulates throughout these publications as a seemingly cohesive unit or event presenting North as a “knowable” place capable of being understood exhaustively and in its entirety. But the authority of the CAE to picture North, I contend, is grounded in the legality of “sovereignty” itself as defined in international law.

By spatializing sovereignty as discourse—understood in Foucauldian terms as an area of social knowledge—I am able to map out its structures and limitations, to question its “instances of control” and describe the “principles of sanctioning, exclusion, and scarcity”³ in its operation. To this end, as discussed in the preceding chapter, I have engaged in Foucault’s method of critical discourse analysis⁴ leading me to isolate, describe, and question “sovereignty” as a self-evident construct within the publications of the CAE. The unity of sovereignty as discourse, in this context, is sustained through its participation in the construction of north as a space of nature into which the CAE was able to “enter” and “exit.” As Jenness’s words indicate, sovereignty establishes boundaries of “inside” and “outside”, “civilized” and “non-civilized,” and privileges the experience of the explorer as a harbinger of truth through critical devices such as time

and distance to naturalize a governmental presence in the region. Canadian Arctic sovereignty, I contend, is not *predicated* on the construction of North as a space of nature; it is a complex process which continually and actively *produces* North as such. Consequently, the role of historical context, historiography, and narrative in constructing place will be central to my analysis.

The subject of this chapter is to introduce the background of positivist jurisprudence on which the concept of sovereignty rests and connect it to the exploration narrative of the Canadian Arctic Expedition as presented in the publications and visualized through photography. The basis for my analysis is Antony Anghie's *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, which problematizes the development of positivist jurisprudence in nineteenth-century international law as a strategy with which to manage the colonial encounter.⁵ The publications of the CAE, I will argue, visualize this positivist conception of sovereignty as a means of constructing North as an extension of the Canadian landscape. Photography is central to this process as providing a specular witness to North as both *terra incognita* and *terra nullius*—two elements of the sovereignty doctrine on which Canadian authority over the Arctic Archipelago rest.

Foucault's critique of "the will to truth" examined in Chapter Two is enmeshed in a rethinking of history as historicity—a consciously constructed, temporal, and continuously shifting process. Historicity involves mapping the interplay of "event" and "series" in the *writing* of history.⁶ Foucault's method emphasises chance, discontinuity, and materiality as "a triple peril, which a certain form of history tries to exorcise by narrating the continuous unravelling of an ideal necessity."⁷ Approaching history through

what it tries to mask, therefore, “should allow us to connect the history of systems of thought to the practice of historians.”⁸

Looking to narrative (what Foucault calls “commentaries”) is a strategy to understand history as historicity—why some statements are “said once and preserved because it is suspected that behind them there is a secret or treasure.”⁹ The repetition of preserved statements “limits the chance element in discourse”¹⁰ by supposing “a meaning which has to be rediscovered...an identity which has to be repeated.”¹¹ At the same time, however, my main project is disrupting the transparency of photographic meaning in the publications of the CAE; this requires a consideration of the photograph as a material object with specific, locatable contexts of production, reception, and circulation.

Resolving the methodological need for contextualizing the photograph, while simultaneously articulating the precariousness of context in “historicity” is a tension permeating this study and reveals the ambivalence of attempting to “situate” identity.

Defining Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century International Law

When read as a “flexible instrument” borne out of the colonial encounter,¹² sovereignty, as defined by nineteenth-century international law, engages in the creation and maintenance of cultural difference—what Antony Anghie has deemed a “dynamic of difference.”¹³ Anghie reads late nineteenth-century international law through a post-colonial lens to argue that the sovereignty doctrine—a term with which he defines the “complex of rules deciding what entities are sovereign, and the powers and limits of sovereignty”¹⁴—not only legitimized colonial conquest but was itself shaped by the imperial process. “Colonialism,” Anghie argues, “was not an example of the application of sovereignty; rather, sovereignty was constituted through colonialism.”¹⁵ Sovereignty’s

malleability as a jurisprudential concept is reflected in its varied interpretations both in naturalist law, dominant in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and late nineteenth-century positivist jurisprudence:

In the naturalist scheme, the sovereign administered a system of natural law by which it was bound. Positivism, by way of contrast, asserts, not only that the sovereign administers and enforces the law, but that law itself is the creation of sovereign will.¹⁶

Naturalist jurisprudence invoked transcendental laws of nature based on reason, morality, and social interaction to which each sovereign nation, whether European or non-European, was bound. With positivist jurisprudence, transcendental laws are replaced by the sovereign nation itself as a principal “actor” within an international community of sovereign nations “bound only by that to which they have consented.”¹⁷ Thus jurists in the nineteenth century sought to “reconstruct the entire system of international law as a creation of sovereign will.”¹⁸ Anghie reads this transition through positivism’s cultural inflections: the influence of scientific thought and taxonomy on defining “the sovereign”; the institutionalization of law as a means of separating “civilized” societies from “uncivilized” and its racialized strategies “for explaining why the non-European world was excluded from international law”¹⁹; its essentialist indoctrination of the “primitive” or “native” society as the “Other” which, “was not so much outside international law awaiting its ordering ministrations, but within the very heart of the discipline.”²⁰ The creation and maintenance of difference is, therefore, a common strategy in positivist definitions of sovereignty:

Jurists using the conceptual tools of positivism postulated a gap, understood principally in terms of cultural differences, between the civilized European and uncivilized non-European world; having established this gap they then proceeded to devise a series of techniques for bridging this gap, of civilizing the uncivilized.²¹

Interrogating nineteenth-century positivist jurisprudence and its definition of sovereignty is, for Anghie, to question “how its continuing effects within the contemporary legal system may be obscured.”²²

Two aspects of the positivist sovereignty doctrine are endemic to the Canadian government’s deployment of the Canadian Arctic Expedition in 1913: the doctrines of discovery (embodied by *terra incognita* or “invisible land”) and *terra nullius* (“empty” land) on which territorial ownership among expanding imperial powers was often negotiated.²³ Each of these concepts privileges the visual as a means of defining the parameters of landscape: the doctrine of discovery stipulated ownership of new land based on “first sighting” (by a European power); *terra nullius* embodies the perception of landscape as “unsettled” and, therefore, “unoccupied” and available for acquisition. Characterizing landscape in universalist terms as the “common property of all mankind,”²⁴ sovereignty constructs territory by appealing to the *ability* to see. Consequently, *terra incognita* and *terra nullius* encompass “new” land and also that which remains unseen: regions in imaginative existence “waiting to be discovered” and, presumably, in a state of nature.

Arctic Sovereignty by Right of Discovery (Terra Incognita)

Rooted in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century imperialism, the doctrine of discovery stipulated that ownership of “new” land “by the representative of one nation was sufficient to exclude all the others from the region discovered.”²⁵ Claiming ownership by right of discovery was formalized internationally by written notification to other “major Western nations in order for them to be able to file any complaints”²⁶ or contest the appropriation. Great Britain’s title to regions in the (now Canadian) Arctic and Arctic

Archipelago rested “upon acts of discovery and possession,”²⁷ dating back to before the explorations of Sir John Franklin. These titles were subsequently transferred to Canada by virtue of two imperial Orders-in-Council: that of 1870, granting the Canadian government title to Rupert’s Land, which Britain had owned through the Hudson’s Bay Company; and Canadian rights to ownership of the Arctic Archipelago, which were vaguely encompassed by the second imperial Order-in-Council of 1880 transferring all British territories to Canada, including any adjacent islands.²⁸ This included a substantial portion of northern land, what is now Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon Territory. Fifteen years passed, however, before the Canadian government officially recognized this land transfer through legislation establishing four new districts in the North territory: Ungava, Mackenzie, Yukon, and Franklin.²⁹ The parameters of the Arctic Archipelago were clarified in 1897 whereby “the districts of Yukon and Mackenzie were redefined to include all islands within twenty miles of their coasts, and all other Canadian Arctic islands were assigned to the district of Franklin.”³⁰

In terms of international law, however, it was possible for other sovereign nations to dispute Canada’s ownership of the Arctic Archipelago. By the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the discovery doctrine had proven to be contentious: “No rights of property were recognized in Roman law as following upon mere discovery; and little respect was shown by writers for claims of this character.”³¹ Thus, the act of “discovery alone is not sufficient to give a good title to a new, unoccupied land,” explained American jurist Thomas Willing Balch in 1910. “The custom among nations for centuries...is that in order to perfect the right given by discovery, it must be followed by occupation.”³² Balch cites eighteenth-century jurist Bluntschli, from article 281 of his *Le*

Droit International Codifié: “No state has the right to incorporate with itself more territory, uninhabited or inhabited by barbarous tribes, than it can civilize or that it can organize politically. The sovereignty of the State exists only if it is exercised as fact.”³³

By the early twentieth century, discovery by “first sight” did confer inchoate title, a right to occupy the land discovered, but “that title is evanescent, and if the occupation is not carried out within a reasonable time, it will lapse, and other nations will be free to annex and occupy the territory.”³⁴ Discovery, consequently, acknowledged the observation of *terra incognita*, but possession of the new landscape was contingent upon a nation’s ability to establish a current and future interest in the region. As Diamond Jenness would later write, to receive international recognition “possession demands the acceptance of two responsibilities: continuing interest in the territory, and a concern for the welfare of its inhabitants.”³⁵ W.F. King, Chief Astronomer of Canada, reported in 1905 that the Canadian government displayed neither in the Arctic Archipelago and its claims to ownership were nefarious and contentious in international law.³⁶

Arctic Sovereignty through Terra Nullius

According to Russian jurist Fedor de Martens, government sponsorship of exploratory ventures was necessary to validate a sovereign nation’s possession of new land by right of discovery. Once discovered, possession was contingent on the nation’s continued interest in the region:

The occupation is effective if the State that has undertaken it is resolved to submit to its power the territory that it has discovered, occupied, and annexed. This resolution...manifests itself externally by the national flag, arms and other symbols, but especially, by the material occupation of the newly discovered land...*One can occupy only lands that belong to no one and inhabited by barbarous tribes.*³⁷

Thus the ownership of *terra incognita* by a sovereign nation also rested on the assessment of the newly discovered land as *terra nullius*, or “empty land.” The definition of land as *terra nullius* is based on the Roman legal argument *res nullius* in which all unoccupied lands “remained the common property of all mankind until they were put to some, generally agricultural use. The first person to use the land in this way became its owner.”³⁸ The universality of the descriptor “unoccupied land” extended to regions with nomadic populations, such as the western Arctic, which were not considered occupiers due to a perceived absence of concrete settlement. In English law, lack of settlement indicated a lack of private property, and the rights bestowed therein; land was consequently viewed as undeveloped and its non-Western inhabitants lacking in political jurisdiction.³⁹

Anthropologist Michael Asch relates Canada’s legal conception of sovereignty—which is borne out of English law—to *terra nullius*, “a territory without people...one that was either previously unoccupied or not recognized as belonging to another political entity.”⁴⁰ The concept of *terra nullius* legally establishes that what is now Canadian land was considered vacant at the time of colonization, as Aboriginal communities were often viewed as too “primitive” to warrant political or legal recognition by the colonizing power.⁴¹ Although measures were taken by Britain, such as the Royal Proclamation of 1763, intended to curb the abuse of land claim agreements and “purchases” made under the ideology of *terra nullius*,⁴² the positivist reconfiguration of imperial doctrine in the nineteenth century did not override the concept of *terra nullius* as a legal basis for colonization. For example, *terra nullius* “was accepted until very recently as the official legal basis for the annexation of Australia by the British Crown;”⁴³ and in the context of

Canada, as the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 demonstrated, the legacy of both *terra nullius* and the doctrine of discovery have persisted in a colonial mentality towards land claims negotiations.⁴⁴

This, I would argue, is especially cogent in Canada's Arctic regions where environmental factors reinforced (and continue to reinforce) the perception of *terra nullius* and where treaty agreements were often not negotiated by British explorers at the time of colonization despite the presence of Inuit populations. While not focusing specifically on the Arctic, Michael Asch and Norman Zlotkin do reference the north as falling under a federal government "comprehensive claims policy" directed at Aboriginal regions where specific land claim treaties were not historically negotiated.⁴⁵ In these regions, Aboriginal sovereignty is assumed to be extinguished by the assertion of sovereignty by the British Crown. For example, areas of the western Arctic Archipelago fall into this category, as evidenced by the *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act* of 1984.⁴⁶

Visualizing the Arctic as Terra Nullius

The area traversed by the Canadian Arctic Expedition—the north-western Arctic coast and western Arctic Archipelago—was, throughout the early twentieth century, continually defined in the discourse of international law as "uninhabited land" and, in conjunction with the Antarctic, comprised "the parts of the earth in which are to be found the most important uninhabited areas that remain open to acquisition as *territoria nullius*."⁴⁷ *Terra nullius* embodies Mitchell's imperial landscape in which non-Western cultures often appear unable to appreciate both the aesthetic and material value of the land on which they reside, values which are presented as "obvious to the Western

observer.”⁴⁸ Consequently, “the primitive or aboriginal dweller on the land...is seen as part of the landscape, not as a self-consciously detached viewer who sees nature for its own sake.”⁴⁹ Paradoxically, “the failure of the native to exploit, develop, and ‘improve’ the landscape is...what makes it so valuable, so ripe for appropriation.” The supposedly “underdeveloped character” of the land is highlighted, and

...seems to confer a presumptive right of conquest and colonization on the Western observer, who comes armed both with weapons and arguments to underwrite the legitimacy of his appropriation of the land. Landscape thus serves as an aesthetic alibi for conquest, a way of naturalizing imperial expansion and even making it look disinterested in a Kantian sense.⁵⁰

Reading *terra nullius* as social practice reveals its ambivalence as a self-perpetuating tautology whose, “Archimedean point is its belief in the propriety of ownership given that, prior to ‘discovery’, the land was not owned.”⁵¹ Vasuki Nesiah has linked the adjudication of colonial laws such as *terra nullius* to colonial discourse of landscape.⁵² *Terra nullius*, for Nesiah, is understood “as an optic through which we see the territorial landscape.”⁵³ Examining landscape *as* a distorted gaze—which she identifies with the process of refraction—territories deemed *terra nullius* in international law are “‘not merely’ geographical sites ‘where political struggle takes place’,” but instead “they become constitutive of the heterogeneous voices that define conceptions of the nation.”⁵⁴ Refraction, consequently, “enables us to think of a plurality of values as internal to the gaze.”⁵⁵

Recently, scholars of geography have applied the visualization of *terra nullius* to cartography as a colonial practice, investigating the ways in which the mapping of “hinterland” regions contributes to an ongoing representation of imperial mentalities. Mapping, from this perspective becomes a rhetorical strategy through which “sovereignty” is expressed through the representation of abstract knowledge.

Geographical discoveries are complex processes, not single historical events, according to Urban Wråzburg, involving “social actors” who impart rhetorical supporting arguments in favour of their interests “including on the scientific side such things as the right scientific method of observation, and the proper reporting of new results.”⁵⁶

Ideology of the Arctic as Terra Nullius in Scientific Practice

[W]e are now able to take an intelligent...and scientific view of the Arctic Regions, and to see exactly what remains to be discovered, and how the unknown parts would fit in and make the whole problem complete. Until lately we had before us many unconnected stories of discoveries in one direction or another. Now, thanks to the researches of scientific thinkers and explorers, each discovery is falling naturally into its place. We can see the whole grand edifice, and note what stones are wanting to make it perfect.⁵⁷

Summarizing the state of Arctic geographical research in 1906, Sir Clements Markham (1830-1916), British geographer, explorer, and President of the Royal Geographical Society, visualizes an unfurling of Arctic space as the culmination of decades of Western exploration and scientific investigation in the Polar Regions. A sense of inevitability permeates his discussion as “each discovery is falling naturally into its place” and the remaining *terra incognita* soon-to-be illuminated: “[O]ur knowledge is incomplete, and the more incomplete it is on certain points the more urgent it is that the truth should be sought for and discovered.”⁵⁸

Publications in Canadian, British, and American circulation during the decades leading up to the CAE attest to the international efforts of exploration parties to “fill in the gaps” of Arctic knowledge by searching for *terra incognita* and through the scientific observation of *terra nullius*: Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen’s *Farthest North* detailed his discovery of a deep polar basin in the Arctic Ocean in the 1890s; Otto Sverdrup’s *New Land: Four Years in the Arctic Regions* (published in English in 1904) charted the

discovery of several islands west of Ellesmere in the Arctic Archipelago; the much publicized attainment of the North Pole by American Robert Peary reached a wide audience through his narrative account in 1910; Frederick Cook contested Peary's discovery and claimed the achievement for himself in *My Attainment of the Pole*.⁵⁹ Like Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*, these thick volumes were heavily illustrated by fold-out maps and fieldwork photographs, combining scientific reportage with exploration adventure narration.

The publication of a popular narrative becomes synonymous with the historical events surrounding its conception, the personality of the author, and with a literary tradition of writing about the North.⁶⁰ Explorers such as Peary coveted relationships with scientific institutions as well as with newspapers and newsreel cinematographers. As Lisa Bloom has demonstrated, the dissemination of these images to the public through popular magazines such as *National Geographic*, aided in the publicity of the expedition as well as in promoting the scientific acquisition of knowledge about a coherent Arctic space.⁶¹ Before the departure of the CAE in June of 1913, Stefansson signed a contract with the *New York Times* promising exclusive coverage; he also employed a photographer and cinematographer, George Hubert Wilkins, through London's Gaumont Company, which also had ties with the London *Daily Chronicle*.

The plausibility of land existing in this region—an Arctic continent—was debated in scientific circles throughout the decade preceding the CAE. “[T]he only great discovery that remains to be achieved,” urged Markham, “lies over the continental shelf of the Beaufort sea.”⁶² The most vocal advocate for the hypothetical “polar continent” was R.A. Harris of the United States Coastal and Geodetic Survey, who based his

argument on tidal observations of surface currents off of the coast of eastern Siberia, Alaska and the Bering Strait.⁶³ Harris found a supporter in Peary—who claimed to have seen land in this region during his quest for the North Pole—while Nansen believed the existence of a deep polar basin to be more feasible.⁶⁴ Alfred H. Harrison’s 1908 expedition chronicled in his book *In Search of a Polar Continent* did little to resolve these questions. By 1912-13, when planning the Canadian Arctic Expedition, Stefansson positioned the CAE within this debate: “It is the main purpose of the Canadian Arctic Expedition to explore as large a section as possible of this vast stretch, the size of which...is likely to surprise all but a few geographic specialists.”⁶⁵ He reiterates Markham’s rhetoric from 1906, “The one place upon the surface of the whole Earth where the discovery of new land is possible is...in the unexplored section of the Arctic sea lying west of the Parry archipelago, north of western America and north of eastern Asia.”⁶⁶

The ideology of the Arctic as *terra nullius* encapsulates the positivist spirit of the natural sciences during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, cementing Arctic exploration with scientific analysis and a privileging of cumulative knowledge. The publications of the Southern Party of the CAE (see appendix A) encompass the main branches of what was generally referred to in this period as “natural history”: zoology (including marine biology), entomology, botany, meteorology and hydrography, geology, geography, and anthropology. The naturalist tradition has, in the writing of the history of science, often been relegated to the status of an “old-fashioned” colonial precursor to modern twentieth-century science: the naturalist seeking to “uncover the large-scale pattern of living nature, through collecting in the field and classifying in the museum”

while “‘modern’ biologists in their laboratories sought to penetrate the internal workings of the living organism to discover fundamental causes.”⁶⁷ Critical reappraisals of this narrative have problematized its underpinning of progressive development by looking to scientific practice as a social historical phenomenon.⁶⁸ As a social practice, natural history has been interrogated for its role in Western imperialism, highlighting the interdependence of Western science and colonization:

Colonial expansion enlarged universal knowledge. Science became a key aspect of a global intelligence system, which served best the interests of those best placed to receive its data. Science became, in turn, both a colonizing ideology and an agency of colonial self-identity. For a colony, the pursuit of science became a license for membership in the community of nations.⁶⁹

Photographing North as Terra Nullius and Terra Incognita

As Nancy Fogelson has noted, this international perception of the Arctic Archipelago as a *terra nullius* that could be explored at will, threatened Canada’s claims to sovereignty in the region.⁷⁰ The need to assert a sovereign presence in the face of international encroachments in the Arctic islands was behind Prime Minister Borden and Geological Survey Director Reginald Walter Brock’s enthusiastic sponsorship of the CAE. As Borden admits in his introduction to *The Friendly Arctic*, “the Government preferred that Canada should assume entire responsibility for the Expedition, as any lands yet undiscovered in these northern regions should be added to Canadian territory.”⁷¹ The incorporation of photography into this practice was well established by this period indicating, as Jim Burant surmises, “an ongoing government commitment to using photography to maintain and to enhance its influence in the north.”⁷² As the first federally-sponsored expedition to make extensive use of photography, the expedition of Albert P. Low with the *Neptune* in 1903-04, had helped to establish a Royal North West

Mounted Police (RNWMP) post and facilitated the monitoring of whaling licences and customs duties in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. The extension of Canadian government jurisprudence to the region became visualized through “proclamations and by the enforcement of customs laws”⁷³ as well as through surveying the area’s natural resources and engaging in ethnography. Captain Joseph-Elzéar Bernier’s images were also circulated during this period in a more overt display of symbolic sovereignty. Bernier’s photographs, as pictured in his government reports, repetitively picture a planted flag and stone cairn on each region visited, displacing “interest in the Aboriginal inhabitants, [and] reimagining the entire Arctic as an extension of Canadian territory.”⁷⁴ The planting of the flag, consequently, gestures to the occupation of the region as *terra nullius*.

The number of photographers encountered by members of the CAE while in the region attests to the widespread activity of picturing North during this period. Wilkins’ diary mentions several photographers, most frequently in Alaska in the vicinity of Collinson Point, where the CAE was forced to winter from 1913-1914 due to unseasonable ice conditions. There Wilkins perused the fieldwork photographs of Joseph Dixon, an ornithologist who was collecting specimens (including photographs) for the Harvard-Smithsonian Expedition (1913-14)⁷⁵ and met the expedition’s photographer, Will E. Hudson.⁷⁶ Hudson was a newspaper photographer and cinematographer for the *Seattle Province-Intelligence* newspaper, who took photographs of the CAE at Collinson Point⁷⁷ and would meet up with members of the Southern Party again in 1916 as they arrived in Seattle following their departure from the CAE.⁷⁸ Wilkins also mentions Hazo,

a Japanese photographer with the freighter *Belvedere* who had “spent some ten years in the Arctic accumulating a complete set of pictures typical of Alaska.”⁷⁹

The geographic and political boundaries of the regions traversed by the Canadian Arctic Expedition have been reconfigured over the past thirty years by Inuit and Inuvialuit land claim settlements. The coastal region of the Mackenzie River Delta combed by O’Neill, Cox, and Chipman has been legally recognized as the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) through the *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act* of 1984;⁸⁰ the ISR also absorbs Brock Island and three quarters of Borden Island discovered by the Northern Party of the CAE in 1916 and 1917. In 1992, the area of the southwest Mackenzie Delta surrounding Fort McPherson and Inuvik was redefined by the *Gwich’in Land Claim Settlement Act*⁸¹ recognizing the Gwich’in Settlement Region for local Dené and Métis inhabitants. The remaining two islands discovered by Stefansson’s Northern Party, Meighen and Lougheed, were incorporated into the territory of Nunavut in 1999, as were the Coronation Gulf and Dolphin and Union Strait coastal regions.⁸²

The land claims process for Aboriginal communities is intimately connected with the existence—and legal recognition—of Aboriginal rights and title.⁸³ In the cases of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and Nunavut, current claims implementation disputes highlight the conflicting perspectives on the identification of these rights: the federal government approaching claims negotiations with the goal of incorporating Aboriginal rights into an underlying framework of Canadian land ownership, while Aboriginal communities consider their Aboriginal rights and title as self-defining and “deriving from sources external to the Canadian legal system and constitution.”⁸⁴ Settlement claims for Aboriginal communities, therefore, are more than contracts demarcating boundaries; they

are a means of facilitating long-term relationships with the Crown and a vehicle for the (eventual) implementation of self-government:

There is...within the Federal Government, the misleading view that, with the ratification of land claim agreements, and the creation of Nunavut, Inuit issues 'have been dealt with'. This view also distorts the Inuit presence in Canada, which is made up of four regions: Labrador (Nunatsiavut), Northern Quebec (Nunavik), Nunavut, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories. Many forget that half of the Inuit population lives in regions outside of Nunavut.⁸⁵

With these words, the “presence” of Aboriginal communities in the Canadian political landscape is expressed not only through recognition of distinct northern geographical regions (Nunavut, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, and Inuvialuit) but also by problematizing the narration of the nation as “sovereign” in discourses of cultural identity. Viewing the above statement through Bhabha’s concept of cultural hybridity illustrates this point:

To see the cultural not as the *source* of conflict—*different* cultures—but as the *effect* of discriminatory practices—the production of cultural *differentiation* as signs of authority—changes its value and its rules of recognition. Hybridity intervenes in the exercise of authority not merely to indicate the impossibility of its identity but to represent the unpredictability of its presence.⁸⁶

The assertion of Aboriginal rights and identities as self-defining disrupts the authority of nation as a homogenizing representational strategy, one that legitimates its sovereignty through the narration of “cultural difference.” Instead, in the hybrid space, the “topos of the narrative [of the nation] is neither the transcendental, pedagogical idea of History nor the institution of the State, but a strange temporality of the repetition of one in the other.”⁸⁷

This chapter has addressed the legal authority underpinning the visualization of North as *terra nullius* and *terra incognita* in the photography reproduced in the publications of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. I have questioned why the expedition

was able to photograph the North and addressed the legal implications of “asserting sovereignty” in the region—issues that inform the circulation of images within (and exterior to) North as a discursive formation. I will now, in Chapter Four, move to a visual analysis of the sovereign landscape these images construct and examine specific photographs produced by and published under the auspices of the CAE.

¹ Diamond Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 12, part A (Ottawa: Acland, 1922), 28, 31.

² W.J.T. Mitchell, “Imperial Landscape,” in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 17.

³ Michel Foucault, “The Order of Discourse,” trans. Ian McLeod, in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 72.

⁴ Critical discourse analysis invokes Foucault’s principle of reversal whereby the “figures which seem to play a positive role, e.g., those of the author, the discipline, the will to truth” are examined for their negative action “of...a rarefaction of discourse.” See Foucault, “Order of Discourse,” 67.

⁵ Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁶ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 68.

⁷ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 69.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 56.

¹⁰ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 59.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Anghie, *Imperialism*, 114.

¹³ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 37.

¹⁴ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 16.

¹⁵ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 38.

¹⁶ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 41.

¹⁷ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 33.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 59.

²⁰ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 65.

²¹ Anghie, *Imperialism*, 37.

²² Anghie, *Imperialism*, 112.

²³ Alex Zukas, “Terra Incognita/Terra Nullius: Modern Imperialism, Maps, and Deception,” in *Lived Topographies and their Mediatonal Forces*, ed. Gary Backhaus and John Murungi, (New York: Lexington Books, 2005) 49-76.

²⁴ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 76.

²⁵ M.F. Lindley, *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law: Being a Treatise on the Law and Practice Relating to Colonial Expansion* (1926; repr., New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 129.

²⁶ Urban Wråkberg, “The Politics of Naming: Contested Observations and the Shaping of Geographical Knowledge” in *Narrating the Arctic: A Cultural History of Nordic Scientific Practices*, ed. Michael Bravo and Sverker Sörlin (Canton, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 2002) 158.

²⁷ W.F. King, *Report on the Title of Canada to the Islands North of the Mainland of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1905), 8.

²⁸ Richard J. Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, rev. ed. (1978; repr., Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 6.

²⁹ An amendment to the Order, in 1897, detailed the specifics: the District of Franklin included all lands and islands between the 141st meridian on the west, and on the east, Davis Strait, Baffin Bay, Smith Sound, Kennedy Channel, and Robeson Channel. See Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, 6.

³⁰ Alan Cooke, "A Gift Outright: Exploration After 1880," in *A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980*, ed. Morris Zaslow (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1981), 54.

³¹ Lindley, *Acquisition and Government*, 131.

³² Thomas Willing Balch, "The Arctic and Antarctic Regions and the Law of Nations," *American Journal of International Law* 4, no. 2 (April 1910): 266.

³³ Bluntschli, quoted in Balch, "Arctic and Antarctic," 271.

³⁴ Lindley, *Acquisition and Government*, 137.

³⁵ Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada*, Technical Paper No. 15, (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964) 17.

³⁶ King, *Report on the Title of Canada*, 8.

³⁷ Fedor de Martens, *Traité de Droit International*, vol. 1, trans. Alfred Léo (Paris: Marescq, 1883), 463, quoted in Balch, "Arctic and Antarctic," 271. (Emphasis added.)

³⁸ Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 76.

³⁹ Zukas, "Terra Incognita/Terra Nullius," 59.

⁴⁰ Michael Asch, "From Terra Nullius to Affirmation: Reconciling Aboriginal Rights with the Canadian Constitution," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 17, no. 2 (2002): 24.

⁴¹ "Canada assumes that its acquisition of sovereignty and underlying title with respect to Indigenous Peoples is unproblematic. Where treaties were negotiated, it is presumed that acquisition was always the result of a willing cessation on the part of the First Nations....[such] positions rely on colonialist presumptions about Indigenous peoples and about the status of Indigenous culture." Asch, "From Terra Nullius to Affirmation," 23.

⁴² Concepts such as *terra nullius* were cited in the Royal Proclamation as "fiction and the treaties on which it was based were deemed unequal and often extracted by force." Zukas, "Terra Incognita/Terra Nullius," 59.

⁴³ Anghie, *Imperialism* 111. See also David Mercer, "Terra Nullius, Aboriginal Sovereignty and Land Rights in Australia: The Debate Continues," *Political Geography* 12, no. 4 (1993): 299-318.

⁴⁴ In the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996, the following stipulation (1.16.2) demonstrates this legacy of colonial doctrine: "Federal, provincial and territorial governments [may] further the process of renewal by....acknowledging that concepts such as *terra nullius* and the doctrine of discovery are factually, legally and morally wrong...declaring that such concepts no longer form part of law making or policy development by Canadian governments...declaring that such concepts will not be the basis of arguments presented to the courts...committing themselves to renewal of the federation through consensual means to overcome the historical legacy of these concepts, which are impediments to Aboriginal people assuming their rightful place in the Canadian federation...and...including a declaration to these ends in the new Royal Proclamation and its companion legislation." See: Canada, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, "Appendix A: Summary of Recommendations," *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 5: Renewal, A Twenty-Year Commitment* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996), 1.16.2, http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/ska5a1_e.html#Appendix%20A:%20Summary%20of%20Recommendations,%20Volumes%201-5 (accessed August 17, 2007).

⁴⁵ Michael Asch and Norman Zlotkin, "Affirming Aboriginal Title: A New Basis for Comprehensive Claims Negotiations," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference*, ed. Michael Asch (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 208-229.

⁴⁶ See also, *Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act*, *Statutes of Canada* 1984, c. 24; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *The Western Arctic Claim: The Inuvialuit Final Agreement* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1984), http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/inu/wesar_e.pdf (accessed August 17, 2007); *The Western Arctic Claim: The Inuvialuit Final Agreement as Amended* (Inuvik: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, 1998), <http://www.fjmc.ca/publications/IFA.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2007) containing amendments to the agreement from January, 1987.

⁴⁷ Lindley, *Acquisition and Government*, 4.

⁴⁸ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 265-266.

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- ⁴⁹ Mitchell, "Holy Landscape, 265-266.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Robert Maxwell Gill, "Pedagogies of Nation: *Terra Nullius*, the Group of Seven and the Experience of Art" (PhD diss., York University, 2000), 124.
- ⁵² Vasuki Nesiah, "Placing International Law: White Spaces on a Map," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 16 (2003): 1-35.
- ⁵³ Nesiah, "Placing International Law," 34.
- ⁵⁴ Nesiah, "Placing International Law," 35.
- ⁵⁵ Nesiah, "Placing International Law," 34.
- ⁵⁶ Wråkberg, "The Politics of Naming," 159.
- ⁵⁷ Clements R. Markham, "On the Next Great Arctic Discovery: The Beaufort Sea," *Geographical Journal* 27, no. 1 (January 1906): 1.
- ⁵⁸ Markham, "Next Great Arctic Discovery," 9.
- ⁵⁹ Fridtjof Nansen and Lieutenant Johnson, *Farthest North: Being a Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Fram," 1893-96, and of a Fifteen Month's Sleigh Journey* (Westminster: A. Constable, 1897); Otto Sverdrup, *New Land: Four Years in the Arctic Regions*, trans. Ethel Harriet Hearn (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904); Robert E. Peary, *The North Pole: Its Discovery in 1909 under the Auspices of the Peary Arctic Club* (New York: Stokes, 1910); Frederick Albert Cook, *My Attainment of the Pole: Being the Record of the Expedition that First Reached the Boreal Center, 1907-1909* (New York: Kennerly, 1913).
- ⁶⁰ Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 2001), 174.
- ⁶¹ Lisa Bloom, *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 57-82.
- ⁶² Markham, "Next Great Arctic Discovery," 9.
- ⁶³ R.A. Harris, "Evidences of Land near the North Pole," *Report of the Eighth International Geographical Congress held in the United States, 1904*, eds. Henry Gannett, James Page, and Gilbert H. Grosvenor (Washington: GPO, 1905), 397-406. Harris also promoted his theory in a feature article in *National Geographic Magazine*. See R.A. Harris, "Some Indications of Land in the Vicinity of the North Pole," *National Geographic Magazine* (June 1904): 255-261.
- ⁶⁴ Fridtjof Nansen, "On North Polar Problems," *Geographical Journal* 30, no. 5 (November 1907): 469-487.
- ⁶⁵ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, "The Canadian Arctic Expedition," *Geographical Journal* 42, no. 1 (July, 1913): 49.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid. That Stefansson's article appeared in the *Geographical Journal*, which was published by Markham's (former) institution, the Royal Geographical Society, could explain his incorporation of this rhetoric.
- ⁶⁷ Lynn K. Nyhart, "Natural History and the 'New' Biology, in *Cultures of Natural History*, eds. N. Jardine, J.A. Secord and E.C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 426.
- ⁶⁸ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: the Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- ⁶⁹ Roy McLeod, "Introduction," in "Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise," special issue, *Osiris* 2nd series 15 (2000): 10-11.
- ⁷⁰ Nancy Fogelson, *Arctic Exploration and International Relations 1900-1932* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1992), 56.
- ⁷¹ Sir Robert Laird Borden, "Introduction," in Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, xxi.
- ⁷² Jim Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The A.P. Low Expedition of 1903-4 Aboard the C.G.S. Neptune," in *Imaging the Arctic*, eds. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi (Vancouver and Seattle: UBC Press and Washington University Press, 1998), 84.
- ⁷³ Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty," 81.
- ⁷⁴ Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 20.
- ⁷⁵ Stuart E. Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-1916* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 72.
- ⁷⁶ Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 58.

⁷⁷ According to Jenness, Library and Archives Canada owns two photographs of CAE members taken at Collinson Point in October of 1913, PA-138643 and H-23 which are probably taken by Hudson. Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 395n 21.

⁷⁸ Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 364.

⁷⁹ Wilkins remarks that Hazo's photographs "were not up to the standards he expected." Jenness, *Making of an Explorer*, 74-75.

⁸⁰ Western Arctic (Inuvialuit) Claims Settlement Act, Statutes of Canada 1984, c. 23.

⁸¹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claims Agreement* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1992), http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/gwich/gwic_e.pdf (accessed August 17, 2007). The Gwich'in Settlement Region remains part of the Northwest Territories.

⁸² *Nunavut Act*, Statutes of Canada 1993, c. 28; *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act*, Statutes of Canada 1993, c.29. For details on specific elements of the agreement, see Tungavik Federation of Nunavut and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement* (Ottawa: Tungavik and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993), http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/agr/pdf/nunav_e.pdf (accessed August 17, 2007). In November, 2005 the Nunavut Court of Justice made all legislation pertaining to the creation of Nunavut available through their website: <http://www.justice.gov.nu.ca>.

⁸³ Asch and Zlotkin, "Affirming Aboriginal Title," 218.

⁸⁴ Asch and Zlotkin, "Affirming Aboriginal Title," 208. See also, Catherine Bell and Michael Asch, "Challenging Assumptions: The Impact of Precedent in Aboriginal Rights Litigation," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference*, ed. Michael Asch (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 48: "The idea that Aboriginal rights have a source independent of Crown recognition is now firmly entrenched in Canadian law as the inherent rights theory."

⁸⁵ Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "The Case for Inuit Specific: Renewing the Relationship between the Inuit and the Government of Canada" (Ottawa: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, April 19, 2004), <http://www.itk.ca/publications/20040419-inuit-specific-final.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2007).

⁸⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 114. (Italics in original)

⁸⁷ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 157.

CHAPTER FOUR

Landscaping a Sovereign North

“GRASS FOR REINDEER, SUMMER FLOWERS” shouts a full-page advertisement in the *Toronto Daily Star* from April 9, 1923 (see figure 4.1). A close-up photographic portrait entitled “Stefansson, Our World-Famous Canadian Explorer” punctuates the text and is centred between promises to “Hear about ‘The Friendly Arctic’” and “See Amazing Pictures in Color.” The ad promotes two lectures Stefansson gave at the Masonic Temple in Toronto on April 11 and 12, 1923, as part of his publicity tour for *The Friendly Arctic*.¹ While primarily a commercial vehicle to sell copies of Stefansson’s book and promote his career as an explorer, this advertisement also serves to entrench the photographic material of the CAE within a nationalist discourse. Words such as “our” and “Canadian” create a myth of a man who has ventured North, conquered and claimed, and is now providing visual proof of his discovery in published form. Photography cements the authority of the explorer to speak about North and the ability to see the explorer in person, witnessing his visualization of North as a privilege: “He has told about the Canadian far-north and its possibilities. Now he is to tell Toronto people about our romantic northern heritage, its adventures and its charms.” The interplay of text and image creates an air of mystery and secrecy: we do not see the abundance of flowers or any reindeer grazing through meadows; even the face of Stefansson is closely cropped and guarded by a round black-and-white border.

Landscape is a powerful rhetorical tool for Stefansson to promote his beliefs about colonizing the Arctic; it also resonates throughout the pages of official CAE reports and creeps into newspaper articles and promotional materials about the CAE. Through

word and image, the north explored by the CAE is consistently presented to the reader as a pristine wilderness and *terra nullius*, areas of which are being photographed for the first time (*terra incognita*). These strategies of representing North, I contend, continually and actively produce North as a sovereign landscape in accordance with the requirements of international law. This chapter will address the representation of landscape through the analyses of specific images produced by and published under the auspices of the CAE.

As I argued in Chapter Three, in accordance with Antony Anghie's examination of the sovereignty doctrine, Canadian Arctic sovereignty is not *predicated* on the construction of north as a space of nature; it is a complex process which continually and actively *produces* north as such. Similarly, landscape, for Mitchell, is an active process. In order to emphasize this concept, I have structured my analysis in this chapter around active concepts: "Visualizing the Journey" introduces some of the issues addressed in Chapter 3, including the act of entering, moving across, and subsequently leaving the region being continually reproduced through text and photograph, replicating the exploration process. Photographs of CAE members and their actions will be highlighted as well as images which contribute to the illustration of "the journey" of the CAE. "North as a Space of the Exotic" forms the key focus of this chapter. This section will explore how Jenness's seminal *Life of the Copper Eskimos* employed landscape to construct difference, through which I have identified as four different themes or representational forms in the volume: scenes of a seemingly harsh and barren land, full body portraits, detail images, and group portraits. "Collecting North," examines the photograph as a form of collecting data for subsequent analysis and display. Here, I will discuss the way in which photography is incorporated into scientific taxonomic structures where "the

category” plays a central role in understanding. The chapter closes with, “Inhabiting a Sovereign North,” which interrogates the interplay of photograph, specimen drawing, and map throughout these texts as displaying an exhaustive analysis of the region and contributing to the perception of an “unhampered field of view” akin to landscape.

Visualizing the Journey

As the CAE was preparing to embark at Esquimalt, British Columbia in June of 1913, several ceremonial events promoted the expedition in the local press: members were honoured with keys to the city of Victoria;² British Columbia Premier Sir Richard McBride and Speaker of the House D.M. Everts made a formal inspection of CAE flagship the *Karluk*;³ and the government of British Columbia sponsored a luncheon honouring Stefansson, second-in-command Rudolph Martin Anderson, and *Karluk* captain Robert Bartlett.⁴ As Bartlett’s summary of events surrounding the departure of the CAE demonstrates, photography was used to promote the Canadian government’s involvement in the expedition to the general public and to emphasize its mandate of discovering territory in the Arctic Archipelago:

By June 16 we had the *Karluk* outfitted and were ready to leave our berth at the Esquimalt [sic] Navy Yard. Official photographs were taken and a luncheon was given in Victoria at which Sir Richard McBride, the Premier of British Columbia, on behalf of the people of the province, presented Stefansson with a silver plate, suitably engraved...Later the mayor and aldermen of Victoria visited the *Karluk* and presented us with a set of flags to use when new lands were found.⁵

The “official photographs” to which Bartlett refers are presumably those by the Seattle-based firm Curtis and Miller.⁶ The twenty-four members of the scientific staff and crew leaders were photographed by the firm both individually and as a group; images also featured expedition members posing on board the *Karluk* and loading the ship in the Esquimalt naval docks⁷ (see figure 4.2). None of these photographs was used in the

scientific reports, by Stefansson in *The Friendly Arctic*, or by Jenness in *People of the Twilight*. Presumably, they were taken for the purposes of promoting the CAE in the press, as well as with the intention of illustrating the official narratives to comprise Volume 1 of the series of official reports.⁸ CAE photographer Wilkins also captured the inauguration of the CAE at Esquimalt in his own series of images⁹ as did other members of the scientific staff.¹⁰ None of these was incorporated into the final reports. The wreck of the *Karluk*, which caused the death of several of the men pictured in these images, may also have factored into editorial decisions to omit the images from publication.

In all the photographs introduced above, as in all CAE publications, the acts of entering, moving across, and subsequently leaving the region are continually reproduced through text and photograph, replicating the exploration process. The notion of the “authentic experience” of north is paramount in this context, for it underscores the explorer’s professional authority as a harbinger of knowledge from one cultural space to another. As in the construction of ethnographic authority, the emphasis on action, experience, and a privileging of the rare encounter also establish the authority of the expedition to represent North which is echoed in the notion of distance—in both time and space. As Bill Nichols explains, “the act of representation always requires distance between the staging of a representation and its maker...as well as between the world represented and its viewer.”¹¹ Thus the “entry” of the Canadian Arctic Expedition into this northern “country” is prefaced by its inevitable exit—for it is upon return to “the South” that an appeal to authenticity is legitimized. Based on the unique experience, the act of travel becomes a “rite of passage” through which the authoritative voice of the CAE is created and circulated in the printed form of the publications.

Photographs engage in a picturing of North in this space. Throughout the CAE publications, the pictorial narrative presented to the reader echoes this emphasis on “entering” and “exiting” north. Stefansson’s *The Friendly Arctic*, for example, begins by dispelling stereotypes of north as a barren wasteland (“The North that Never Was”) setting up a general framework for the expedition narrative to follow.¹² Stefansson’s visceral writing appeals to all senses in his description of North: his central thesis being that perception of landscape is relative to experience: “When land of great money value and acknowledged fertility is described as barren and desolate, we have the key to the common impression that the north deserves these terms.”¹³ That Stefansson was able to see beyond the stereotypical “barrenness” of the Arctic was due to his upbringing on the “treeless Dakota prairie” which instilled within him an affinity for terrain free of hills or mountains:

A mountain on the horizon does not trouble me. But even to this day when I get close in among them my most pronounced feeling is that they shut out the view. No matter how high the peak that you climb, there are all around other peaks, each with its secret behind it. No landscape is open, free, fair and aboveboard but the level prairie or the wide-stretching sea.¹⁴

Chapters are organized by expedition movements in a gradual progression from the most “civilized” areas of North (“Goodbye to Civilization for Five Years”), across the ice of the Beaufort Sea (“The Ice Journey Begins in Misfortune and Difficulty”) and finally across the threshold of *terra incognita* (“Into the Unknown Beyond the Ringnes Islands”). The pictorial narrative of *The Friendly Arctic* echoes this progression. Nome, Alaska is visualized in a collage of photographs akin to tourist snapshots (see figure 4.3): “The Most Northerly Theatre, Nome” and “The Most Northerly Clubhouse in America” become landmarks of civilization in a supposedly “empty” region. Images continue to pull the narrative north depicting journeys over snow, along sandy coast lines in summer,

and across ice floes.¹⁵ Stefansson's proclamation of Canadian sovereignty on the newly-discovered Meighen Island (see figure 4.4), marks the climax of this narrative, with the gesture of "planting the flag" on *terra incognita*.

Interjected into the narrative is the uncovering, by Stefansson's party, of McClure's written record announcing his discovery of the Northwest Passage. This record, Stefansson explained to his publishers, was "the most important document that has ever been deposited and recovered in the polar regions."¹⁶ A photograph of the record appears in *The Friendly Arctic* (see figure 4.5) and for Stefansson, was "the most important photograph in the whole book."¹⁷

Photography is consistently employed in these publications as a means of visualizing the journey north: images mark the journey in and out of camps; picture expedition vessels either carrying members in and out of the regions explored, or marking the presence of the expedition party on the landscape (see figure 4.6); and display the construction of tents, snow-huts, and sledges as instructive for the future visitor to the region. Almost half of these photographs depict landscapes of North as *terra nullius*—which I define as images having a marked absence of human figures, whether as landscape panoramas captured from a distant vantage point in the pursuit of geological or geographical reconnaissance, or as close-ups of natural history features for the illustration of reports.

North as a Space of the Exotic: Jenness's Life of the Copper Eskimos

Volume 12, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, employs what I have defined as four distinct types of photographic representations: scenes of a harsh and vast Arctic landscape; full body portraits of Inuit; 'detail' images, photographs that focus on intricate

facets of the land, of Inuit themselves and of their material culture; and finally, group portraits, which at times include Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. Through these four representational strategies, the Arctic and the Inuit residing there are pictorially and textually exoticized.

The seventy-eight images reproduced in *Life of the Copper Eskimos* focus on documenting the actions, physical characteristics, “daily routines” and habits of this Inuit culture and are presented as “a temporal journey towards comprehension.”¹⁸ They are incorporated into the text of the report, which is divided into the following chapters: Distribution of Population; Trade and Intercourse; Dwellings; Social Organization; Food; Winter and Summer Life; Hunting and Fishing; Marriage, Childbirth, Naming and Treatment of Children; Sickness, Death and Burial; Religious Beliefs; Shamanism; Amusements; and Psychology and Morality. In his introduction to the volume, Jenness introduces the reader to the north through words of vastness and severity where winds gust up to 30 miles per hour, the temperature drops to -30° F, and travelling conditions are arduous.¹⁹ Each of the chapters is read against this backdrop articulating the “heroism” of the explorer—one who was “able” to traverse this land “in spite” of its harsh climatic conditions. Details such as this reflect a theme of “strangeness” and the “exotic,” a central aspect of “difference” in the colonial narrative. As Edward Said has demonstrated through the concept of Orientalism, such cultural relationships are governed by power structures that privilege a Western authority. In terms of the Arctic, however, such relationships occur on a more explicitly geographic plane. As Robert David explains, Said’s Orientalism is problematically translated to the colonization of the Arctic:

The kind of power that implies the hegemony of one people over another requires significant populations and social and political structures that can

be controlled. The Arctic had none of these. However, power can also relate to a nation's control of geographical space and nature. Two of the most obvious legacies of nineteenth century British, European and American power over the Arctic lie in its geographical appropriation through the naming of landscape features and the persistent belief that nature existed to serve mankind.²⁰

Thus the “exotic” is largely grounded in the nature of the landscape, an articulation of which can be seen in Jenness's report. For example, in Chapter 8 “Food,” Jenness writes:

However much the Eskimo may look forward in summer and autumn to the winter life on the ice, with its comfortable snow-huts where the lamps, filled to the brim with sea-oil, reflect their light round the pure white walls, while beneath and behind the table the floor is littered with meat and blubber...always at the back of their minds there is the lurking dread of hunger and of cold in those dark sunless days, when the huts perhaps are empty of food, the lamps extinguished for want of oil, and the people, driven indoors by the howling blizzards, huddle together on their sleeping platforms and face starvation and death.²¹

This vivid description concludes Chapter 8, alluding to the content of Chapter 9 “Winter Life,” where this dark, barren climate is further enhanced through photographic illustration.²²

“Eskimo hunters starting out for the sealing grounds” (see figure 4.7) is an example of the first type of image used by Jenness: a “winter landscape” featuring small dots of figures receding into a barely visible horizon line, seeming to float on a cloud of white, their individual details indistinguishable. There are twenty photographs used in this report all displaying a similar composition taken during the winter season. Figure 4.8, “A migration train near Cape Krusenstern,” and figure 4.9, “Ikpakhuak jigging for fish in Lake Ekallugak” are subsequent examples. Such images were consistently shot from a distant vantage point, serving to capture the “action” of hunting, migration, or fishing as it occurs in a seemingly vast, unmarked space. In “Eskimo hunters,” the central figure with his two dogs moves towards the horizon, forming the focal point of the image

through his proximity to the “vanishing point” of the camera’s frame. Both sky and ground are given equal treatment, the horizon line dividing the space with a faint shadow. The effect is one expressing a large expanse of “vacant” land in which the archetypal “hunter” fades imperceptibly into the distance.

This composition is echoed in figure 4.8, “A migration train,” only in this case, the figures become the horizon line as they stretch out across the length of the image. Again, land is barely distinguishable from sky, as the figures and their caravans seem to etch a pattern onto a blank canvas. Unlike “Eskimo hunting,” there is no centralized figure, only a repeated rhythm of movement from left to right. The seemingly infinite nature of the train is emphasized by the frame of the camera as it cuts off figures from view, asking the viewer to mentally “complete” the image. The lack of detail bred by the distant vantage point serves, as in “Eskimo hunting,” to elevate this action into a timeless “event”—the archetypal migration train becomes shorthand for “nomadic lifestyle.” The absence of any visual “markers” to give a sense of perspective or scale—for example, juxtaposing the migration train to an object close to the foreground of the picture plane, a convention of Western landscape tradition that is displayed in figure 4.9 through the blocks of snow on the ice—add surreal qualities to the image. Instead of “situating” the action “within” the boundaries of a pictorial composition, “A migration train” blurs the distinction between figure and ground, where, I would argue, the figures become elements of the landscape itself.

Even though the location of “Cape Krusenstern” is provided by the caption in figure 4.8, a sense of randomness is echoed in the use of the indefinite article (“a”) in “A migration train.” The role of text captions is essential in the framework of the report, for

they set up the prescribed “meaning” intended for the photograph. Elizabeth Edwards has identified three types of captions in anthropological discourse: first, short, simple statements which tend to the creation of “types,” where the individual becomes a generality (such as in “A migration train” or “A Tree river Eskimo”—see figure 4.10); secondly, text incorporating a scene setting, but still in very general terms (as in figure 4.7, “Eskimo hunters starting out for the sealing grounds”); and thirdly, naming of individuals and/or providing further detailed documentation, to ensure accuracy and provide immediacy to the image.²³

With the exception of six photographs, all extended captions in Jenness’s report make reference to specific geographic locations (see table 1).²⁴ While it is understandable that Jenness would emphasise such information—in part as a memory aid when it came time to write the final report—it is worth mentioning that the function of these captions, when read collectively, is one that establishes a consistent relationship between image and “place.” The act of repeatedly naming specific regions, articulating a knowable, possessible “space” engages the reader in the act of imagining the geography of the region. Even photographs of individuals are consistently indexed according to the name of the lake, hill, or peninsula on which they stand, serving to further naturalize the “documentary” effect of the photographic image.

Figure 4.9 depicting Ikpakhuak fishing offers an example of Edwards’ third type of caption. It specifically focuses on one individual who is acknowledged as having a name. Ikpakhuak, along with his wife Higilaq, were Jenness’s “adopted parents” in the region with whom he stayed for a great deal of his three years in the Coronation Gulf.

Situated in Chapter 10, “Summer Life,” this photograph is incorporated into an excerpt from Jenness’s diary published in the report:

Caribou were sighted early in the morning while we were loading the sleds, and Ikpakhuak and I went in pursuit of them, leaving the others to break camp and trek to Lake Ekallugak in the Colville hills. We spent the whole day in an unsuccessful hunt, then about 8:30pm began to look for the camp...they [at the camp] had already begun to fish through the ice, and had caught enough trout for supper.²⁵

The image of Ikpakhuak is thus woven into Jenness’s expeditional narrative, which serves to map out the region traversed through individual action, the naming of specific geographic locations, and in observing the behaviour of the people around him.

Ikpakhuak is shown alone, viewed from a distant vantage point that emphasizes the seemingly infinite expanse of the setting. Lake and sky are once again differentiated through a strong central horizon line which divides the image in two, Ikpakhuak almost centred, framed by the blocks of snow and ice in the foreground. Generalized through distance as the archetypal “fisherman,” Ikpakhuak does not engage with the camera directly; he becomes an element in a landscape composition, a passive “object,” which is actively “observed” through the camera’s lens. Thus the “action” in the scene becomes, not the “jigging for fish,” but embodied in the process of observation and surveillance.

The viewer, whether Jenness or the reader of the ethnographic report, is imaginatively placed within the scene and as such becomes the protagonist in a narrative of exploration.

This narrative is reinforced by the “textual account” which envelops the photographic image, and by the employment of Western pictorial conventions in terms of composition.

Unlike “A Migration train,” where there was a more abstract, surreal relationship between background and foreground, in this image of Ikpakhuak, the viewer can more

feasibly “visualize” their being situated in this landscape. Rosalind Morris summarizes this process of translation:

The image mobilizes an entire perceptual structure that permits the viewer to translate certain phenomena into signs of a structured reality. When we say that the image presents or even represents the world (or a part of it), we are saying that we have learned to recognize certain qualities of line, density, and spatial organization, certain principles of colour and proportion, as the basis of a system that evokes the three-dimensional and temporally extended domain of (culturally mediated) experience.²⁶

Thus, the ability to recognize “subject matter” in an image depends upon its conformity to the structures and culturally determined conventions of perception. Jenness’s images, in conjunction with the accompanying textual account, exemplify this process through the conventions and codes of “landscape.”

In “full body portraits,” the second “type” of image found in this report, the notion of intersecting gazes, absent from the previous photographs, is evident. Instead of distanced, self-contained and composed pictures of the land, the “full body portrait” is devoted to capturing the details of individual appearances. Close proximity, immediacy, and a sense of intimacy are found in these vertical images which display a minimal “background” setting, replacing the stretching horizontality of the geographic “panoramas.” This sense of the “intimate” encounter, emphasised by the camera’s close cropping of the individual, reflects a “technique of revelation and secrecy” that governs the ethnographer’s communication of “first-time knowledge.”²⁷ Underscoring the “authenticity” of Jenness’s fieldwork experience, such images employ a sense of self-reference (“I” was there, “I” met with these people) that can be used to further buttress the ethnographer’s initiation as a claim to authoritative direct experience. This gesture becomes a way for the ethnographer to assert the legitimacy of fieldwork procedure.

Figure 4.11 presents a photograph of Tokalluak with a caption reading:

“Tokalluak, a Coppermine river shaman.” Pictured in Chapter 15, “Shamanism,”

Tokalluak is represented in profile, head slightly lowered and his gaze not engaging the viewer. Figure 4.12 shows the same image reproduced in volume 12, part B, *The Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos* but in this case its purpose is to illustrate the broad nose and forehead of Tokalluk as part of a facial “type” in a racial analysis. In contrast to the profile, a full-body portrait has Tokalluak assuming a rigid, frontal stance with arms at his sides and his gaze positioned directly at the viewer. In both cases, Tokalluak becomes a cultural “marker” attesting to the “reality” and inhabitability of the Arctic landscape. A significant number of photographs taken by Jenness are full-body portraits of this type and are always accompanied by a complementary “profile” image employing the same composition with the individual usually turned to their right.

When viewed in the context of the report with its strong emphasis on geographic location, and considering the reliance of the ethnographer on a perceived “documentary” effect of the photographic medium to convey a sense of unmediated truth, Tokalluak’s image can arguably be interpreted as an index of “Copper Eskimo Country.” In such an image, the notion of “object orientation” is visible, whereby an individual is “commodified” for the acquisitive purposes of the ethnologist.²⁸ As such, these images can be read as “specimens,” akin to the cultural artifacts collected and placed on display in the museum setting. They are comparable to the third type of photographic “type” in Jenness’s report, which I have called the “detail image.” (For an example, see figure 4.13).

The clarity of detail and directness of Tokalluak's gaze lend an immediacy to the photograph, which, as James Clifford has written, "presuppose[s] a standpoint outside – looking at, objectifying, or a somewhat 'closer' reading of a given reality."²⁹ To read this portrait strictly as a mode of objectification is, however, to risk reinscribing the notion of colonial fixity and "otherness" from which this mode of representation has emerged.

Tokalluak's image is used to illustrate an excerpt from Jenness's diary. It reads:

Tokalluak, a Coronation Gulf native, held a séance at the fishing creek near Cape Krusenstern in July 1916, when a band of natives had gathered together to spear the salmon. He invoked his familiar [spirit] and uttered some brief remark, then laughed and hid his face in his hands. His laugh, however, had caused his familiar to leave him and he had to recall it. This happened repeatedly, for he seemed to be unable to control his laughter whenever any of his audience laughed. He spoke of a boy whose legs were too long, (Patsy, my interpreter) and of a man with long whiskers (myself) whom he accused of frightening away the fish by dipping an iron cup into the creek.³⁰

It is in descriptions such as this that the "Othering" of the "exotic" through the ethnographic perspective is resisted and challenged. Although "we" are still reading Jenness's translation of the experience, there remains a voice to be heard, a metaphorical sound that resonates with the accompanying photographic image. Glimpses of the character and personality of "a" Shaman serve to contradict the totalizing and generalizing framework in which this image is embedded. Recognizing these "moments" dispels the process of "objectification" and asserts the agency of the Inuit community being "depicted."

As Clifford writes, "to see ethnography as either extracting confessions or undergoing initiation, one must assume the existence of secrets...cultural truth is structured in both cases as something to be revealed."³¹ The manner in which the above extract from Jenness's professional diary is included in the report embodies Clifford's

notion of the confessional account. Staged as a “glimpse” at “what really happened” and reinforced through the supposed immediacy of the photographic image, this story “reveals” an intimate encounter, legitimizing the “authenticity” of fieldwork experience. In this language of secrets, however, Clifford reveals underlying relationships: “Every use of ‘I’ presupposes a ‘You’ and every instance of discourse is immediately linked to a specific, shared situation.” Clifford continues, “Fieldwork is significantly composed of language events; but language lies on the border between oneself and the other.”³² Rooted once again in the act of translation, Jenness’s words can be analysed not as “authoritative reports” of experience, but as dialogue—a speech act determined by reception. As such, its “meaning” can never be explicitly “fixed,” for it is always interpreted in a dialogic “relationship.”

Group “shots” form the fourth and final type of image employed in Jenness’s report. They consist of either consciously composed groupings, or casual “keyhole” shots of momentary action. In figure 4.14, “Puivlik Eskimos welcoming visitors from Prince Albert Sound,” reproduced in Chapter 4 “Trade and Intercourse,” a slightly distanced vantage point is employed (although details are clearly visible), emphasizing the contrasting earth and snow in the foreground. Formally speaking, the image is one of rhythmic contrasts of dark and light, accentuating the silhouettes of the figures. The picture plane is divided into two separate areas through horizontal demarcations of landscape: the first articulates the ground on which the Inuit peoples stand; the second is more distant, sketching out a shadowy topography.

The second group image, “The Coming of the missionary” (figure 4.15) is more carefully composed, but presents similar pictorial conventions, while figure 4.16, “A

group of Copper Eskimo men and boys,” exhibits the level of intimacy and clarity of the full body portrait images. Stretched horizontally along the picture plane, all five figures engage directly with the camera; only the rigidity and formality of the full body portrait has disappeared, replaced by a casual engagement and regard for the camera lens. The presence of these group images, I would argue, is indicative of the photographer’s intent to try to “picture” the collective community. As literal “groupings” of figures, they represent a sense of “gathering together,” “conjoining” a community into the parameters of a Western way of seeing. When read in conjunction with the geographic landscape, these images mirror the attempt to contain, to demarcate and amalgamate an “unknown” region within the boundaries of a colonial space.

A key element of this colonial space is echoed in figure 4.15 which appears in Chapter 3, “Distribution of Population”: that of the civilizing mission of the “salvage paradigm.” Inherent in this concept is the belief in an inevitable, progressive development of Western civilization which is incorporated into areas narrated as natural.³³ Quite arguably, each of the photographs in this text can be read for their imaging of a pre-existing state of nature, hitherto untouched by “civilization” that lends itself to the idea that this Northern “country” was simply waiting to be found, researched, and “illuminated” by the ethnographer. The salvage paradigm is a means of justifying the appropriation of this culture through research, where the anthropologist comes to protect the past from its inevitable erasure by the progress of civilization.

Taken collectively, each of these photographic “types” can be read as part of a narrative of colonial expansion, and a civilizing mission to preserve evidence of a “vanishing race.” The following excerpt from Jenness’s account titled *Eskimo*

Administration—a report published in 1964—attests to this impression during the first decade of the twentieth century:

Everywhere and in every way then the Eskimos were changing. In the veins of increasing numbers coursed European blood that modified their forms and their features. European-style clothing was replacing their garments of fur, especially in those regions where caribou were scarce or lacking...the community dance house had disappeared...but in half a dozen settlements rose a little church, symbol of a new outlook and a new faith.³⁴

Such factors as decreasing population due to disease introduced to the region by European whalers and miners, and the forced migration of many Alaskan “natives” to the region of the Beaufort Sea by the American government,³⁵ created conditions of change, depletion of resources, and the altering of migration patterns. All of these factors were results of the colonizing enterprise moving out into space, expanding and establishing a presence in the Arctic region.

Collecting North and Making New Knowledge

As a scientific survey expedition, a key element in the exploration process of the CAE is the collection of specimens from the region. This systematic collecting, as Susan Pearce has noted, is an intrinsic part of the development of the natural sciences:

...the perceived understanding which natural history specimens embody cannot be detached from the object itself, but only discussed with reference to it in concrete terms; in semiotic language...this would be expressed by saying that in the natural history specimen (as in all objects), signified and signifier combine.”³⁶

Specimens are selected for their “supposed ‘typicality’ or their ‘departure from the norm’ so that they may act as referents,” Pearce explains, “a process which is clearly circular and self-supporting.”³⁷

The scientific classification of organisms (taxonomy), as represented through text, illustration, and photography, encompasses the majority of the official reports published

by the CAE. These taxonomies are reflective of a systematic approach to the natural sciences in the early twentieth century, which focused on comparisons of the external structures of various organisms as a means to classification. Taxonomy finds a legacy in the work of Swedish botanist, Carolus Linnaeus, who sought a universal categorization of organisms through their description, naming, and categorization into groups (taxa; or “taxon” for one group) based on the similarities and differences of their physical characteristics. Taxa were ranked in a hierarchical structure which moved from general to specific in terms of detail: Kingdom followed by Phylum or Division, Order, Family, Genus, and Species. The rank of “Order,” for example, is used to divide up the entomological publications comprising Volume 3 of the CAE reports. This hierarchy of rank is, however, relative to the classification system in use.

The naming of an organism employed the binomial nomenclature popularized by Linnaeus in the eighteenth century: complex names were restricted to two words (usually in Latin or Ancient Greek) often at the rank of genus and species. Nomenclature has been described as the “grammar of science”³⁸ and the goal of the binomial system was to reduce ambiguity in the identification of organisms and allow for a stable, universal disciplinary language.³⁹ For example, a plant commonly known as the Icelandic (or Arctic) Poppy was observed by the CAE and is classified in *Botany*, the fifth volume of CAE reports, as follows: “*Papaver nudicaule* L.”⁴⁰ In this example, “*Papaver nudicaule* L.” indicates a plant of the Family *Papaveraceae* (commonly known as “poppies”), Genus *Papaver* (poppy), Species *Papaver nudicaule* (Iceland poppy).⁴¹ The descriptor “L” is an author citation, denoting Linnaeus as the first to validly publish this botanical name.

Wedding the named organism to the taxonomic structure is accomplished by virtue of the “type”: an actual specimen and an illustration of the specimen acting as proof of its placement in the classificatory system.⁴² In the case of *Papaver nudicaule* L., a photograph appears in Plate I at the back of the volume, with an identifying caption (see figure 4.17). The photograph becomes a bridge, in this context, between the collected object and the systematic knowledge system.

Below the name is a string of geographical names, indicating the locations at which this vascular plant was collected. The locations are separated by dashes. At each location, CAE naturalist Frits Johansen was the collector unless otherwise noted in brackets:

Papaver nudicaule L.

Camden bay—Martin point—Icy reef—Hershel island—Shingle point (J.R. Cox and J.J. O’Neill)—Cape Bathurst—Clifton point (H. Girling)—Young point—Bernard harbour—Tree river (J.R. Cox and J.J. O’Neill)—Cape Barrow—Coronation gulf (R.M. Anderson)—Taylor island, Victoria strait (J.F. Bernard)—Findlay island (Northern party).⁴³

The unity of the above paragraph replicates that of the photographic plate, isolating the specimen in text and in image. It also weds the geographic region of north to the scientific structure of the specimen itself within a discourse of naming to establish authority. A second example can be found in Volume 3: Insects (see figure 4.18). Here, the connection between hand drawing and photograph establishes the evidential value of the specimen’s taxonomic attribution.

Inhabiting a Sovereign North: Locating Bernard Harbour

As the published photographic record of the CAE can attest, the camera mapped the journey of the expedition through a myriad of strategies. One key strategy was the establishment of “outposts of civilization” in a supposedly “empty” region. Underscoring

the presence of Western camps in the region, images circulate which mark expedition camps as “pockets of civilization” in the north, the most often cited being Bernard Harbour, the headquarters of the Southern Party from 1914-1916.

The Southern Party established headquarters on an inlet just off of Dolphin and Union Strait in 1914, which they named “Bernard Harbour” after Captain Joseph F. Bernard, who had first discovered the area and wintered there from 1912 to 1913.⁴⁴ This base of operations is represented throughout the publications of the CAE as an outpost of “civilization” from which members of the scientific team “enter” and “exit” in between fieldwork excursions. It also becomes a barometer for the experience of North: each time a member returns to Bernard Harbour is when one’s experience is re-evaluated and where the authority of fieldwork experience is reinscribed.

Diamond Jenness’s popular narrative *People of the Twilight* revolves around Bernard Harbour: its establishment begins the narrative and is where the initiation of the five CAE scientists into a northern lifestyle is detailed; it is also the point from which Jenness “[cuts] himself adrift” from the rest of the expedition to carry out his ethnography by living with Ikpaquak (or Ickpuck) for the spring and summer of 1915:

As Ikpuck’s adopted son I could observe all the details of Eskimo summer life, following its variations from day to day as no traveller had done before me. It was for this purpose, indeed, that I had cut myself adrift from the rest of the expedition until the winter, when the strait would freeze over again and allow me to return to Bernard Harbour.⁴⁵

Descriptive paragraphs place Bernard Harbour within a topography of north that is barren and empty and woven into a history of European discovery:

In the summer of 1912 a pioneer trader cruising along the Arctic coast of Canada discovered, behind a low island, a tiny deep-water cove, afterward named in his honour Bernard Harbour. The cove is now the regional headquarters of three distinct organizations—the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Anglican Mission, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police; but when

the Alaska and the North Star sailed into it, in August, 1914, the country was still bare and seemingly uninhabited. Low, stony ridges, sparsely covered with mosses and lichens, concealed all the region to the south and west, and across the narrow neck of land to that bounded the cove on its eastern side was a second inlet similar to our own, but less sheltered from the prevailing winds. On this narrow neck of land we decided to set up our station.”⁴⁶

Jenness does use the caveat “seemingly uninhabited,” while creating a picture of a tiny pocket of civilization hidden from view. He also establishes the civilizing mission by acknowledging the eventual headquarters of the Anglican Church, Royal North West Mounted Police and the HBC in the region. The description of his return “from the field” further establishes the lonely, isolated spirit of the Arctic landscape and Bernard Harbour as “home”:

Bernard Harbour seemed so near across the strait, and for seven months I had heard no word of English, and received no news of my comrades on the expedition. In clear weather we could see the Liston and Sutton Islands on the horizon, and the station lay only twelve miles beyond.⁴⁷

Upon his return to Bernard Harbour, Jenness is reunited with Johansen, Anderson, Chipman, O'Neill, and Cox, encounters W.V. Bruce of the Royal North West Mounted Police, Anglican missionary Reverend Girling, and “among half a dozen Eskimos from the Mackenzie River delta”⁴⁸ including Patsy Klengenberg. He receives letters, newspapers and remarks that “until this month of November, 1915, no rumours, not even of the Great War, had penetrated to our lonely outpost.”⁴⁹ Jenness describes the camp using domestic language, referencing its kitchen, dining room, study, bedroom, and remarks “our home seemed strangely luxurious after the simplicity of the native snow-huts.”⁵⁰

Bernard Harbour also anchors *Volume 11, Geography*, Part B, and is represented in both descriptive paragraph and a series of landscape panoramas:

Bernard harbour [*sic*] is about seven miles east of Cockburn point and southwest of Liston and Sutton islands...The outer harbour is formed by Chantry and another smaller, unnamed island extending nearly across the mouth of a shallow bay, from which extend several small bights. Vessels of light draught find good shelter in these bights and vessels of nearly any draught would find good shelter in the outer harbour.⁵¹

In the appendix to Volume 11, under “Eskimo Place Names,” Bernard Harbour is listed as: “Ugyuksiorvik: Bernard harbour (‘The place where bearded seals abound.’). Strictly, this is the bay on the east side of the Expedition station at Bernard harbour.”⁵²

Bernard Harbour is also represented through detailed geological description:

The geology of Bernard Harbour is discussed under “General Geology” and is categorized as “Palaeozoic”: “a series of thin-bedded, grey, cherty dolomites, younger than the Coppermine River series, occurs for a long distance along the coast from just north of Rae river in Coronation gulf westward to the vicinity of Tinney point. Although these dolomites were closely searched for fossils, none was found. Fossiliferous fragments of dolomite were found, however, on the beach at Bernard harbour on the south side of Dolphin and Union straits, and the fossils were examined by L.D. Burling, of the Geological Survey of Canada, who reports as follows: “....The [fossil] occurrence has special value as being the first recorded discovery of fossils so old in rocks so far north, and the fossils are sufficiently diagnostic to render the presence in this region of rocks of Upper Cambrian or Lower Ordovician age more or less certain.”⁵³

There were two such headquarters in the journey of the Southern Party of the CAE between 1913 and 1916: Collinson Point, where the expedition was forced to winter from 1913 to 1914 due to unfavourable weather conditions; and Bernard Harbour (1914-1916). While Stefansson’s Northern Party was exploring, “base camps” became fluid areas which were continually shifting and being redefined depending on weather conditions, ships, etc. The base camp was also synonymous with the presence of expedition vessels in the region.

As this chapter has introduced, the photographic record left by the CAE was diverse and semiologically complex. Drawing on the meanings of landscape as well as

the contemporary visual culture of ethnography and biology, they imbued the documents with the authority of science. Photographs in these volumes authenticated the expedition's mission of claiming the North for science and for Canadian nationalism. They also promote various "ways of seeing" North as *terra nullius* and *terra incognita*, legitimizing—and landscaping—the region as a sovereign space.

¹ Lecture by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, advertisement, *Toronto Daily Star*, Monday, 9 April 1923, 5.

² Jennifer Niven, *The Ice Master: The Doomed 1913 Voyage of the Karluk* (New York: Hyperion, 2000), 15.

³ "Stefansson Ship Loaded," *New York Times*, 17 June 1913, 4.

⁴ Library and Archives Canada owns copy negatives of images showing Stefansson attending ceremonial events in Esquimalt before the *Karluk* set sail in June, 1913. See: PA-105115 depicting Stefansson on board the *Karluk* at Esquimalt; e002712832, e002712833, and e002712834 (credited to Rudolph Martin Anderson) feature Stefansson at the flag presentation ceremony in front of the *Karluk*.

⁵ Robert A. Bartlett, *The Karluk's Last Voyage: An Epic of Death and Survival in the Arctic* (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1916), 9.

⁶ Library and Archives Canada owns copy negatives by Curtis and Miller: C-086412 shows CAE ethnologist Diamond Jenness and meteorologist William Laird McKinley on board the *Karluk*; PA-211619 depicts George Hubert Wilkins on the *Karluk* with his cinematographic equipment; PA-105124 of geologist George Malloch; PA-105125 of Bjarne Mamen, assistant topographer; PA-105137 of Southern Party leader R.M. Anderson; PA-105123 of assistant geographer J.R. Cox; PA-105121 of naturalist Frits Johansen; PA-105120 of Chipman outside his hotel in Victoria; PA-105122 is of Henri Beuchat; and PA-105132 is of the *Karluk*.

⁷ These negatives are located at the BC Archives: A-09682, B-06845; I-51834; I-51835; I-51836; G-06467 feature images of the *Karluk* docked at Esquimalt. G-07484 shows the *Karluk* leaving the harbour at Esquimalt; I-51830 to I-51833 are images of CAE cargo on board the *Karluk*.

⁸ I was unable to locate a contract between the government and Curtis and Miller. Since Stefansson spent time in Seattle negotiating the purchase of the *Karluk* in May of 1913, it is possible he secured the firm at this time to take photographs of the CAE's departure. Any contracts may, therefore, have been lost with *Karluk*.

⁹ Stuart E. Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1916* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 7.

¹⁰ Images were taken by Cox, Chipman, O'Neill, Jenness, and Johansen. See, Stuart E. Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, One of Canada's Little Known Historic Treasures: An Annotated Catalogue* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2001).

¹¹ Bill Nichols, "The Ethnographer's Tale," *Visualizing Theory: Selected Essays from V.A.R. 1990-1994*, Ed. Lucien Taylor, (New York: Routledge, 1994) 65.

¹² Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions*, rev. ed. (1921; repr., New York: MacMillan, 1943).

¹³ Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 21-22.

¹⁴ Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 20.

¹⁵ Table 2 lists all of the photographs by CAE photographer Wilkins that were reproduced in *The Friendly Arctic*, along with their captions in the text. The captions echo this pictorial journey towards *terra incognita*.

¹⁶ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, letter to H.S. Latham, 9 October 1921, Stefansson Collection, Dartmouth College, Stef Mss 196: 6.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Robert G David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) 13.

- ¹⁹ Diamond Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 12, part A (Ottawa: Acland, 1922), 9.
- ²⁰ David, *Arctic in the British Imagination*, 245-46. There is, for example, "Diamond Jenness Peninsula" on southwest Victoria Island.
- ²¹ Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 107.
- ²² The chapter on food only contains two images: one displays fish being hung out to dry beside an encampment; the other is of a small child—Haugak—bringing in "dryas integrifolia" for fuel.
- ²³ Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographic 'Types': The Pursuit of Method," *Visual Anthropology* 3 (1990): 235-258. See also Elizabeth Edwards, "Introduction," in *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 3-17.
- ²⁴ The following 6 captions (out of 78) do not contain references to geographic place: "Ikpakhuak and his wife Higilak in full dancing costume"; "The construction of a snow hut"; "Eskimos cooking and eating"; "Family Life"; "Interior of a snow hut"; and "Caches raised on stones."
- ²⁵ Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 129.
- ²⁶ Rosalind C. Morris, *New Worlds from Fragments: Film, Ethnography, and the Representation of Northwest Coast Cultures* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1994) 15.
- ²⁷ James Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 7.
- ²⁸ Morris, *New Worlds from Fragments*, 45.
- ²⁹ Clifford, "Introduction," 11.
- ³⁰ Jenness, *Life of the Copper Eskimos*, 207.
- ³¹ Clifford, "Introduction," 11.
- ³² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 41.
- ³³ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 18.
- ³⁴ Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada*, Technical Paper No. 15, (Montreal: Arctic Institute of North America, 1964), 26.
- ³⁵ Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North: 1870-1914*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971) 271.
- ³⁶ Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 85.
- ³⁷ Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections*, 85.
- ³⁸ Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, Mines and Geology Branch, *Catalogue of Canadian Recent Mammals*, by Rudolph Martin Anderson (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1946), 3.
- ³⁹ Rudolph Martin Anderson. "The Present Status and Future Prospects of the Larger Mammals of Canada." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 40 (November 1924): 321-331.
- ⁴⁰ James M. Macoun and Theo Holm, *Botany: Vascular Plants, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 5, part A (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1921), 13A.
- ⁴¹ Canadian Biodiversity Information Facility, Integrated Taxonomic Information System, http://www.cbif.gc.ca/pls/itasca/taxaget?p_ifx=cbif (for *Papaver nudicaule*, accessed August 17, 2007).
- ⁴² Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E.O. Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
- ⁴³ James M. Macoun and Theo Holm, *Botany: Vascular Plants, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 5, part A (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1921), 13A.
- ⁴⁴ Kenneth G. Chipman and John R. Cox, *Geology and Geography: Geographical Notes on the Arctic Coast of Canada, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 11, part B (Ottawa: Acland, 1924), 29b.
- ⁴⁵ Diamond Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, with drawings by Claude Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1928), 109.
- ⁴⁶ Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, 6.
- ⁴⁷ Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, 190.
- ⁴⁸ Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, 193.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Chipman and Cox, *Geographical Notes*, 29b.

⁵² Chipman and Cox, *Geographical Notes*, 40b.

⁵³ J.J. O'Neill, *Geology and Geography: The Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula, Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18*, vol. 11, part A (Ottawa: Acland, 1924), 25a.

CONCLUSION

“To believe in the north”:

Contemporary Attitudes to the North and the Legacy of the CAE

Conceptions of the Canadian north manifest in the work of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913-1918) remain remarkably current today. As a whole, this study has explored, among other issues, how those concepts have served a project of nation-building and reflected tensions between Inuit and Euro-Canadians. Such issues persist in current Canadian cultural and political frameworks. In October 2003, for example, then-Governor General Adrienne Clarkson delivered the Stefansson Memorial Lecture at the Stefansson Arctic Institute in Akureyri, Iceland.¹ Framed as a “tribute paid to all Canadians who believe in the North,” Clarkson’s address weaves the explorer’s vision, experience, and tenacity into a national Northern legacy. “We have to take seriously,” she cautions, “what Vilhjalmur Stefansson knew nearly a hundred years ago—that the North needs not only to be respected, but also to be a part of our total imagination as a people.”² The Canada presented by Clarkson is an “imagined community”—to use Anderson’s familiar phrase—a circumpolar nation committed to, yet grappling with, its Northern heritage:

We must do away with the idea of the North as a frontier and a barrier and something that must be crossed, penetrated, overcome, managed or subdued. We have to finish with that logic which leads to the marginalization of the North and our pushing of the North to the periphery of our imaginations.³

Her words urge a shifting of the boundaries of North in the nation’s collective consciousness: from margin to centre; from rigidly defined to open and fluid. North, in this sense, is idea – produced, constructed, communicated, shared, and envisioned by those who do not live there. Canada, by implication, is “our” imagined community into

which “we” must include an abstract North. At the same time, Clarkson’s North, like her Canada, is a spatial configuration grounded in a geographic determinism:

While remaining people of northern latitudes, we in Canada have developed a fine wine industry in our southernmost areas in [the] Niagara Peninsula...the Finns and the Icelanders can grow hay at their latitudes because of the effects of the Gulf Stream. So our countries are Northern in different ways. Nevertheless, we share the North. We all end up in the Arctic.⁴

These sentiments echo Stefansson’s main thesis of *The Friendly Arctic*, which is to encourage “non-Northerners” to view the Arctic as a region for potential settlement and growth: “it is the mental attitude of the southerner that makes the North hostile. It is chiefly our unwillingness to change our minds which prevents the North from changing into a country to be used and lived in just like the rest of the world.”⁵ For Stefansson, North is a “state of mind” (of both Northerners and non-Northerners)—a consistent theme in Clarkson’s articulation of a global North “shared” by Canadians and shaped by climate. Words such as “remaining”, “developed”, and “grow” cement the national characteristic of “northernness” to the landscape; they also emphasize an active past (“developed”), present (“remaining”), and future (“grow”) presence in the region—subtly naturalizing Canada-as-North within the framework of a shared national (and international) heritage. This naturalization of the North as a marker of Canadian identity is reinforced when Clarkson declares, as part of a collective consciousness and circumpolar locality, the inevitability of North: “We all end up in the Arctic.” The unspecified subject of “we” is both active and passive: it *is located* outside of North in order to—eventually—*be placed* there. “We”, it is suggested, did not mark North as a destination and yet find ourselves “here” (or “there”) through a mystical, collective rite of

passage. This mystifying language is continued in Clarkson's discussion of contemporary political, economic, and cultural issues:

The need for revised and refreshed thinking is apparent. We know that there is the phenomenon of climate change that is starting to deeply affect the north. We know that there are natural resources in the north—gas, oil, precious gems like diamonds—that are becoming more and more accessible to industry. And we know that our indigenous peoples have had their traditional ways of life uprooted by the changes that are occurring in the north.⁶

Clarkson is addressing complex concerns shared by many circumpolar nations.

Admittedly, issues such as environmental pollution, global warming, and industrial development are far too nuanced for adequate treatment in the scope of Clarkson's speech and require a generalized approach. However, by choosing to ground these concerns in the geography of an abstract North and not locating them within specific Canadian, Finnish, or Icelandic communities, Clarkson ensures that "indigenous peoples" remain features of a Northern landscape instead of members of the nation. Such "revised and refreshed thinking" embodied in the creation of the territory of Nunavut on April 1, 1999—arguably the strongest statement to date of Inuit political power to negotiate a redrawing of the political, geographic, and cultural parameters of Northern landscape—does not figure into Clarkson's speech. Instead, her benign language underscores cultural and political difference: an active "we" ("we know"), addressing members of circumpolar nations, is firmly distinguished from the northern indigenous population through the possessive pronoun "our" ("our indigenous peoples"). By implication, Inuit, Dene, Métis, and Inuvialuit are not political entities but are possessions of the nation, relegated to the cultural sphere of tradition and Northern characteristic. Similarly, the "uprooting" of Inuit traditions is located in an unfolding present: "we know that our indigenous peoples *have had* their traditional ways of life uprooted by the *changes that are occurring* in the

north.” Through a conflation of verb tense, Inuit communities are suspended in an ethnographic present, situated in their cultural traditions seemingly free from the flow of historical time.⁷ Being the only reference in Clarkson’s speech to the impact of change on Inuit populations in a context focusing on the past, celebrating “heritage” and Stefansson’s exploratory legacy, this statement serves to neutralize the “heritage” of colonization and “legacy” of nation-building which undertone her discussion. Attention is diverted from a problematic colonial past to a present in which Stefansson’s archetypal figure stands as the primary inheritance of the northern nation.

In effect, Clarkson’s speech reflects key tropes in the literature of the North. Clarkson’s North is ambiguous: it is an imagined location and concrete peninsula, province, or territory; it is a national characteristic with an international boundary; it is an abstract sphere of culture and industrial frontier. From the rhetoric of the Canada First Movement, in which R.G. Haliburton urged the country’s unique Northern character as a nation of severe winters and “northern races”⁸, to Carl Berger’s queries in “The True North Strong and Free” to the poetic contemplations of Rudy Wiebe,⁹ North has been continually “placed”, analysed, and deconstructed in the domain of a collective Canadian imagination. This current study is no exception, for the publications resulting from the Canadian Arctic Expedition circulate within, and are informed by, this context of representation and identity politics in Canada.

As a whole, this thesis has traced a few of the issues raised by the photography of the CAE circulating within (and exterior to) North as a Foucauldian discursive formation. In analysing the CAE, I have attempted to understand its place in the history of Western discourse about North and particularly the place of photographic representations in the

claiming of North as territory. As I have shown, the CAE, under the leadership of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, meticulously explored, surveyed, and mapped the coastal regions and islands of the western Canadian Arctic between 1913 and 1918. This multivalent operation was supervised jointly by the Geological Survey of Canada and the Canadian Department of the Naval Service. Marking the largest Canadian-funded Arctic expedition of its period, the CAE was mandated to secure sovereignty over the Canadian Arctic Archipelago and north western Arctic coast. Photography was a key tool in that ambitious enterprise, reflecting “an ongoing government commitment to using photography to maintain and to enhance its influence in the north.”¹⁰ In the end, the CAE produced over 2,500 images of the north; many were made as an addendum to data collecting while others documented the journey itself. Of these, 427 fieldwork photographs circulated within governmentally-sanctioned reports or were disseminated through popular exploration narratives. As this thesis has shown, those camera-made representations were by no means neutral records but instead were embedded with the Imperialist and nation-building values of the expedition.

One central issue of the photographs and publications of the CAE is their aspiring to present a comprehensive North, whether as experience, idea, or empirical object. I have structured this thesis in order to reflect the inconclusiveness of such a project. For example, Stefansson is usually written as the central figure of the CAE in much of the literature surrounding the expedition and his tome, *The Friendly Arctic*, is the most famous of all the publications I discuss. I have resisted delving into *The Friendly Arctic* in-depth, or expanding this study to encompass Stefansson’s many controversies—for example the tragedy of the *Karluuk* disaster, his promotion of the “Blond Eskimo,” or his

attempt to claim Wrangel Island on behalf of the Canadian government—and instead have used Stefansson’s voice to illuminate the broader issues implicit in visualizing North. Stefansson’s words open and close my narrative, while subtly informing each chapter with their powerful rhetoric of North.

Chapter One provided an introduction to the photographs and the publications of the CAE as material objects. The second chapter presented the theoretical models on which this study is based: Foucauldian discourse analysis, employed by Sherrill Grace in her seminal study of North, as well as conceptualizations of landscape, particularly as articulated by W.J.T. Mitchell. This chapter was also an attempt to address the theoretical North(s) which inform the circulation of CAE material as discourse. Chapter Three addressed the role of the CAE as a government-authorized purveyor of North, by looking to the historical and legal context of “sovereignty” on which the expedition’s pictorial practice was grounded. The concluding chapter engaged in a close examination of selected representational strategies within the publications themselves.

In employing a methodology adapted from Foucauldian discourse analysis and modelled after the important work of Sherrill Grace, I have attempted to show how these photographic representations contributed to the discourse of North. I have argued that the photographically-illustrated publications associated with the CAE were read as evidence of Canadian sovereignty in the western Arctic during the early twentieth century. They achieved this largely through the discourse of landscape and, particularly, the representation of the North as a *terra nullius* (“empty land”), a colonial doctrine of international law on which ownership of “newly discovered” territory (*terra incognita*) by sovereign nations was typically grounded. By examining the photographs of the CAE

as well as their historical context, I have argued that Canadian governmental sovereignty in the Arctic was naturalized through the continual visualization of *terra nullius* in both word and image. Through CAE images, the North came to stand for Canadian sovereignty even while denying the agency of those Northerners they depicted.

While the materials examined in this thesis date from almost a century ago, the issues they give rise to remain current. As Adrienne Clarkson's speech attests and in the wake of recent Russian, Canadian and U.S. claims to sovereignty over the Arctic, it is clear that the discourse of North to which the Canadian Arctic Expedition contributed remains potent today.

¹ Adrienne Clarkson, "Stefansson Memorial Lecture," (Akureyri, Iceland, October 13, 2003), <http://www.gg.ca/media/doc.asp?lang=e&DocID=4032#top> (accessed August 17, 2007).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, rev. ed. (1921; repr., New York: MacMillan, 1943), 687.

⁶ Clarkson, "Stefansson Memorial Lecture" (emphasis added).

⁷ Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 57.

⁸ Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3.

⁹ Rudy Wiebe, *Playing Dead: A Contemplation Concerning the Arctic*, rev. ed. (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 2003).

¹⁰ Jim Burant, "Using Photography to Assert Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic: The A.P. Low Expedition of 1903-4 Aboard the C.G.S. Neptune," in *Imaging the Arctic*, eds. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi (Vancouver and Seattle: UBC Press and Washington University Press, 1998), 84.

APPENDIX A

Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918

Volume 1: Narrative of the Expedition (Never published)

Part A: Northern Party 1913-18 by Vilhjalmur Stefansson

Part B: Southern Party 1913-16 by R.M. Anderson

Volume 2: Mammals and Birds (Never published)

Part A: Mammals of Western Arctic America by R.M. Anderson

Part B: Birds of Western Arctic America by R.M. Anderson and P.A. Taverner

Volume 3: Insects (1919-1922)

Introduction and List of New Genera and Species by C. Gordon Hewitt

Part A: Collembola by Justus W. Folsom

Part B: Neuropteroid Insects by Nathan Banks

Part C: Diptera, by Charles P. Alexander, Harrison G. Dyar, and J.R. Malloch

Part D: Mallophaga and Anoplura, by A.W. Baker, G.F. Ferris, G.H.F. Nuttall, C. Gordon Hewitt

Part E: Coleoptera, by J.M. Swaine, H.C. Fall, C. W. Leng

Part F: Hemiptera, by Edward P. Van Duzee

Part G: Hymenoptera and Plant Galls by Alex D. MacGillivray, Charles T. Brues, F.W. Sladen, E. Porter Felt

Part H: Spiders, Mites, and Myriapods by J.H. Emerton, Nathan Banks, Ralph V. Chamberlain

Part I: Lepidoptera by Arthur Gibson

Part J: Orthoptera by E.M. Walker

Part K: Insect Life on the Western Arctic Coast of America by Frits Johansen

Volume 4: Botany (1921-1924)

Part A: Freshwater Algae and Freshwater Diatoms by Charles W. Lowe

Part B: Marine Algae by Frank Shipley Collins, Paul Lemoine, Marshall A. Howe

Part C: Fungi by John Dearnass

Part D: Lichens by G.K. Merrill

Part E: Mosses by R.S. Williams

Part F: Marine Diatoms by Albert Mann

Volume 5: Botany (1921-1924)

Part A: Vascular Plants by James M. Macoun and Theo Holm

Part B: Contributions to the Morphology, Synonymy and Geographical Distribution of Arctic Plants by Theo Holm

Part C: General Observations on the Vegetation by Frits Johansen

Volume 6: Fishes and Tunicates (1922)

Part A: Fishes by Frits Johansen (not published)

Part B: Ascidiacea by A.G. Huntsman

APPENDIX A

Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918 (*Continued*)

Volume 7: Crustacea (1919-1922)

- Part A: Decapod Crustaceans by Mary J. Rathburn
- Part B: Schizopod Crustaceans by Waldo L. Schmitt
- Part C: Cumacea by W.T. Calman
- Part D: Isopoda by P.L. Boone
- Part E: Amphipods by Clarence R. Shoemaker
- Part F: Pycnogonida by Leon J. Cole
- Part G: Euphyllopoda by Frits Johansen
- Part H: Cladocera by Chancey Juday
- Part I: Freshwater Ostracoda from Canada and Alaska by G.O. Sars
- Part J: Freshwater Copepoda by C.D. Marsh
- Part K: Marine Copepoda by Arthur Willey
- Part L: Parasitic Copepoda by Charles Branch Wilson
- Part M: (Not published)
- Part N: Crustacean Life of some Arctic Lagoons, Lakes and Ponds by Frits Johansen

Volume 8: Mollusks, Echinoderms, Coelenterates, Etc. (1919-1924)

- Part A: Mollusks, Recent and Pleistocene by William Healey Dall
- Part B: Cephalopoda and Pteropoda by S. Stillman Berry and William Healey Dall
- Part C: Echinoderms by Austin H. Clark
- Part D: Bryozoa by Raymond C. Osburn
- Part E: Rotatoria by H.K. Harring
- Part F: Chaetognatha by A.G. Huntsman
- Part G: Alcyonaria and Actinaria by A.E. Verrill
- Part H: Medusae and Ctenophora by Henry B. Bigelow
- Part I: Hydroids by C. McLean Fraser
- Part J: Porifera by A. Dendy and L.M. Frederick

Volume 9: Annelids, Parasitic Worms, Protozoans, Etc. (1919-1924)

- Part A: Oligochaeta by Frank Smith and Paul S. Welch
- Part B: Polychaeta by Ralph V. Chamberlin
- Part C: Hirudinea by J. Percy Moore
- Part D: Gephyrea by Ralph V. Chamberlin
- Part E: Acanthocephala by H.J. van Cleave
- Part F: Nematoda by N.A. Cobb
- Part G-H: Trematoda and Cestoda by A.R. Cooper
- Part I: Turbellaria by A. Hassell
- Part J: Polychaeta by J.H. Ashworth
- Part K: Nemertini by Ralph V. Chamberlin
- Part L: Sporozoa by J.V. Mavor
- Part M: Foraminifera by Joseph A. Cushman

APPENDIX A

Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918 (*Continued*)

Volume 10: Plankton, Hydrography, Tides, Etc. (1920)

- Part A: Plankton by Albert Mann (Never published)
- Part B: Marine Diatoms by L.W. Bailey (Never published)
- Part C: Tidal Investigations and Results by W. Bell Dawson
- Part D: Hydrography (Never published)

Volume 11: Geology and Geography (1924)

- Part A: The Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada West of the Kent Peninsula by J.J. O'Neill
- Part B: Geographical Notes on the Arctic Coast of Canada by Kenneth Chipman and John R. Cox

Volume 12: The Copper Eskimos (1922-1923)

- Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos by Diamond Jenness
- Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos by Diamond Jenness
- Part C: Osteology of the Western and Central Eskimos by John Cameron, S.G. Ritchie and J. Stanley Bagnall

Volume 13: Eskimo Folk-lore (1924)

- Part A: Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta, and Coronation Gulf by Diamond Jenness
- Part B: Eskimo String Figures by Diamond Jenness

Volume 14: Eskimo Songs, Songs of the Copper Eskimos (1925)

By Helen H. Roberts and Diamond Jenness

Volume 15: Eskimo Language and Technology (1928, 1944)

- Part A: Comparative Vocabulary of the Western Eskimo Dialects by Diamond Jenness
- Part B: Grammatical Notes on some Western Eskimo Dialects by Diamond Jenness

Volume 16: Material Culture of the Copper Eskimo (1946)

By Diamond Jenness

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports

Page No.	Neg. No.*	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part C: Diptera</i>			
30c (Plate 6: L)	51030	Wilkins	<i>Tipula arctica</i> Curtis. (Photograph by G.H. Wilkins).
30c (Plate 6: R)	42449	Wilkins	<i>Tipula arctica</i> Curtis. (Photograph by G.H. Wilkins).
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part E: Coleoptera</i>			
23e (Plate 1)	42248	Johansen	White spruce forest on the Coppermine river, Northwest Territories, below Sandstone rapids, showing also scrub willows; February 15, 1915, F. Johansen, Photo.
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part H: Spiders, Mites and Myriapods</i>			
9h (Plate 3)	51028	Wilkins	<i>Lycosa asivak</i> , Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories, July 9, 1915.
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part I: Lepidoptera</i>			
32i (In text)	51026	Wilkins	<i>Dryas octopetala</i> , Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories, July 9, 1915; <i>Hyphoraia festiva</i> , male, at rest on rock in foreground (Photo by G.H. Wilkins.)
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part K: Insect Life on the Western Arctic Coast of America</i>			
43k (Plate 1, Fig. 1)	51014	Wilkins	Fly on <i>Dryas</i> flowers. Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories. July, 1915. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins.)
43k (Plate 1, Fig. 2)	51220	Wilkins	Mosquitoes attacking dog. Bernard harbour. July 6, 1915. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins.)
45k (Plate 2, Fig. 1)	38570	O'Neill	Arctic willow shrubbery. East branch of Mackenzie river delta, at Nennariak, near south end of Richard island. June, 1914. (Photo by J.J. O'Neill.)

* The original number assigned each negative by the Geological Survey of Canada.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part K: Insect Life on the Western Arctic Coast of America (continued)</i>			
45k (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	38407	O'Neill	Arctic willow shrubbery. Mouth of Tree river, Port Epworth, Coronation Gulf. October, 1915. (Photo by J.J. O'Neill.)
47k (Plate 3, Fig. 1)	42142	Johansen	Winter conditions. Wind-swept tundra bluffs at Collinson point, Alaska. February 24, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
47k (Plate 3, Fig.2)	42172	Johansen	Early spring. Snow melting on tundra at Demarcation point, Alaska, May 13, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
49k (Plate 4, Fig. 1)	42185	Johansen	Beginning of summer. Melting tundra pond at Collinson point, Alaska, June 3, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
49k (Plate 4, Fig 2)	42183	Johansen	Beginning of summer. Tundra nearly free of snow. Collinson point, Alaska. June 3, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
51k (Plate 5, Fig. 1)	38384	O'Neill	Tundra ditch at Teller (Port Clarence), Alaska. Reindeer grazing. August, 1913. (Photo by J.J. O'Neill.)
51k (Plate 5, Fig. 2)	42216	Johansen	Coastal tundra strewn with old driftwood, at Collinson point, Alaska. July 17, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
53k (Plate 6, Fig. 1)	50852	Wilkins	Southwest coast of Banks island, looking southeast from Cape Kellett, Earth-Slides. August, 1914. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins.)
53k (Plate 6, Fig. 2)	38530	Jenness	Victoria island. Dolomite beds crossing plain, between southwest coast and the Colville hills, about 8 miles inland. Autumn, 1915. (Photo by D. Jenness.)
55k (Plate 7, Fig. 1)	39587	Cox	Arctic coast at King point, Yukon. Earth-slides. August, 1914. (Photo by John R. Cox.)
55k (Plate 7, Fig. 2)	42423	Johansen	Inland gully on Herschel island, Arctic coast of Yukon Territory. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
57k (Plate 8, Fig. 1)	51316	Wilkins	Arctic coast near cape Parry, Northwest Territories, Dolomite cliffs. July 24, 1916.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part K: Insect Life on the Western Arctic Coast of America (continued)</i>			
57k (Plate 8, Fig. 2)	42398	Johansen	Dolomite outcrops a short distance inland from Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories. June 21, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
59k (Plate 9, Fig. 1)	42264	Johansen	Snow melting at Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories. May 24, 1915. Note pools. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
59k (Plate 9, Fig. 2)	42284	Johansen	Brook fed by melting snowbank. Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories. July 12, 1915. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
61k (Plate 10, Fig. 1)	42357	Johansen	Surface of diabase island in Coronation gulf. Northwest Territories. March 12, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
61k (Plate 10, Fig. 2)	51085	Wilkins	Cape Barrow harbour, Coronation gulf. Typical granite formation of eastern part of Coronation gulf and Bathurst Inlet. August 12, 1915. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins.)
<i>Volume 4 Botany, Part A: Freshwater Algae and Diatoms</i>			
45a (Plate 1, Fig. 1)	42322	Johansen	Panoramic view of Bernard harbour, seen from ridge to the south, showing the creek outlet from the lake and a small pond in the foreground. The new species <i>Cosmarium Stefanssonii</i> was found in this creek. August, 1915. Photo F. Johansen.
45a (Plate 1, Fig. 2)	42306	Johansen	Shallow tundra pond in swamp at Bernard harbour. August, 1915. Photo F. Johansen.
47a (Plate 2, Fig. 1)	42209	Johansen	Large lake at Konganevik, Camden Bay. Note the broad belt in the foreground of aquatic flowering plants. July, 1914. Photo F. Johansen.
47a (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	42426	Johansen	Pond overgrown with <i>Hippuris</i> , <i>Eriophorum</i> , <i>Carex</i> , etc., inland on Herschel island. It was from this swamp that the comparatively rich desmid flora was secured. July, 1916. Photo F. Johansen.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part A: Vascular Plants</i>			
27a (Plate I, Fig. 1)	42406	Johansen	<i>Anemone parviflora</i> Michx. In bloom at Bernard harbour. July 3, 1916. (F. Johansen.)
27a (Plate I, Fig. 2)	51640	Wilkins	<i>Papaver nudicaule</i> L. Bernard harbour. July 23, 1915. (G.H. Wilkins)
29a (Plate II, Fig. 1)	51026	Wilkins	<i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl. Bernard harbour. July 12, 1915. Arctiid moth <i>Hyphoraia festiva</i> Bork. in foreground. (G.H. Wilkins)
29a (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	51013	Wilkins	<i>Oxytropis arctobia</i> Bunge. Bernard harbour. July 8, 1915. (G.H. Wilkins)
31a (Plate 3, Fig. 1)	51583	Wilkins	<i>Androsace Chamaejasme</i> Host. Bernard harbour. July 8, 1915. (G.H. Wilkins)
31a (Plate 3, Fig. 2)	51015	Wilkins	<i>Pedicularis lanata</i> Cham. et Schl. Bernard harbour. July, 1915. (G.H. Wilkins)
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part B: Contributions to the Morphology, Synonymy and Geographical Distribution of Arctic Plants</i>			
18b (In text)	42389	Johansen	<i>Salix Richardsonii</i> Hook. A tree in creek-bed of Rae's 'Mackenzie River,' south coast of Victoria Island about 111° 30' West. March 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
19b (In text)	42246	Johansen	<i>Salix Richardsonii</i> Hook. From tributary to Coppermine river (below Bloody Fall). February 10, 1915. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
87b (In text, Fig. 1)	42250	Johansen	<i>Picea canadensis</i> and <i>Salix</i> on creek slope, tributary to Coppermine river below Sandstone rapids. Feb. 15 th , 1915. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
87b (In text, Fig. 2)	42249	Johansen	<i>Picea canadensis</i> in creek bed, tributary to Coppermine river, below Sandstone rapids. February 15 th , 1915. (Photo by F. Johansen.)
88b (In text, Fig. 3)	38821	Anderson	Grove of white spruce (<i>Picea canadensis</i>) southeast of Sandstone rapid, Coppermine river. The most northern dense grove in this region, a thick stand being found only where protected from sweeping winds and with good exposure to the sun. February 15, 1915. (Photo by R.M. Anderson.)

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part B: Contributions to the Morphology, Synonymy and Geographical Distribution of Arctic Plants (continued)</i>			
94b (In text, Fig. 4)	38816	Anderson	Thicket of small poplars, <i>Populus tremuloides</i> Michx., bordered by a common arctic willow, <i>Salix arctica</i> . Foothills of Endicott mountains, on Hulahula river, Alaska. One of the very few straggling bunches of poplar on the arctic slope west of the Mackenzie. April 2, 1914. Dead leaves are still hanging on the willows, the nook being well sheltered from winds. (Photo by R.M. Anderson.)
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part C: General Observations on the Vegetation</i>			
59c (Plate 1, Fig. 1)	42146	Johansen	Low hummock on coastal tundra, Collinson point, Alaska, February 27, 1914. The strong winds prevent snow from gathering except in gullies or depressions. (Photo by F. Johansen)
59c (Plate 1, Fig. 2)	42206	Johansen	<i>Draba alpina</i> L., in clusters on grassy tundra at edge of Camden bay, Konganevik, Alaska, July 4, 1914. Screwed-up ice in back ground. (Photo by F. Johansen)
61c (Plate 2, Fig. 1)	42200	Johansen	Sand-dunes, Konganevik, Camden bay, Alaska, with <i>Elymus mollis</i> Trin. July 4, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen)
61c (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	44215	Johansen	Coastal flats, Collinson point, Alaska. <i>Polemonium boreale</i> Adams, <i>Saxifraga decipiens</i> Ehrh. var. <i>groenlandica</i> (L.) Lge., <i>Papaver nudicaule</i> L., <i>Artemisia</i> , etc. July 17, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen)
63c (Plate 3, Fig. 1)	42217	Johansen	<i>Astragalus alpinus</i> L., in bloom at Collinson point, Alaska, July 17, 1914. (Photo by F. Johansen)
63c (Plate 3, Fig. 2)	42418	Johansen	Low hillside, Herschel Island, Yukon Territory. <i>Saxifraga tricuspidata</i> Rottb., <i>Selinum cnidiifolium</i> Turcz., <i>Bupleurum americanum</i> C. et R. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen)

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part C: General Observations on the Vegetation (continued)</i>			
65c (Plate 4, Fig. 1)	42416	Johansen	Valley, Herschel island. <i>Lagotis glauca</i> Gaertn, var. <i>Stelleri</i> Cham. et Schl. <i>Parrya macrocarpa</i> R. Br., <i>Phaca frigida</i> L., and <i>Pedicularis capitata</i> Adams, in bloom. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen)
65c (Plate 4, Fig. 2)	42420	Johansen	Hillside, Herschel island. <i>Erigeron grandiflorus</i> Hook., <i>Selinum cnidiifolium</i> Turcz., <i>Myosotis silvatica</i> Hoffm., <i>Senecio frigidus</i> Less., in bloom. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen)
67c (Plate 5, Fig. 1)	42425	Johansen	Bluff, Herschel island, with <i>Polygonum Bistorta</i> L., <i>Artemisia comata</i> Rydb., etc., in bloom. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen)
67c (Plate 5, Fig. 2)	42415	Johansen	Sheltered slope, Herschel island, with <i>Lupinus nootkatensis</i> Don var. <i>Kjellmanii</i> Ostf., <i>Myosotis silvatica</i> Hoffm., <i>Castilleja pallida</i> (L.) Kunth., <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl, <i>Artemisia</i> , etc. July 29, 1916. (Photo by F. Johansen)
69c (Plate 6, Fig. 1)	51375	Wilkins	Herschel island, August 4, 1916. Clump of daisies, <i>Matricaria inodora</i> L. var. <i>grandiflora</i> (Hook.) Ostf. (Photo by G.H. Wilkins)
69c (Plate 6, Fig. 2)	42421	Johansen	Herschel island, July 29, 1916. <i>Achillea borealis</i> Bong. with <i>Artemisia vulgaris</i> L. var. <i>Tilesii</i> Ledeb., <i>Myosotis silvatica</i> Hoffm., <i>Ranunculus affinis</i> R. Br. (Photo by F. Johansen)
71c (Plate 7, Fig. 1)	42302	Johansen	Sandy slope at Bernard harbour, Dolphin and Union strait, Northwest Territories. <i>Hedysarum Mackenzii</i> Richards., <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl. August 4, 1915. (Photo by F. Johansen)
71c (Plate 7, Fig. 2)	42293	Johansen	Sandy slope, Bernard harbour, July 19, 1915. Staminate flowers of <i>Salix anglorum</i> Cham. (Photo by F. Johansen)
73c (Plate 8, Fig. 1)	42301	Johansen	Sandy slope, Bernard harbour, August 4, 1915. Pillows of <i>Silene acaulis</i> L., with <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl. (Photo by F. Johansen)

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 5 Botany, Part C: General Observations on the Vegetation (continued)</i>			
73c (Plate 8, Fig. 2)	42291	Johansen	Hillside, Bernard harbour, July 15, 1915. White heather, <i>Cassiope tetragona</i> (L.) Don, with <i>Rhododendron lapponicum</i> (L.) Wahlenb., <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl, and <i>Pedicularis capitata</i> Adams. (Photo by F. Johansen)
75c (Plate 9, Fig. 1)	38802	Anderson	Buttercup, <i>Ranunculus affinis</i> R. Br., in bloom on hillside. Bernard harbour, July 3, 1916. (Photo by R.M. Anderson)
75c (Plate 9, Fig. 2)	38907	Anderson	<i>Dryas integrifolia</i> M. Vahl, in bloom on dry hillside. Bernard harbour, July 3, 1916. (Photo by R.M. Anderson)
77c (Plate 10, Fig. 1)	39104	Anderson	<i>Cerastium alpinum</i> L., growing by nest of Pacific eider, near Cockburn point, Northwest Territories, July 15, 1916. (Photo by R.M. Anderson)
77c (Plate 10, Fig. 2)	38905	Anderson	Flower buds of <i>Senecio palustris</i> (L.) Hook. Var. <i>congestus</i> (DC.) Hook., growing in wet spot on small stony island. Eider-duck rookery off Cockburn point, July 15, 1916. (Photo by R.M. Anderson)
<i>Volume 7 Crustacea, Part H: Cladocera</i>			
6e* (In text, Fig. 3)	42320	Johansen	Big lake at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories, August, 1915. F. Johansen, photo.
7e* (In text, Fig. 4)	42404	Johansen	Pond on ridge at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories, July, 1916. F. Johansen, photo.
<i>Volume 7 Crustacea, Part J: Freshwater Copepoda</i>			
25j (Plate 5, Fig. 1)	42272	Johansen	Shallow pond on sandflats at Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories, July 2, 1915.
25j (Plate 5, Fig. 2)	42207	Johansen	Tundra pond at Konganevik, Camden bay, Alaskan Arctic Coast, July 4, 1914.

* Error in report: pagination should read "6h" not "6e"

* Error in report: pagination should read "7h" not "7e"

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 7 Crustacea, Part N: Crustacean Life of Arctic Lagoons, Lakes and Ponds</i>			
19n (Plate 1, Fig. 1)	42208	Johansen	Large freshwater lakes near Konganevik, Camden bay, Alaska. July 4, 1914.
19n (Plate 1, Fig. 2)	42426	Johansen	Tundra Pond overgrown with <i>Hippuris</i> , <i>Carex</i> , and <i>Eriophorum</i> , on Herschel island, Yukon Territory, July 29, 1916.
21n (Plate 2, Fig. 1)	42304	Johansen	Tundra pond with <i>Carex</i> and <i>Eriophorum</i> , at Bernard harbour, Dolphin and Union strait, Northwest Territories August 4, 1915.
21n (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	42287	Johansen	Brackish pond at outlet of creek at Bernard harbour. July 15, 1915.
23n (Plate 3, Fig. 1)	42292	Johansen	East end of long, narrow, inland lake southwest of Bernard harbour, July 15, 1915.
23n (Plate 3, Fig. 2)	42334	Johansen	Cutting ice on the large, deep lake south of Bernard harbour, September 28, 1915.
<i>Volume 8 Mollusks, Echinoderms, Coelenterates, etc., Part E: Rotatoria</i>			
23e (Plate 4, Fig. 1)	42273	Johansen	Temporary pools in swamp, fed from snow drifts. Bernard harbour, Northwest Territories, July 2, 1915. Photo by F. Johansen.
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula</i>			
Frontispiece (Plate 1)	43246	Chipman	Travelling with whaleboat in Mackenzie delta. Terraces left by receding flood waters. June, 1916.
74a (Plate 2, Fig. 1)	39240	Anderson	Sea ice being shoved up over low tundra shore, and carrying boulders and driftwood trunks with it. Camden bay, Alaska, July 3, 1914.
74a (Plate 2, Fig. 2)	39241	Anderson	Detail of sea ice overriding low coast. There is, as a rule, very little disturbance of the underlying material. Camden bay, Alaska.
75a (Plate 3, Fig. 1)	38535	O'Neill	Valley of Firth river nine miles from the coast looking north. Cliffs are highly folded Jurassic sediments overlain by recent fluviatile deposits. March, 1914.
75a (Plate 3, Fig. 2)	39488	Cox	Canyon of Firth river, about 30 miles from the coast looking south. March, 1914.
76a (Plate 4, Fig. 1)	38541	O'Neill	Anticline in beds of massive limestone; oldest formation seen in Firth river section; about 40 miles from the Arctic coast.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula (continued)</i>			
76a (Plate 4, Fig. 2)	38446	O'Neill	East side of Kay point, Yukon Territory; shows rapid erosion of the marine Pleistocene formation by slumps and wave action. The lower part of picture is a reflection in the water.
77a (Plate 5, Fig. 1)	38588	O'Neill	Cliffs of silty mud, etc., on the north side of Herschel island have stratification and folding at this place; there is also a large lens of ice exposed in the cliffs.
77a (Plate 5, Fig. 2)	38589	O'Neill	Northwest end of Herschel Island. Cliffs of marine, silty and sandy muds of Pleistocene age.
78a (Plate 6, Fig. 1)	38403	O'Neill	Looking south to the east branch of Mackenzie river. Latitude 68° 43' 15". (Place of section).
78a (Plate 6, Fig. 2)	38401	O'Neill	Eastern border of Mackenzie river delta; typical erosion of the silt-sand-gravel formation.
79a (Plate 7, Fig. 1)	43219	Chipman	West branch of Mackenzie river delta.
79a (Plate 7, Fig. 2)	n.d.	n.d.	Headquarters of the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, at Bernard harbour, Dolphin and Union strait, 1914-1916.
80a (Plate 8, Fig. 1)	38593	O'Neill	Silurian dolomites at Cape Parry, Northwest Territories, July 24, 1916.
80a (Plate 8, Fig. 2)	38591	O'Neill	Harbour on the east side of Pierce point, Northwest Territories. Old series of dolomites on point, cut by dykes of diabase. July 23, 1916.
81a (Plate 9, Fig. 1)	38469	O'Neill	Flood-plain of Brock river, north side near coast. The bank is of Eocene estuarine shales, overlain by Pleistocene sands, gravels, etc. April, 1915.
81a (Plate 9, Fig. 2)	38468	O'Neill	Gravel-topped hills about Brock river, 8 miles from the coast; gravels are of Pleistocene age. April, 1915.
82a (Plate 10, Fig. 1)	38898	Anderson	In the canyon of Croker river, 15 miles from the coast of Amundsen gulf. Cliffs of dolomite with castellated fronts. March 18, 1916.
82a (Plate 10, Fig. 2)	38899	Anderson	In the canyon of Croker river, 20 miles from the coast. Cliffs of dolomite showing distinctive bedding. March 18, 1916.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula (continued)</i>			
83a (Plate 11, Fig. 1)	43304	Chipman	Typical exposure of Silurian dolomite in the canyon of Croker river; pinnacles are apparently due to post-glacial erosion. March 18, 1916.
84a (Plate 12, Fig. 1)	38491	O'Neill	Wise point from the east; typical beach covered with slabs of dolomite.
84a (Plate 12, Fig. 2)	n.d.	n.d.	Bernard harbour; Silurian dolomite at the beach covered by marine Pleistocene deposits. Liston and Sutton islands may be seen in the distance, near the left side of the photograph.
85a (Plate 13, Fig. 1)	38489	O'Neill	Silurian dolomites overlain by Pleistocene formation near the mouth of Inman river; delta of the river may be seen through the cut in the cliffs, extending into Amundsen gulf. May 18, 1915.
85a (Plate 13, Fig. 2)	38484	O'Neill	Detail of dolomite near mouth of Inman river; massive brecciated bed under banded chert and dolomite.
85a (Plate 13, Fig. 3)	42354	Johansen	Cliff of dolomite at northeast end of Liston island, containing Silurian corals. April, 1916.
86a (Plate 14, Fig. 1)	38678	O'Neill	Effect of frost action along the joint planes of flat-lying dolomites at Cape Hearne, Coronation gulf. The edges are flexed sharply upward, thus forming trenches 2' to 4' in width which intersect at right angles. June 3, 1916.
86a (Plate 14, Fig. 2)	38573	O'Neill	South side of typical island in Coronation gulf. Columnar diabase overlying thin bedded sediments; in this case they are red sandstone of the Coppermine river series.
87a (Plate 15, Fig. 1)	38507	O'Neill	Synclinerium of cherty dolomite at base of Port Epworth harbour, Coronation gulf.
87a (Plate 15, Fig. 2)	39478	Cox	Mupfa, a Copper Eskimo, cutting blocks of talc-chlorite schist to make pots and lamps from an inclusion in the Archaean granite on the east side of Port Epworth harbour. June, 1915.
88a (Plate 16, Fig. 1)	38570	O'Neill	Mouth of Tree river, Port Epworth harbour, Coronation gulf. October 4, 1915.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula (continued)</i>			
88a (Plate 16, Fig. 2)	38874	Anderson	Cliffs of Pleistocene marine silty mud, on east side of Tree river, five miles from the coast. 2' to 3' willows in foreground. October 4, 1915.
89a (Plate 17, Fig. 1)	38559	O'Neill	Falls on Tree river six miles from coast; looking south up the valley. Granite hills to the left; dolomite across the valley.
89a (Plate 17, Fig. 2)	38558	O'Neill	From 1,000 foot bluff of diabase on west side of Tree river, looking southeast across the valley to the granite hills in the distance. The central ridge separates the east from the west branch of the river, and is part of the dolomite formation.
90a (Plate 18, Fig. 1)	38662	O'Neill	Cape Barrow granites and the diabase-capped Jameson islands to the north.
90a (Plate 18, Fig. 2)	38523	O'Neill	Precambrian granite containing abundant inclusions; southeast end of Grays bay.
91a (Plate 19, Fig. 1)	38672	O'Neill	Pink quartzite at first cascade on Hood river, about 6 miles from the mouth; looking east.
91a (Plate 19, Fig. 2)	38671	O'Neill	Valley of Hood river above the first cascade; banks of marine Pleistocene silty muds; hills of granite in the distance.
92a (Plate 20, Fig. 1)	38646	O'Neill	Cliffs of massive Goulbourn quartzite-conglomerates and quartzites along north shore of Goulbourn peninsula.
92a (Plate 20, Fig. 2)	38516	O'Neill	Thin bedded upper part of the Goulbourn quartzite capped by sill of diabase on south side of Barry island.
93a (Plate 21, Fig. 1)	38515	O'Neill	East base of Banks peninsula; cliffs of cherty dolomite overlain by amygdaloid at 850 feet above sea-level. The lower slopes are of marine Pleistocene sands and gravels.
93a (Plate 21, Fig. 2)	38521	O'Neill	Cherty dolomite capped by diabase on southeast side of Algak island; there is some replacement of the upper layers of the dolomites by chalcocite and covellite.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula (continued)</i>			
94a (Plate 22, Fig. 1)	38518	O'Neill	Monadnock of quartzite on Barry island overlooking the amygdaloids of the central lowland; looking northeast along the coast.
94a (Plate 22, Fig. 2)	38519	O'Neill	Amygdaloids of the central lowland of Barry island.
95a (Plate 23, Fig. 1)	38641	O'Neill	Outcrops of basaltic amygdaloids along the eastern side of Barry island.
95a (Plate 23, Fig. 2)	39285	Anderson	Pillar of basaltic amygdaloid remaining on central lowlands of Barry island.
96a (Plate 24, Fig. 1)	38568	O'Neill	Copper bearing basaltic amygdaloid at the northern end of Banks peninsula.
97a (Plate 25, Fig. 1)	38574	O'Neill	Hanerotit ridge from the west, showing amygdaloids on the side of the main ridge of diabase.
97a (Plate 25, Fig. 2)	38575	O'Neill	Cliff of diabase on Hanerotit showing malachite stain about shatter-planes.
98a (Plate 26, Fig. 1)	38576	O'Neill	Cliff of copper bearing basaltic amygdaloid on the south side of Lewes island. Bathurst inlet.
98a (Plate 26, Fig. 2)	38578	O'Neill	Typical island in Bathurst inlet, made up of several flows of amygdaloidal basalt.
99a (Plate 27, Fig. 1)	38529	Jenness	Falls over Silurian dolomite on Okauyarvik river, southwestern Victoria island (Wollaston peninsula), 2 ½ miles from the coast. October, 1914.
99a (Plate 27, Fig. 2)	42379	Johansen	Diabase cutting and capping dolomite at Murray point, southern Victoria island. April, 1916.
100a (Plate 28, Fig. 1)	38674	O'Neill	West coast of Bathurst inlet near Moore bay. Hills of Precambrian granite faced by dolomite, which in turn is overlain by amygdaloids; all are cut by the diabase dyke at the left. August 18, 1915.
100a (Plate 28, Fig. 2)	38833	Anderson	General surface of the country northeast of Dismal lakes. Northern limit of trees. March 17, 1915.
106a (Plate 34, Fig. 1)	38838	Anderson	Boulder bank on east shore of Coppermine river, just below Melville creek. March 21, 1915.
106a (Plate 34, Fig. 2)	38666	Bruce	Hills of silty mud cut by small stream, which enters Coppermine river a few miles above Bloody fall on the east side. February, 1916.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part B: Geographical Notes on the Arctic Coast of Canada</i>			
43b (Plate 36, Fig. 1)	51097	Wilkins	Pack ice in Dolphin and Union Strait, July 29, 1915.
43b (Plate 36, Fig. 2)	43180	Chipman	Schooner, <i>Mary Sachs</i> in ice, Camden bay, Alaska. August 29, 1913.
44b (Plate 37, Fig. 1)	50740	Wilkins	Transit observations in snow house. Collinson point, Alaska, Winter of 1913-14.
44b (Plate 37, Fig. 2)	43280	Chipman	Sextant observations at Cape Barrow, N.W.T. August 12, 1915.
45b (Plate 38, Fig. 1)	43251	Chipman	Expedition boats <i>Alaska</i> and <i>North Star</i> unloading at Bernard harbour, Dolphin and Union strait. August, 1916.
45b (Plate 38, Fig. 2)	37073	Jenness	Eskimo camp at Cape Krusenstern, Northwest Territories, July, 1915.
46b (Plate 39, Fig. 1)	43343	Chipman	Copper Eskimos packing on summer inland migration. Coppermine river. June, 1916.
46b (Plate 39, Fig. 2)	43347	Chipman	West bank of Coppermine river, 20 miles from mouth. June, 1916.
47b (Plate 40, Fig. 1)	43283	Chipman	Topography of Cape Barrow, Bathurst inlet. Precambrian granite. The proportion covered by any kind of vegetation is very limited, August, 1915.
47b (Plate 40, Fig. 2)	51085	Wilkins	Schooner <i>North Star</i> in small deep harbour at Cape Barrow, Northwest Territories, August 12, 1915.
48b (Plate 41, Fig. 1)	50812	Wilkins	Point Barrow, Alaska, sled, shod with bone. 1914.
48b (Plate 41, Fig. 2)	43204	Chipman	Nome basket sleigh with dog team hitched in Nome harness. Collinson point, Alaska, 1914.
49b (Plate 42, Fig. 1)	37028	Jenness	Copper Eskimo sled on the trail. Note dogs hitched with individual traces and mud runners shod with ice. Cape Krusenstern.
49b (Plate 42, Fig. 2)	50974	Wilkins	Eskimo dog with pack. Bernard harbour, June 29, 1915.
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos</i>			
Frontispiece (Plate 1)	36913	Wilkins	Ikpakhuak and his wife Higilak in full dancing costume.
16 (Fig. 1)	50991	Wilkins	Eskimo camp beside a fishing lake behind Bernard harbour.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos (continued)</i>			
24 (Fig. 2)	38605	Jenness	View of Mount Wivyaaurun from Lake Angmaloktok, Colville hills, S.W. Victoria island.
25 (Fig. 3)	38529	Jenness	Frozen falls on Okauyarvik creek, S.W. Victoria island.
35 (Fig. 4)	36932	Jenness	A group of Copper Eskimo men and boys who spent the summer of 1914 in Noahognik.
38 (Fig. 5)	38584	O'Neill	Eskimo camp off the mouth of the Coppermine river.
46 (Fig. 6)	50852	Wilkins	View of the south coast of Banks island, near Cape Lambton.
51 (Fig. 7)	36986	Jenness	Puivlik Eskimos welcoming visitors from Prince Albert sound at Lake Tahiryuak S.W. Victoria island.
54 (Fig. 9)	39478	Cox	Maffa, a Tree river native, making a stone lamp.
57 (Fig. 11)	37071	Jenness	Old stone hut near Locker point.
62 (Fig. 12)	37019	Jenness	Interior of a snow hut.
80 (Fig. 27)	39004	Anderson	A spring tent with an outer wall and passage of snow-blocks.
81 (Fig. 28)	39362	Anderson	A summer tent at the fishing lake behind Bernard harbour.
85 (Fig. 30)	36985	Jenness	Two summer tents joined together.
91 (Fig. 31)	51256	Wilkins	Caches raised on stones to protect them from the foxes.
99 (Fig. 32)	36972	Jenness	Haugak bringing in <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> for fuel, Colville hills.
104 (Fig. 33)	38617	O'Neill	Fish hung up to dry, Nulahugyuk creek, near Bernard harbour.
110 (Fig. 34)	38571	O'Neill	Tree river Eskimos descending to the sea at the approach of winter.
112 (Fig. 35)	37024	Jenness	Eskimo hunters starting out for the sealing-grounds, Dolphin and Union strait.
114 (Fig. 36)	37023	Jenness	The return from the sealing-grounds, the dogs dragging home the seals.
117 (Fig. 37)	37026	Jenness	A migration train near Cape Krusenstern.
118 (Fig. 38)	37027	Jenness	A rest during a migration, near Cape Krusenstern.
122 (Fig. 39)	39380	Anderson	A cache on top of a high rock at Point Wollaston.
129 (Fig. 40)	36971	Jenness	Ikpakhuak jigging for fish in Lake Ekallugak, Colville hills.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos (continued)</i>			
130 (Fig. 41)	37093	Jenness	The return from a caribou hunt, packing the game, Colville hills.
132 (Fig. 42)	36981	Jenness	Dressing for a dance, Lake Tahiryuak, S.W. Victoria island.
135 (Fig. 43)	36926	Jenness	Avranna repairing his bow, Colville hills.
142 (Fig. 44)	37005	Jenness	An Eskimo autumn encampment at Lake Kigiaktallik, S.W. Victoria island.
143 (Fig. 45)	36988	Jenness	Digging for water through the ice of Okauyarvik creek, S.W. Victoria island.
145 (Fig. 46)	39039	Anderson	A Bathurst inlet native shooting with bow and arrow.
147 (Fig. 47)	51163	Anderson	An Umingmaktok Eskimo hunter at Cape Barrow.
154 (Fig. 50)	50927	Wilkins	Jigging for fish through an ice-crack in a lake near Bernard harbour.
166 (Fig. 51)	51040	Wilkins	Kalyutaryun and her baby Okomik.
168 (Fig. 52)	38969	Anderson	Eskimo mothers and their children on the trail.
172 (Fig. 53)	36942	Jenness	A Tree river Eskimo wearing a fillet of caribou-skin around his forehead to cure a headache.
175 (Fig. 54)	37169	Wilkins	The grave of Haviron.
183 (Fig. 55)	37000	Jenness	Pegging out caribou-skins to dry in the sun, Bernard harbour.
193 (Fig. 56)	39366	Anderson	Women wading ashore from ice in a fishing-lake just south of Bernard harbour, July 3, 1915.
197 (Fig. 57)	38561	O'Neill	An Eskimo in his kayak, Port Epworth.
204 (Fig. 58)	37040	Jenness	A Tree river native harnessing his dog in preparation for the day's sealing.
206 (Fig. 59)	36954	Jenness	Tokalluak, a Coppermine river shaman.
210 (Fig. 60)	37047	Jenness	Digging fishing-holes through the ice, Lake Angmaloktok, Colville hills.
215 (Fig. 61)	36935	Jenness	Ilatsiak, the most important shaman among the Copper Eskimos.
219 (Fig. 62)	37037	Jenness	Children playing 'tag', Dolphin and Union strait.
220 (Fig. 63)	37038	Jenness	Children making houses of pebbles, Colville hills.
223 (Fig. 64)	50918	Wilkins	Angivranna, a Coppermine river native, beating a drum.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos (continued)</i>			
230 (Fig. 66)	37052	Jenness	Okalluk and Tusayok, the former making a cooking-pot from a tin can, the latter making arrow-heads from an antler.
234 (Fig. 67)	38506	O'Neill	An Eskimo woman and her dog, both carrying packs, Port Epworth.
238 (Fig. 68)	36956	Jenness	The coming of the missionary. Rev. H. Girling among the Eskimos of Dolphin and Union strait.
241 (Fig. 69)	36912	Jenness	The influx from the West. Christian Jorgenson Klengenberg (a Dane), his wife (an Eskimo woman from Wainwright inlet, N. Alaska), and their family, all of whom migrated into Coronation gulf in 1916.
253 (Plate 2.A)	37009	Jenness	A hut built in the autumn while the snow was still shallow. The travellers have therefore unloaded one of their sleds and are using it to convey snow-blocks. The builder's head is just visible inside the structure. Southwest Victoria Island, 1915.
253 (Plate 2.B)	38545	O'Neill	The man on the right has been cutting snow-blocks outside and passing them in to his companion. The latter is closing the roof: his hand can be seen holding a snow-block in place. On the left his wife is shovelling soft snow around the edge. Bernard Harbour, 1915.
255 (Plate 3.A)	37018	Jenness	Two snow huts, their entrances and windows facing south. Sticks and sealing harpoons are planted in the walls, and the two sleds are raised on snow-blocks, partly to keep them from being buried in a snow-storm and partly to protect their rawhide lashings from the dogs.
255 (Plate 3.B)	37016	Jenness	A view of the whole settlement, showing the dance-house on the right. In the foreground are the tracks of the sleds.
257 (Plate 4.A)	50917	Wilkins	An old woman drinking caribou broth from a ladle of musk-ox horn. Moore Islands, 1915.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos (continued)</i>			
257 (Plate 4.B)	36967	Jenness	Two Prince Albert sound natives, Kunana and Nilgak, eating boiled caribou meat. A Puivlik woman in the back-ground. Lake Tahiryuak, Victoria Island, June, 1915.
257 (Plate 4.C)	36975	Jenness	Outdoor cooking with <i>Dryas integrifolia</i> for fuel. The camp is littered with caribou meat drying in the sun. Bernard harbour, 1916.
259 (Plate 5.A)	38562	O'Neill	A Tree River native adjusting his wife's pack. Tree River, 1915.
259 (Plate 5.B)	43343	Chipman	Coppermine River Eskimos packing overland to Great Bear Lake, June, 1916.
259 (Plate 5.C)	36984	Jenness	Sleeping under a wind-break, Colville Hills, S.W. Victoria Island, May, 1915.
261 (Plate 6.A)	50978	Wilkins	An alignment of stones, <i>inyukhuit</i> , for a caribou drive. Cape Krusenstern, 1915.
261 (Plate 6.B)	51222	Wilkins	A pit, <i>tallu</i> , where a hunter has concealed himself from approaching caribou. Bernard Harbour, 1915.
261 (Plate 6.C)	37075	Jenness	Two stones, <i>nakkatain</i> , pointing to a good fishing site on a lake behind Cape Lambert. July, 1915.
263 (Plate 7.A)	37080	Jenness	General view, showing the weir. The man at the mouth of the creek is keeping guard over the entrance to prevent any fish from escaping.
263 (Plate 7.B)	37082	Jenness	The men are plying their spears; the women, clustering around the small stone caverns in which the fish try to hide, are catching them in their hands and stringing them on rawhide lines.
263 (Plate 7.C)	37083	Jenness	Returning to camp with the salmon.
265 (Plate 8.A)	36921	Wilkins	A shy little Coronation gulf boy. Bernard Harbour, 1915.
265 (Plate 8.B)	50914	Wilkins	On the left, Kaulluak, the widow who married the Alaskan Eskimo, Natkusiak; on the right, Tupik, the maiden to whom he first paid his addresses. Although of marriageable age, Tupik still wears the costume of a young girl. Moore Islands, 1915.

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part A: The Life of the Copper Eskimos (continued)</i>			
265 (Plate 8.C)	39691	Cox	Uloksak and his three wives. The one on the left is Hakungak, whom he took from her first husband, Kikpak. Bernard Harbour, 1916.
267 (Plate 9.A)	51250	Wilkins	Front view—Kila on the left, Kanneyuk on the right.
267 (Plate 9.B)	51251	Wilkins	View from behind.
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimo</i>			
67b (Plate 1: Upper)	51561	Wilkins	Uloksaq, full face and profile (Male No. 37 in the tables of Section 1). This man illustrates the second or Indian-like type of Eskimo mentioned on p. B45.
67b (Plate 1: Lower)	51562	Wilkins	Uloksaq, full face and profile (Male No. 37 in the tables of Section 1). This man illustrates the second or Indian-like type of Eskimo mentioned on p. B45.
69b (Plate 2: Upper)	51637	Wilkins	Iglisiq, full face and profile (Male No. 1).
69b (Plate 2: Lower)	51638	Wilkins	Iglisiq, full face and profile (Male No. 1).
71b (Plate 3: Upper)	51552	Wilkins	Maffa, full face and profile (Male No. 19). The upper part of the face is square, the lower markedly wedge-shaped. The hair had been clipped at the time the man was measured.
71b (Plate 3: Lower)	51554	Wilkins	Maffa, full face and profile (Male No. 19). The upper part of the face is square, the lower markedly wedge-shaped. The hair had been clipped at the time the man was measured.
73b (Plate 4: Upper, L)	51623	Wilkins	Upper, Kigiuna, full face and profile (Male No. 57). This man's eyes were dark brown suffused with a milky tinge, so that he represents one of the so-called light-eyed or blond Eskimos (see p. 46B).
73b (Plate 4: Upper, R)	51624	Wilkins	Upper, Kigiuna, full face and profile (Male No. 57). This man's eyes were dark brown suffused with a milky tinge, so that he represents one of the so-called light-eyed or blond Eskimos (see p. 46B).

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimo (continued)</i>			
73b (Plate 4: Lower, R)	51602	Wilkins	Lower, Aksiatq, full face and profile (Male No. 9).
73b (Plate 4: Lower, L)	51603	Wilkins	Lower, Aksiatq, full face and profile (Male No. 9).
75b (Plate 5: Upper, L)	36953	Jenness	Upper, Toqalluaq, full face and profile (Male No. 76). This man represents the third or Negroid type mentioned on p. B45.
75b (Plate 5: Upper, R)	36954	Jenness	Upper, Toqalluaq, full face and profile (Male No. 76). This man represents the third or Negroid type mentioned on p. B45.
75b (Plate 5: Lower, L)	51024	Wilkins	Lower, Qohoqtaq, full face and profile (Male No. 28).
75b (Plate 5: Lower, R)	51025	Wilkins	Lower, Qohoqtaq, full face and profile (Male No. 28).
77b (Plate 6: Upper, L)	51039	Wilkins	Upper, Hitqoq, full face and profile (Male No. 11).
77b (Plate 6: Upper, R)	51622	Wilkins	Upper, Hitqoq, full face and profile (Male No. 11).
77b (Plate 6: Lower, L)	39026	Anderson	Lower, left, Anarvilluk (Male No. 51), wearing snow-goggles; right, Aitauq (Male No. 50), his brother; both examples of the second type of Eskimo mentioned on p.B45.
77b (Plate 6: Lower, R)	39025	Anderson	Lower, left, Anarvilluk (Male No. 51), wearing snow-goggles; right, Aitauq (Male No. 50), his brother; both examples of the second type of Eskimo mentioned on p.B45.
79b (Plate 7: Upper, L)	51259	Wilkins	Upper, left, Sinisiaq (Male No. 77).

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimo (continued)</i>			
79b (Plate 7: Upper, R)	36970	Jenness	Upper, right, Ayallik (Male No. 8).
79b (Plate 7: Lower, L)	42227	Johansen	Lower, left, Anauyuk (Male No. 10).
79b (Plate 7: Lower, R)	36940	Jenness	Lower, right, Azzun (Male No. 44).
81b (Plate 8: Upper, L)	37215	Wilkins	Upper, left, Amigailaq; right, Utugaum; both Eskimo men of Dolphin and Union strait, not measured.
81b (Plate 8: Upper, R)	37216	Wilkins	Upper, left, Amigailaq; right, Utugaum; both Eskimo men of Dolphin and Union strait, not measured.
81b (Plate 8: Lower, L)	39024	Anderson	Lower, left, Apattoaq, a Kilusiktok man, not measured.
81b (Plate 8: Lower, R)	51176	Wilkins	Lower, right, Natives of Minto Inlet, Victoria island. The girl was said to show 'blond' characteristics (see p. 46b).
83b (Plate 9: Upper, L)	51018	Wilkins	Upper, Kaiyorana, full face and profile (Female No.30).
83b (Plate 9: Upper, R)	51601	Wilkins	Upper, Kaiyorana, full face and profile (Female No.30).
83b (Plate 9: Lower, L)	39030	Anderson	Lower, Pagliq, full face and profile (Female No. 24).
83b (Plate 9: Lower, R)	39029	Anderson	Lower, Pagliq, full face and profile (Female No. 24).
85b (Plate 10: Upper, L)	37213	Wilkins	Upper, Iguaq, full face and profile (Female No. X).

Table 1 CAE fieldwork photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports (*continued*)

Page No.	Neg. No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 12 The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimo (continued)</i>			
85b (Plate 10: Upper, R)	37214	Wilkins	Upper, Iguaq, full face and profile (Female No. X).
85b (Plate 10: Lower, L)	51043	Wilkins	Lower, Kalyutaryun, full face and profile (Female No. 7).
85b (Plate 10: Lower, R)	51044	Wilkins	Lower, Kalyutaryun, full face and profile (Female No. 7).
87b (Plate 11: Upper, L)	51604	Wilkins	Upper, Niq, full face and profile (Female No. 9).
87b (Plate 11: Upper, R)	51605	Wilkins	Upper, Niq, full face and profile (Female No. 9).
87b (Plate 11: Lower, L)	50949	Wilkins	Lower, left, Manigyorina (Female No. 13).
87b (Plate 11: Lower, R)	37165	Wilkins	Right, Kukilukaq (Female No. 23).
89b (Plate 12: Upper, L)	39028	Anderson	Upper, Mimirglinga, full face and profile, a Kilukiktok woman not measured.
89b (Plate 12: Upper, R)	39027	Anderson	Upper, Mimirglinga, full face and profile, a Kilukiktok woman not measured.
89b (Plate 12: Lower, L)	37166	Wilkins	Lower, Qeyuq, full face and profile, a Dolphin and Union strait woman not measured.
89b (Plate 12: Lower, R)	37217	Wilkins	Lower, Qeyuq, full face and profile, a Dolphin and Union strait woman not measured.
<i>Volume 14 Eskimo Songs</i>			
Frontispiece	50918	Wilkins	Copper Eskimo Singing and Drumming.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by Vilhjalmur Stefansson *

Facing Page No.	Negative No. [†]	Caption
Frontispiece	50776	
<i>Chap. 2 The North that Never Was</i>		
16	51220	On the Coppermine River in 1910 the mosquitoes bit our dogs around the eyes till the eyes swelled closed, making them temporarily blind.
17 (No. 1, Upper)	51026	There are hundreds of species of flowering plants and dozens of species of moths and butterflies found on the most northerly islands in the world.
17 (No. 2, Lower)	51374	A meadow and flowers of the cotton plant—Herschel Island, North Coast of Canada.
<i>Chap. 3 Good-bye to 'Civilization' for Five Years</i>		
26 (Right)	51217	Dr. R.M. Anderson
27 (Left, Upper)	51409	Most northerly clubhouse in America—Log Cabin Club, Nome.
27 (Left, Lower)	51400	The most northerly citizen of Uncle Sam for forty years—Barrow, Alaska. Charles Brower, Fred Hopson.
27 (Right, Upper)	51410	Most northerly theatre—Nome.
27 (Right, Lower)	51394	Most northerly school, post office, and church, Barrow, Alaska.
40 (Left)	50918	Music for an outdoors dance—Copper Eskimos.
<i>Chap. 4 The Seeds of Tragedy</i>		
41 (Upper)	51344	Mackenzie Family.
41 (Lower)	51392	Eskimo school children at Barrow.

* All photographs listed are by George Hubert Wilkins, photographer and cinematographer for the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), unless otherwise noted. Pagination from Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions*, rev. ed. (1921; repr., New York: Macmillan, 1943).

[†] The original number assigned each negative by the Geological Survey of Canada.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 9 A Pause at Winter Quarters</i>		
92 (Upper)	50708	In upper bunks, Cox and O'Neill. Below, Anderson, Chipman, Leffingwell.
92 (Middle)	50701	At table, left to right: Bernard, McConnell, Johansen, Chipman, Leffingwell. O'Neill, Anderson Brooks, Cox.
92 (Lower)	50743	Blue.
93 (Upper)	50790	Wilkins taking movies. The morning start.
93 (Lower)	43528	Wilkins showing movies to Eskimos, Christmas, Collinson Point.
<i>Chap. 14 The Ice Journey Begins in Misfortune and Difficulty</i>		
142 (Left)	50767	The sledge trails seaward from Martin Point.
142 (Right)	50823	Cooking outdoors with seal fat.
143	50773	Repairing a broken sled.
150	50786	The camp on the ice before the gale.
151	50794	Wilkins on the shore ice. Searching with fieldglasses the offshore ice on which he knew we were adrift.
<i>Chap. 17 Colder Weather and Better Progress</i>		
174 (No. 1)	51112	1. The blocks are cut.
174 (No. 2)	51113	2. The first block is set on edge.
174 (No. 3)	51115	3. The first tier complete.
174 (No. 4)	51117	4. The beginning of the second tier.
175 (No. 5)	51119	5. The third tier.
175 (No. 6)	51127	6. The roof.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 17 Colder Weather and Better Progress (continued)</i>		
175 (No. 7)	51131	7. The last block.
175 (No. 8)	51104	8. The camp ready for the night.
<i>Chap. 19 We Secure our First Seal</i>		
206 (Upper)	50881	Rigging the sledboat.
206 (Middle)	50884	Rigging the sledboat.
206 (Lower)	50886	Rigging the sledboat.
207(Upper)	50887	Launching the sledboat.
207(Middle)	50889	Crossing a lead.
207(Lower)	50891	Landing.
<i>Chap. 20 Marooned on an Island of Ice</i>		
216 (Upper)	50800	Sealing waters.
216 (Lower)	50814	Fair wind and level ice.
217 (Upper)	50751	Tent and snow 'Sastrugi' after a blizzard.
217 (Lower)	50827	The lead that stopped us.
<i>Chap. 25 Ole and I go Hunting</i>		
258 (Upper)	51223	A tent ring.
258 (Lower)	51096	Broken summer ice along the coast.
259	50852	The <i>North Star</i> could follow the shore water when a larger ship could not move.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 26 We Discover the Mary Sachs</i>		
268 (Upper)	50870	On Arrival at Kellett. Storker Storkerson.
268 (Lower)	50871	On Arrival at Kellett. Ole Andreasen.
269	50862	Building the sodhouse at Cape Kellett. Natkusiak, Bernard, Crawford, Baur, Thomsen, Mrs. Storkerson, Mrs. Thomsen.
<i>Chap. 27 The Autumn Hunt in Banks Island, 1914</i>		
280 (Upper)	50878	Meat for the winter's food and skins with heads for museum specimens.
280 (Lower)	50874	Bringing home a load of meat and skins.
281 (Upper)	n.d.	Hauling ashore the emptied <i>Sachs</i> .
281 (Lower)	50855	Unloading at Kellett.
<i>Chap. 31 We Complete the Mapping of Prince Patrick Land</i>		
314 (Upper)	51129	The dogs sleep in their harness while we make camp.
314 (Lower);	50693	A snowhouse will support almost any weight.
	Photo by Stefansson	
315	50665	On a day of no shadows. Land and sky, hill and hollow are a uniform blur of dazzling haze.
	Photo by Storkerson	
<i>Chap. 34 Exploring the New Land</i>		
332 (No. 1)	51427	Herring gull.
332 (No. 2)	51582	Sabine's gull.
332 (No. 3)	51611	Yellow-billed loon.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 34 Exploring the New Land (continued)</i>		
332 (No. 4)	50987	Lapland longspur.
332 (No. 5)	50959	Parry's spermophile.
333	50866	A young owl on the arctic prairie.
<i>Chap. 35 Melville Island and McClure Strait</i>		
352 (Lower)	50845	Rocky polar coast—summer.
353 (Upper)	n.d.	Sandy polar coast—summer
353 (Lower)	50838	Sandy polar coast—spring—showing earth heaped up by ice pressure.
370 (Upper)	51578	The women carry anything fragile wrapped up in clothing.
<i>Chap. 37 First Crossing of Banks Island, 1915</i>		
370 (Lower)	51650	Summer travel with pack dogs. Copper Eskimos.
371 (Upper)	51253	A summer cache, Copper Eskimos.
371 (Lower)	50990	A summer camp on the prairie, Copper Eskimos.
<i>Chap. 39 A Summer Visit to Herschel Island</i>		
388 (Upper)	51358	The harbour and village, Herschel Island.
388 (Lower)	51438	Eskimo boats and the <i>Alaska</i> , Herschel Island.
389 (Upper)	51337	Mamayauk, half-white girl, Cape Bathurst.
389 (Lower)	51230	Copper Eskimo girl.
396	50721	In midwinter Annie Thomsen played outdoors all day.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 40 Ice Navigation and Winter Quarters</i>		
397 (Upper)	51100	Guninana and Uttaktuak (Mrs. Lopez).
397 (Lower)	50758	Andrè Norem.
<i>Chap. 41 Autumn in Victoria Island</i>		
412 (Left)	51667	Copper Eskimo bowmen.
412 (Right)	51678	Copper Eskimo bowmen.
413 (Upper)	51324	Drying meat and sealskins.
413 (Lower)	50994	Eskimo child asleep in the sun.
<i>Chap. 42 A Visit to the Copper Eskimos</i>		
420 (Upper)	51189	Copper Eskimo spearing fish.
420 (Lower)	51004	Some of the trout are larger than this.
421 (Upper)	51219	Trying to keep cool on a hot arctic day.
421 (Lower)	50956	Typical Copper Eskimo dog.
<i>Chap. 43 Trouble with the Copper Eskimos</i>		
436 (Upper, Left)	51602	Copper Eskimo men.
436 (Upper, Right)	51638	Copper Eskimo men.
436 (Lower, Left)	51561	Copper Eskimo men.
436 (Lower, Right)	51624	Copper Eskimo men.
437 (Upper, Left)	51646	Copper Eskimo women.
437 (Upper, Right)	51601	Copper Eskimo women.
437 (Lower, Left)	51018	Copper Eskimo women.
437 (Lower, Right)	51560	Copper Eskimo women.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 44 Midwinter Travels and Plans, 1915-16</i>		
446 (Left)	51434	<i>Star, Sachs, and Alaska</i> at Herschel Island.
446 (Right)	51085	<i>Star</i> at Bernard Harbour.
447 (Left)	50843	The smoking cliffs—Franklin Bay. Burning coal mines?
447 (Right)	50899	The <i>North Star</i> had sunk.
<i>Chap. 47 Eskimo Tales from Winter Quarters</i>		
468 (Upper)	51234	It is holiday five days out of seven among the Copper Eskimos.
468 (Lower)	51235	It is holiday five days out of seven among the Copper Eskimos.
469 (Upper)	51226	Tattooing—Copper Eskimos.
469 (Lower)	51649	Tattooing—Copper Eskimos.
<i>Chap. 50 Into the Unknown Beyond the Ringnes Islands</i>		
514	50783	The pressure of a winter gale will break up the heaviest old ice.
515 (Upper)	51103	Ground Ice. Fragments of earth shoved on top of sea ice.
515 (Middle)	51147	Ground Ice. A lump of earth on top of a cake of sea ice.
515 (Lower)	51449	Ground Ice. Over ten feet of clear ice and a foot of soil on top.
<i>Chap. 52 Hassel Sound and King Christian Land</i>		
528 (Left)	50699	Our camp on Meighen Island.
	Photo by Stefansson	

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 52 Hassel Sound and King Christian Land (continued)</i>		
528 (Right)	50688 Photo by Stefansson	Taking possession of Meighen Island.
<i>Chap. 54 We Discover People and a Coal Mine</i>		
565 (Upper)	51020	Copper Eskimo girls and women.
565 (Lower, Left)	50905	Copper Eskimo girls and women.
565 (Lower, Right)	50919	Copper Eskimo girls and women.
<i>Chap. 55 We Find Bernier's Depot</i>		
585 (Left)	51306	A polar coast in summer—Cape Parry.
585 (Right)	51146	A polar coast in winter—Melville Island.
<i>Chap. 58 Spring Travel, 1917</i>		
608	51137	Natkusiak and his favourite big dog.
609 (Left)	50880	Wilkins tried to use a mask against the cold.
609 (Right)	51136	Emiu was fond of small, fast dogs.
<i>Chap. 59 In the Footsteps of Earlier Explorers</i>		
636	51031	A spring evening in polar regions.
637	n.d.	McClure's record telling of his discovery of the Northwest Passage
<i>Chap. 60 Tragedy of Bernard and Thomsen</i>		
648	50805	Captain Bernard and his sledgemaking workshop.
649 (Upper)	51194	The house at Bernard Harbour.

Table 2 CAE Fieldwork Photographs by George Hubert Wilkins published in *The Friendly Arctic* by V. Stefansson (*continued*)

Facing Page No.	Negative No.	Caption
<i>Chap. 60 Tragedy of Bernard and Thomsen (continued)</i>		
649 (Lower)	51181	The camp at Armstrong Point.
<i>Appendix: "Drifting in the Beaufort Sea" by Storker T. Storkerson</i>		
696 (Upper)	50706	Eskimo family at our table—Collinson Point
696 (Lower, Left)	51452	Point Barrow family
696 (Lower, Right)	51180	Storkerson's family
697 (Upper)	50691	The Burberry tent—inner cover
	Photo by Stefansson	
697 (Middle)	51683	Martin Kilian and the monument he built at Storkerson's Farthest
	Photo by Storkerson	
697 (Lower)	50692	The old Burberry tent—double covers
	Photo by Stefansson	
<i>Appendix: "Story of the Karluk" by John R. Hadley and Burt M. McConnell</i>		
712	50796	The lead had frozen over.
713	50822	Wilkins taking movies of spring whaling—Barrow, Alaska
<i>Appendix: "Work of the Southern Section of the Expedition" by Rudolph M. Anderson</i>		
744 (Upper)	51348	Old Point Barrow woman
744 (Lower)	51045	Half-grown boy—Copper Eskimos
745 (Left)	51571	Eskimo men and women seem to enjoy mending clothes and implements.
745 (Right)	51574	Eskimo men and women seem to enjoy mending clothes and implements.

Table 3 Non-CAE photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports and Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*

Page No.	Photographer*	Caption
<i>Volume 3 Insects, Part C: Diptera</i>		
31c (Left)	SAE	Head net, as used in the North for protection against mosquitoes. Delta of Slave River, Great Slave lake, N.W.T., June, 1908.
31c (Right)	Anderson (SAE)	Mosquitoes on back of man's hooded coat. Near Nigalik, delta of Colville river. Arctic coast of Alaska. July 3, 1909.
<i>Volume 8 Mollusks, Echinoderms, Coelenterates, etc., Part E: Rotatoria</i>		
23e (Plate 4, Fig. 2)	IBS	Valley of Firth river, Alaska-Yukon boundary, showing ponds and flood plain ice. 141 st Meridian, 1912.
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula</i>		
101a (Plate 29, Fig. 1)	James Douglas, IBS	View of Coppermine mountains looking north from near mouth of Kendall river. June, 1912.
102a (Plate 30, Fig. 1)	James Douglas, IBS	Coppermine river, north of Stony creek. Hell Gate. 1912.
102a (Plate 30, Fig. 2)	James Douglas, IBS	Musk-ox rapid, Coppermine river. 1912.
103a (Plate 31, Fig. 1)	James Douglas, IBS	Coppermine river. Character of river banks (red sandstone) above Sandstone rapid, looking south. 1912.
104a (Plate 32, Fig. 1)	James Douglas, IBS	Coppermine river. Characteristic sandstone banks between Sandstone rapid and Bloody fall. 1912.
104a (Plate 32, Fig. 2)	James Douglas, IBS	Coppermine river. Dyke of basalt, Sandstone rapid. 1912.
105a (Plate 33, Fig. 1)	James Douglas, IBS	Coppermine mountains. Characteristic terrace about 900 feet above river. 1912.

* SAE: Stefansson Anderson Expedition (1908-1912); IBS: International Boundary Survey; USAE: United States Anglo-American Expedition (1906).

Table 3 Non-CAE photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports and Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic* (continued)

Page No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Volume 11 Geology and Geography, Part A: Geology of the Arctic Coast of Canada, West of the Kent Peninsula (continued)</i>		
105a (Plate 33, Fig. 2)	James Douglas, IBS	Tailing dump camp, just above Bloody fall, Coppermine river, on west side of the river. 1912.
<i>The Friendly Arctic, Chap. 3: Goodbye to 'Civilization' for Five Years</i>		
26 (Left)	n.d.	Captain Robert A. Bartlett
36	Lomen Brothers, Nome, Alaska	Alaskan reindeer herd.
37 (No. 1)	SAE; 1 of 3 images forming plate in Stefansson's <i>My Life with the Eskimo</i> (1913) facing p. 112	The Adaptability of the Skin Boat. Umiak being hauled on sled.
37 (No. 2)	SAE; image 2 of plate	The Adaptability of the Skin Boat. Umiak under paddles in narrow shore lead.
37 (No. 3)	SAE; image 3 of plate	The Adaptability of the Skin Boat. Umiak raised on edge to shield goods from rain.
40 (Right)	USAE	Labrets worn by Mackenzie Eskimos.
<i>The Friendly Arctic, Chap. 35: Melville Island and McClure Strait</i>		
352 (Upper)	SAE; see Stefansson's <i>My Life with the Eskimo</i> (1913) facing page 322, bottom.	Lead running away from land showing loose ice cake that would serve as bridge or ferry

Table 3 Non-CAE photographs published in Canadian Arctic Expedition reports and Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic* (continued)

Page No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>The Friendly Arctic, Chap. 54: We Discover People and a Coal Mine</i>		
564 (Upper)	SAE; see Stefansson's <i>My Life with the Eskimo</i> (1913) facing p. 70, top.	Making use of ice foot of small lake. Man has stripped and dog lies in ice water on account of heat.
564 (Lower)	SAE; see Stefansson's <i>My Life with the Eskimo</i> (1913) facing p. 70, bottom.	The ground was bare and the load had to be relayed.' Sledging in summer.
<i>The Friendly Arctic, Chap. 55: We Find Bernier's Depot</i>		
584 (Upper)	New York Zoological Society	Ovibos under domestication—Bronx Park, New York.
584 (Lower)	New York Zoological Society	Ovibos under domestication—Bronx Park, New York.

Table 4 CAE fieldwork photographs published in *People of the Twilight* by Diamond Jenness*

Page No.	Negative No. [†]	Photographer	Caption
Frontispiece	36913	Wilkins	Ikpuck and Icehouse.
<i>Chap. 1 The promised land</i>			
4	42307	Johansen	Running down to the barrier of floes, we tried to force our way through. Photo by F. Johansen.
<i>Chap. 2 An outpost on the polar sea</i>			
10	42235	Johansen	The wall sagged in the middle of one side through the weight of an enormously thick rampart of turf. Photo by F. Johansen.
<i>Chap. 3 The people of the twilight</i>			
22	39680	Cox	The People of the Twilight. Photo by J.R. Cox.
34	37018	Jenness	The snow-hut.
<i>Chap. 4 Among the snow-huts</i>			
48	37017	Jenness	They built their settlement close to the beach.
<i>Chap. 5 Up the Coppermine River</i>			
64	42241	Johansen	We distributed our loads in the proportion of a hundred pounds for each dog. Photo by F. Johansen.
80	38571	O'Neill	Wives and daughters pulled in front of the dogs. Photo by J.J. O'Neill.
<i>Chap. 7 In quest of the tormiat</i>			
114	36971	Jenness	Ikpuck sat on a snow-block with his back to the driving snow.

* Diamond Jenness, *People of the Twilight*, with drawings by Claude Johnson (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

[†] The original number assigned each negative by the Geological Survey of Canada.

Table 4 CAE fieldwork photographs published in *People of the Twilight* by Diamond Jenness (*continued*)

Page No.	Negative No.	Photographer	Caption
<i>Chap. 8 Bread from the waters</i>			
132	43343	Chipman	It was a picturesque sight, this train of people and dogs stumbling over hill and lake. Photo by K.G. Chipman.
<i>Chap. 9 On the trail of the caribou</i>			
162 (Upper)	38383	O'Neill	The caribou, or reindeer, is the camel of the Arctic. Photo by J.J. O'Neill.
162 (Lower)	51167	Hadley	The men amused themselves at archery. Photo by G.H. Wilkins.
<i>Chap. 11 The second winter</i>			
196	50918	Wilkins	Dance-songs were their chronicles of current events. Photo by G.H. Wilkins.
208 (Left)	36921	Wilkins?	Hungry children gathered round our tent.
208 (Right)	39726	Cox	She carried it everywhere on her back. Photo by J.R. Cox.
<i>Chap. 12 Through blizzards to spring</i>			
220	37040	Jenness	Every morning at daybreak the hunters departed for the sealing-grounds.
<i>Chap. 13 The last days</i>			
236	37080	Jenness	Whenever a shoal gathered un the upper chamber they blocked its entrance and stabbed the struggling fish with three-pointed spears.
244	36989	Jenness	Weighted down with heavy packs, stumbling over a trackless land to a new fishing-lake in the hope of breaking their fast before another sleep.

A TENT RING.

BROKEN SUMMER ICE ALONG THE COAST.

Figure Intro.1. “A Tent Ring/Broken Summer Ice Along the Coast,” facing page 258 of *The Friendly Arctic* by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Photo Credits: Copper Inuit stone ‘blind’ at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51223; Pack ice near Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51096.

Figure Intro.3. “Eskimo Landmarks,” plate 6 of *Life of the Copper Eskimos* by Diamond Jenness. Photo Credits: Rock used to frighten caribou near Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 50978; Copper Inuit stone blind at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51222; Two stones near Lake Kogluktuaryuk, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 37075.

upon its back and ripped open its flank with his knife. These inland natives between Bathurst inlet and Hudson bay dig pits, *karigittak*, for caribou in deep mounds of snow, and plant knives with upturned points at the bottom, concealing the hole with grass and snow. Sometimes they set up snow-blocks beside the pits and urinate on them, so that the deer will be attracted by the odour, break through the crust, and be impaled on the knives at the bottom. A Puivlik Eskimo who made a similar pit near the mouth of the Coppermine river in 1915 caught two wolves in it.

FIG. 49. A representation of a caribou drive, drawn by the Copper Eskimo Ikpakhuak

Deadfalls for foxes were common enough when we entered the country, for during the three preceding years Captain Bernard had given a great impetus to trapping by trading mainly for skins. I saw a very typical deadfall on Victoria island. It was made of snow-blocks, and had a small rectangular doorway leading into a square chamber with a snow-block roof. The roof was weighted with a stone and supported underneath by a perpendicular stick, itself pivoted on another stick that pointed inwards and was baited on its inner end, about an inch and a half from the ground, with a piece of blubber. The fox had to enter the chamber before it could seize the blubber; in so doing it displaced the upright stick and brought the roof down on top of itself.

Wolves, rabbits, foxes and brown bears are shot from cover in the same way as caribou. From the top of a low knoll one day Ikpakhuak saw a fox down in the valley below him. He kept carefully under cover and made a squeaking sound with his lips like the cry of a young bird. The fox ran straight up the side of the knoll and came within twenty yards before it noticed the man and fled. I have seen Ikpakhuak try to quiet startled rabbits in the same manner, by emitting a smacking sound with his lips such as the rabbits themselves make. Once, too, after shooting a doe, he tried to attract its tiny fawn by "chucking" after the manner of its mother.

The brown bear is far more dreaded than the white bear, apparently because it is more ready to turn on the hunter when brought to bay. We saw one man with his thumb torn off, another with his head badly scarred, and in each case the injury had been inflicted by a wounded brown bear that had turned and mauled the hunter before he could deliver the death stroke with his knife. A Dolphin and Union strait Eskimo named Taligvak had a startling experience

Figure Intro.4. Page 151 from the *Life of the Copper Eskimos* by Diamond Jenness showing a drawing of a caribou drive by Ikpakhuak. Credit: Photos, drawings, maps, correspondence, related to report of the "Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913 – 1918" Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archives, IV-X-36M, B412, file 1 – 11.

Figure 1.1. Cover of Canadian Arctic Expedition report showing illustration by Claude E. Johnston.

Figure 1.2. Frontispiece and title page of *The Friendly Arctic* by Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Photo Credit: Vilhjalmur Stefansson pulling a dead seal near Martin Point, Alaska, 1914. Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 50776.

Figure 1.3. Frontispiece of *Life of the Copper Eskimos* by Diamond Jenness. Photo Credit: Ikpukhuak and Higilaq at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 36913.

THE TORONTO DAILY STAR, MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1923.

GRASS FOR REINDEER SUMMER FLOWERS

*Hear
About
"The
Friendly
Arctic"*

*See
Amazing
Pictures
in
Color*

STEFANSSON, Our World-Famous Canadian Explorer

Stefansson has just completed a lecture tour of 36 American States. He has told about the Canadian far-north and its possibilities. Now he is to tell Toronto people about our romantic northern heritage, its adventures and its charms. He will also tell about Wrangel Island which, under one of his expeditions, was occupied by Allen Crawford, the Toronto boy.

**2 Illustrated Lectures, Masonic Temple, 888 Yonge St., North of Bloor
Wednesday and Thursday Evenings of This Week**

Tickets, \$1.50 and \$1.00. Reduced rates for tickets covering both lectures. Each lecture entirely different from the other. Tickets on sale at Tyrrell's book store, 780 Yonge street; McKenna's book store, 161 Yonge street, and at The Star office, 18 King street west. All proceeds for Stefansson and his Arctic projects.

Figure 4.1. Full-page advertisement for lecture by Vilhjalmur Stefansson in *Toronto Daily Star*, Monday, 9 April 1923, 5.

When the weather cleared the ship was not in sight, and had undoubtedly been crushed into small bits, and all provisions and scientific instruments were lost. The letter from Captain Barnard gave no details of the accident. As nothing was said of any injury to the men on the Mary Sachs, it was presumed they were safe.

The Mary Sachs was purchased by Stefansson at Nome for use of the southern party of his Canadian expedition. She was a gasoline schooner of 250 tons gross register. She carried a crew of three men, and was built at Sanicela, California, in 1912.

Continued on Page 4, Col. 2.)

STEFANSSON'S SHIP THE KARLUK.

This is the "flagship" of the Canadian Arctic expedition's fleet, the others being the Mary Sachs and the Alaska. The power schooner Mary Sachs, which Stefansson, on October 30, said in his message was safe at Collinson Point, was wrecked in the ice off the Arctic coast of Alaska some time previous to November 20, the date on which a letter was received at Nome, Alaska, from Peter Barnard, captain of the vessel, telling of her loss.

The ice crushed the schooner into small bits, and all provisions and scientific instruments were lost. The letter from Captain Barnard gave no details of the accident. As nothing was said of any injury to the men on the Mary Sachs, it was presumed they were safe.

The Mary Sachs was purchased by Stefansson at Nome for use of the southern party of his Canadian expedition. She was a gasoline schooner of 250 tons gross register. She carried a crew of three men, and was built at Sanicela, California, in 1912.

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Figure 4.2. Photograph of the *Karluk* at Esquimalt, BC, prior to the departure of the CAE. *Toronto Globe*, 9 December, 1913.

Figure 4.3. Snapshots of Nome, Alaska in Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*. Photo Credits: Log Cabin in Nome, Alaska, 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51409; Charles Brower and Fred Hopson in front of a building at Barrow, Alaska, 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51400; Movie Theatre in Nome, Alaska, 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51410; Settlement at Barrow, Alaska, 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51394.

Figure 4.4. The discovery of Meighen Island in Stefansson's *The Friendly Arctic*. Photo Credits: Distant view of camp on Meighen Island, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, 50699; Harold Noice standing beside flag and cairn on Meighen Island, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, 50688.

Bathurst Inlet

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PLATE XL

Fig. 1. Topography of Cape Barrow, Bathurst inlet. Precambrian granite. The proportion covered by any kind of vegetation is very limited, August, 1915.

Fig. 2. Schooner *North Star* in small deep harbour at Cape Barrow, Northwest Territories August 12, 1915. Photo by G. H. Wilkins.

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Figure 4.6. The lower image depicts the *North Star* at Bathurst Inlet. Photo Credits: Rock Topography at Cape Barrow, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Kenneth Chipman, 43283; CAE Schooner 'North Star' in harbour near Cape Barrow, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51085.

thin ice which may be broken up at any time by a sudden storm. While the ice is still forming, indeed, they sometimes shoot bearded seals (with rifles now but formerly too with bows and arrows) as the animals bask on the surface of the ice off the mouths of streams and rivers.¹ For the Copper Eskimos too the period of greatest privation is from the middle of January till about the middle of March, because it is then that the coldest and stormiest weather usually prevails and they have least success in their sealing.

One of the first actions of a community after it settles down in its winter sealing ground is the construction of a dance-house. This is never a separate structure standing by itself, but a large dome covering the fore part of a single hut, or more usually the fore-courts or two or more huts. In this way it is kept warm by the lamps that are always burning in the dwellings, and is more fitted to fulfil its other function of a club-house.

On a normal mid-winter day the Eskimo hunter never stirs till about eight o'clock. His wife rises a little earlier to kindle the lamp, which usually expires during the night. Sometimes she lights it from her bed, but an energetic woman will always rise early and occupy herself with some task or other. Occasionally she boils a little seal-meat to warm up her husband before he goes sealing, but often he is content with frozen fish or deer-meat, or cold boiled seal-meat left over from the night before. The woman removes the snow-block from the door, and goes outside to look at the weather, and, it may be, to bring in a fresh supply of blubber for the lamp. Presently children appear, bringing food from other houses, and are sent away with corresponding portions to distribute among the neighbours. Any child, no matter whose it is, may be sent on such errands; and if there are no children, or the wife wants to pay a visit herself, she will take her own contributions of food. A man or two will now probably enter the hut, and the husband, who has eaten his breakfast in bed, turns out

FIG. 35. Eskimo hunters starting out for the sealing-grounds, Dolphin and Union strait

and dresses. "Are they starting out for the sealing-ground yet?" he asks, and if the answer is "Yes", he hurries forth, harnesses his dogs, and takes his sealing apparatus from the rampart that encompasses the house. With the breaking light all the men set out in a body for the sealing-ground, which may be from three to five miles away. As soon as they reach it they scatter and the dogs sniff about and smell out the holes where the seals come up to the surface of the water to breathe. The hunter watches them, searching about

¹Early in October, 1915, when we were camped not far from the mouth of the Okauryarvik creek, Ikpakhuak shot one rough and three bearded seals on the surface of the ice. He had to stalk them on his hands and knees, and in so doing froze both his wrists so that they were black for days afterwards; but he merely laughed over his misfortune and considered it rather a joke. In the spring of the same year an Eskimo hunter in Coronation gulf stalked a large bearded seal on the ice and launched an arrow at it that missed by a hand's breadth only.

Figure 4.7. "Eskimo Hunters Starting out for the Sealing Grounds," in Diamond Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Copper Inuit men going sealing near Liston and Sutton Islands, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 37024.

house-clothes for the clean, warm, ornamented clothing that is kept for travelling and for ceremonial occasions such as dances. Both then lash everything tightly on the sled while the children harness up the dogs. Yet even when the lashings are all firmly secured the packing is not quite finished, for there is always a multitude of shoes, socks, sticks, poles, harpoons, tins, pots, scraps of skin too precious to throw away, and odds and ends of the most extraordinary kind which must be fastened in some way or other to the top and sides of the sled, either pushed under the lashings or tied on with threads of sinew. This after-packing, in fact, often takes longer than the first.

Fig. 37. A migration train near Cape Krusenstern

At last everything is finished, the yelping dogs are hitched to the sled, wife and husband hitch their harness on also, and the family is ready to start. Other sleds have already preceded them, and soon there is a long train extending over a mile perhaps, each sled, as a rule, following exactly in the trail of the one in front. Here a woman is pulling in front, with a daughter or niece at her side; behind her are the dogs, which she urges on with cries of *ha ha ha*. Then comes the husband, also in the yoke, steering the sled round hummocks, and heaving it over those unavoidable ones on which the sled threatens to stick. All three, husband, wife and daughter, carry walking-sticks to help them along. The man has another use for his; when his cry of *hok hok hok* fails to spur on one of the dogs, he seizes its trace, jerks it back till it comes within reach of his stick and smites it a stinging blow. Usually though the mere striking of their traces is sufficient to keep the dogs working. Suddenly the sled sticks. The man stoops down, lifts all the traces with one hand to make the dogs start together with a jerk, and heaves with all his might. If it still holds he knocks down the snow from the front of the runner and heaves to one side to set the sled swinging a little until finally it moves on again.

Behind this sled there is another with only one woman in front of the dogs and the husband behind, while a little boy clings to the side of the sled. On the next, father and son are pulling side by side, while the aged wife drags herself along by holding on to the lashings. The fourth has a curious sail-like apparatus on top. Only the man is pulling, his wife trudging along at the side of the sled; the queer-looking "sail" on top is a deerskin wrapped round the baby to protect it from the wind. So the whole train moves slowly along for two or three miles; then the front sled stops, the dogs are unhitched, and one or two taken back to help some kinsman far in the rear. One after another as they come up the natives unhitch their dogs and sit or stand around to rest. A little frozen meat is divided up for lunch, and the children run to and fro, playing hide and seek, or raven, or some other game that serves to keep them warm. Several of the men and women perhaps begin a skipping competition, using a dog-trace for a

Figure 4.8. "A Migration Train," in Diamond Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*.
Photo Credit: Copper Inuit migrating near Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories
(Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 37026.

arrows, but missed. The sun was now so warm that skins had to be hung over the sides of the sleds to keep the runners from melting. In the evening the other Eskimos raised their tents on snow-blocks; but Ikpakhuak found a place where the snow was very shallow, so he cleaned it away and pitched his tent on bare ground. Milukkattak cooked some deer-meat outdoors over a small wood fire, sheltered from the breeze by some snow-blocks that Avranna set up for her.

May 14: Caribou were sighted early in the morning while we were loading the sleds, and Ikpakhuak and I went in pursuit of them, leaving the others to break camp and trek to Lake Ekallugak, in the Colville hills. We spent the whole day in an unsuccessful hunt, then about 8:30 p.m. began to look for the camp. About a mile from the lake we came upon three snow-blocks arranged in line about twenty yards apart; our people had set them up to guide us to their new camp. They had already begun to fish through the ice, and had caught enough trout for supper.

FIG. 40. Ikpakhuak jigging for fish in Lake Ekallugak, Colville hills

May 15: The men divided into three parties and went hunting, Milukkattak accompanying her husband Avranna. Two caribou were shot. The skins were carried back to camp, but the carcasses were left to be brought in later on a sled. The women and children fished all day in the lake, and caught about two dozen trout.

May 16: Most of the men were away hunting, the others fished with the women and children in two or three different lakes. Higilak and Kanneyuk went out with a sled and brought in the two deer that were shot the day before.

May 17: The children shot two ptarmigan with their bows and arrows; the adults hunted and fished as usual.

May 18: We migrated north, about six miles as the crow flies, though, as we had to wind in and out following the line of the lakes, we actually travelled about ten. Many ptarmigan were seen on the way, and the Eskimos frequently launched their arrows at them, but invariably missed. In many places the snow was soft and deep, and one of the sleds capsized three times.

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Figure 4.9. "Ikpakhuak Jigging for Fish," in Diamond Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Ikpukkuak fishing in Lake Ekallugak, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36971.

The soul is the mainspring of a man's vital strength. A dead man, or more accurately his shade, *tarrak*, may steal the soul of a living man, who will then pine away and die. In the winter of 1915 a Puivlik Eskimo named Wikkiak and the little boy Haugak were both ill at the same time. Wikkiak recovered soon after I visited their settlement, whereupon a shaman announced that his soul had been carried away by the shade of a dead man, but that my dog Jumbo had brought it back. Higilak therefore tied a strip of white deerskin round Jumbo's neck, thinking that perhaps he might be grateful for its warmth and bring back Haugak's soul also. The boy recovered, but a few months later

FIG. 53. A Tree river Eskimo wearing a fillet of caribou-skin around his forehead to cure a headache

Higilak fell ill herself, and Jumbo had to come to the rescue once again. In the eyes of the Eskimos he was clearly not an ordinary dog, but possessed an unusual amount of vital force. On this occasion, therefore, Higilak rubbed his saliva over her forehead in order that some of this force might enter into her and overcome her sickness. Jumbo's reward was another neckband of white deerskin.

Sometimes a friend will lend some of his vital force to drive away a disease. For example, if a man has stomach trouble, a comrade will often spit on his hand and rub the afflicted part, thereby instilling some of his own surplus strength to aid in the patient's recovery.¹ The calves of Avranna's legs were sore one day, and the natives asked me to rub them with my saliva. On another occasion Avranna bound my belt around his head to cure a headache; my vitality communicated itself to my belt, passed into his body and effected a cure. A charm too will often keep off an ailment. The bill of the yellow-billed loon (*Gavia adamsi*) will help to ward off snow blindness, so in spring some of the natives wear them on their shoulders or carry them in their hands. An old hunter, Aiyallik, who had his thumb torn off by a brown bear, used

¹Cf. Rasmussen, p. 145; Egede, p. 198.

Figure 4.10. "A Tree river Eskimo," in Diamond Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Niaqueptaq near Tree River, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916. Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36942.

The winter of 1915-16 was unusually stormy, and for days at a time the Eskimos were confined to their houses and prevented from sealing. On February 3rd, a man named Utugaum held a séance with the object of petitioning Kannakapfaluk to stop the blizzards and let the people go sealing again. He opened with a long oration—about two ducks in some place or other, a giant fish in Lake Akulliakattak, two men living near some islands, another man at Umingmaktok (Kent peninsula) who had knocked down two poles, and about some

FIG. 59. Tokalluak, a Coppermine river shaman

one in the moon. He used vague and mysterious words, and his audience had to puzzle out his meaning, partly from his words, and partly from the gestures that accompanied them. In this case, as often, no one had any idea of what he was talking about. His oration lasted fully twenty minutes, then he stooped down and began to speak in a thin piping voice, quite unlike the strident tones in which his oration had been delivered. He now said that he was no longer a man, but an animal (my notes do not say what animal). He was searching for Kannakapfaluk, he said, so that he might drag her up to the surface, but he could not find her. Thus he stood for about two minutes, then straightened up, pressed his hand to his forehead, heaved a few sighs and closed the performance. There were a few interesting features in connection with it. At the commencement all the little children were sent to the back of the dance-house. My interpreter Patsy was playing and laughing with them till the old shaman Anauyuk turned around and scolded them, saying that they should on no account laugh during a séance; however, they appeared to take very little notice of his warning. I moved to leave the dance-house as soon as the performance was over and one of the natives stopped me, saying, "You mustn't go out while the sha-

Figure 4.11. "Tokalluak," in Diamond Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Tokalluak at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36954.

Figure 4.12. “Tokalluak,” in *Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credits: Tokalluak at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36953; Tokalluak at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36954; Ukhuktak at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51024; Ukhuktak at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51025.

Sickness, Death and Burial

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stone cairns are probably the relics of that earlier tribe that peopled the coast from Baillie island to Dolphin and Union strait. The six "stone graves" that Mr. Stefansson noticed between Clouston bay and the Colville hills were almost certainly meat-caches, hundreds of which are scattered about the hills and valleys of this region.¹

The only recent burial we saw was that of one Puivlik Eskimo, Haviron, who died in April 1915, after an illness that had lasted all the winter. His body was conveyed to the mainland near Cape Lambert and deposited on the shore just above high-water mark. Mr. Wilkins, the photographer of the expedition, examined the body a month or so later and furnished me with the following description. "The corpse was on a point about twenty-five yards from the

FIG. 54. The grave of Haviron

(Photo by G. H. Wilkins).

water and three or four feet above high-water mark. The coast hereabouts was a mass of broken rocks and an occasional boulder. The corpse was placed on the rocks, but no rocks had been placed on or around it. It was lying on its left side with the head towards the east, the right arm doubled across the chest, the left stretched along the body slightly to its front. It was dressed in a simple suit of inner deerskin clothes, attigi (i.e., coat), pants, socks, and mittens, and had on a pair of sealskin slippers. The right eye was open, the left closed, and the mouth closed. The corpse was loosely tied in two deerskins, and its head rested on a pair of folded outer pants. An outer attigi was noticed a few feet

¹Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 301.

Figure 4.13. Example of a "detail image," in Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*.
Photo Credit: Corpse of Haviron near Cape Lambert, Northwest Territories (Nunavut),
1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 37169.

that formerly had wooden frames. In two similar ruins that he found at the bottom of Lady Richardson bay, some 800 yards from the beach beside a stream, the posts were still partially preserved; they were made of driftwood logs split into halves, the original diameters of the logs being about two feet. Cape Hamilton is visible from Wise point on a clear day, and we know from the traditions of the Copper Eskimos that they frequently met the western natives at Wise point. It seems very probable therefore that some of the western natives crossed over to Victoria island to meet the northern people, and spent the winter there, building from logs of driftwood houses of wood and sod like those they used in their own country; for we can hardly attribute these remains to the Copper Eskimos, who are, or were until recently, entirely unfamiliar with dwellings of this character.

The second route which the northern Eskimos follow is inland to Lake Tahiryuak, which is roughly about ten miles in diameter and studded with islands of every shape and size. It lies approximately in lat. $69^{\circ} 50' N.$ and long $112^{\circ} W.$ Several families of the northern natives usually come here each summer to meet the Puivlik Eskimos from the south, though sometimes they meet about thirty miles to the southwest at the small lake of Numikhoin in the Colville hills.¹ In the summer of 1915 we waited several days at this latter place hoping that they would join us; when they failed to appear we went on to Lake Tahiryuak, where we met two families that had just arrived from Prince Albert sound. When the first family appeared on the first day of June all the Puivlik natives lined up on top of the bank overlooking the lake to give

FIG. 7. Puivlik Eskimos welcoming visitors from Prince Albert sound at Lake Tahiryuak S.W. Victoria island

them a welcome. The leading man of the visitors called out as he drew near us, *ilanaitut?* "Are the people friendly?" and the Puivlik natives all joyfully shouted, "Yes, they are friendly." One of our party, Kesullik, then rushed down the slope, and wrestled with one of the visitors, pretending to push him away, and exclaiming *nunaga, nunaga*, "It's my land," while the visitor answered *ikittunga*, "I have reached it, I have come." Every one was greatly excited,

¹In December, 1914, a Puivlik Eskimo promised to guide me to the Kanghiryuarmiut the following spring. It was too cold to cross the hills in winter, he said, while the route round the coast (via Cape Baring) was too long.

Figure 4.14. "Puivlik Eskimos," in Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Puivlirmuit helping Kanghiryuarmiut at Lake Numichion, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36986.

The social morality of the Copper Eskimos takes no account of personal cleanliness. I have already mentioned their uncleanness in the matter of food. Normally the natives never wash, nor have they any equivalent for soap. In the winter, indeed, they have no means of washing, for their blubber lamps melt no more water than is required for drinking purposes. They sometimes rub oil on their faces in spring, but rather for its soothing effect on their sunburnt skins than for any other reason. The children enjoy bathing, however, during the two short months that bathing is possible in this climate, and they seemed to like washing with soap and water at our station. They clean the nits from each other's head and eat them, and swallow the mucus from the nose. Yet these same people were horrified to see a white man swallow phlegm, and it must be admitted that they are far less infested with vermin than the Indians or the Eskimos of the Mackenzie river and of North Alaska. Moreover, however they may treat their bodies, they are very careful to keep their clothing scrupulously clean and free from all stains and grease spots, with the exception of course of their ordinary working garments.

FIG. 68. The coming of the missionary. Rev. H. Girling among the Eskimos of Dolphin and Union strait

Every tribe of Eskimos has been notorious for the levity of its sexual morality, and the Copper Eskimos are no exception. The entire lack of privacy in their lives leads to little children of seven and eight years of age knowing more of the mysteries of sex than many an adult among Europeans. Bluntness and plain-speaking in such matters might indicate a trait of manners rather than of morals, were it not that some of the men and a few of the old women exceed the limits of free speech and find a pleasure in bandying coarse and obscene remarks. After the strenuous outdoor summer life the confinement of winter, with its long hours of darkness and its excitation of the emotions through dances and religious séances, creates an almost morbid sexual activity. The interchange of wives, while it is not restricted to winter, is far commoner at that period. Avranna and Uloksak pooled their wives one winter's night—Avranna's one wife and Uloksak's three. All four women, with the two men and a little baby, crowded

Figure 4.15. "Coming of the Missionary," in Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Inuit with Reverend Hébert Girling near Ukullik, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36956.

number, did not reach the coast till the end of November, when they camped on the north end of Chantry island. On December 5th they migrated across to the Liston and Sutton islands and commenced their winter sealing, though one of the men had already done a little sealing from the mainland. The Puivlik Eskimos from Victoria island joined them just before the new year, and the two groups remained united until the spring.

In the following summer, 1915, about forty Eskimos from various groups wandered about in Noahognik, while most of the nineteen who were there in the previous year went away to other districts. In the spring of 1916 about ninety Eskimos were hunting and fishing in Noahognik, several of whom had come from as far east as Bathurst inlet; many of them, however, probably went down to the Rae river valley about July or August. The increase in the number of inhabitants during these two summers was due to the presence of the expedition and the opportunities for trade that it offered. In earlier times there were probably not more than twenty inhabitants, for the region is noticeably lacking in caribou, especially in mid-summer, when their skins are of the greatest value to the Eskimos.

Opposite the Noahognirmiut, on Victoria island, are the people called Puivlirmiut, who wander in summer over all the country between the Colville

Fig. 4. A group of Copper Eskimo men and boys who spent the summer of 1914 in Noahognik

hills and the shores of Simpson bay as far south as Point Dickens. When I first met them at the end of November, 1914, they were encamped some two or three miles up the estuary of the Kimiryuak river in nine double houses, houses, that is to say, that comprised two rooms each, with a single passage way leading to both. There were then 56 people, but the number was increased to 62 a few days later by the addition of two families from Noahognik. In the following summer eighteen natives, all closely connected by kinship or by marriage, were hunting and fishing in the districts of Puivlik and Hanerak; in the autumn they all gathered together at the mouth of the Okauyarvik creek. Three other families (thirteen people), who were wandering at the same time a little to the southeast, came down in the autumn to Clouston bay. In 1916, late in the spring, more than thirty people were encamped at the south end of Clouston bay, and one family had gone to the northwest; all of them intended to spend the summer in Puivlik.

In the month of December, when the sealing on the ice commences, the Puivlik and Noahognik Eskimos regularly unite at the Liston and Sutton

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Figure 4.16. Example of "Group Portrait" type in Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimos*. Photo Credit: Kallun, Qamingoq, Taptuna, Ayallik and Algiaq at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Diamond Jenness, 36932.

PLATE No. I.

Fig. 1. *Anemone parviflora* Michx. In bloom at Bernard harbour. July 3, 1916. (F. Johansen).

Fig. 2. *Papaver nudicaule* L. Bernard harbour. July 23, 1915. (G. H. Wilkins)

Figure 4.17. *Papaver nudicaule* L. Photo Credits: Floral plants in bloom at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1916 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Frits Johansen, 42406; Arctic poppy blooming at Bernard Harbour, Northwest Territories (Nunavut), 1915 Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George Hubert Wilkins, 51640.

Figure 4.18. Photograph by George Hubert Wilkins of entomological specimen opposite entomological illustrations by J.H. Emerton. Photo Credit: Spider Canadian Arctic Expedition, Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, George H Wilkins, 51028; Photos, drawings, maps, correspondence, related to report of the "Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913 – 1918" Courtesy Canadian Museum of Civilization, Archives, IV-X-36M, B412, file 1 – 11.

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