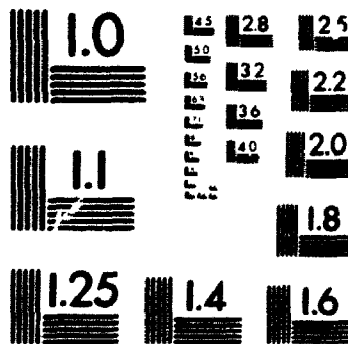


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**NORTHERN EXPOSURES: PHOTOGRAPHIC AND FILMIC
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CANADIAN NORTH, 1920-1945**

By

PETER G. GELLER, B.A. (Hons.), M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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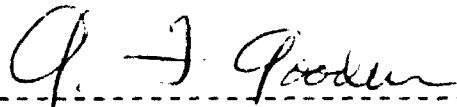
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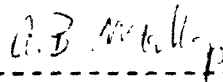
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in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Chair, Department of History



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22 September 1995

ABSTRACT

More than a geographical space, the "North" has played a significant role in the Canadian imagination. While various aspects of the idea of North have been delineated in both popular and scholarly discourse, the following study seeks to illuminate the visual aspects of northern imagery, through an analysis of the photographic and filmic practice of "the Crown, the Company, and the Church," the three major southern institutions involved in the arctic and sub-arctic. In the first half of the twentieth century, as the north was further incorporated into the Canadian nation, visual representations of the region were widely circulated in official publications and presented in film shows and lantern slide lectures.

It is argued that photographic ways of seeing performed a vital and active part in the federal government's attempts to assert a measure of control over its northern territories. In particular, the representational strategies of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch are investigated. At the same time, the Anglican Church of Canada was engaged in the visual construction of the region; as pictured by Archibald Lang Fleming, first Bishop of the Arctic, the North was in a Twilight stage, poised on the movement from primitive paganism to Christian civilization. The Hudson's Bay Company, as the major corporate power in the region, also contributed to the growing archive of northern images, in the process presenting itself as a responsible, imperially-minded and benevolent agent of northern development.

The photographic practice of state, religious and corporate interests, in the course of projecting an "official" view of the North, transformed the northern land and its inhabitants, refashioning people and place into the objects of the observer's gaze. In this respect, the career of Richard Finnie, as a filmmaker, author and lecturer on northern subjects, allows for an examination of the making of a "northern authority." Underlying the projected scenes of Finnie's North, where the vanishing "primitive" gave way to the modern North of resource development, lay the work of photographic representation: the selective presentation of northern scenes was woven into a visual argument of the incorporation of the North into the Canadian nation.

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While the formulating, researching and writing of a dissertation seems a lonely endeavour at times, work done in the archives and basement office owes much to the encouragement, advice and practical guidance of many. Thanks are especially due to Brian McKillop for his supervisory skills throughout the project. Fellow graduate students, staff and faculty of the Carleton University History Department made my time in Ottawa an enriching one. Paul Attallah provided much needed advice and on-going friendship; Mark Langer encouragement in the area of film studies; and PearlAnn Reichwein, Carolyn Podruchny and Fred Appel intellectual companionship (and a whole lot more), despite the distances between us. Bill Buhay and Ruth Bezys provided an example of how to get things done and the loan of equipment to do it. Others who deserve mention are: Marilyn Besner, Victor Bloom, Bobb Burgess, David Burley, Bob Coutts, Fern Doctoroff, Wendy Geller, Shayla Mindell, Bev Werbuk and Randy Wolfe.

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Presenting material for conferences helped work out many of the ideas contained herein, and I wish to acknowledge organizers, fellow presenters, commentators and audiences at the meetings of the International Congress of Historical Sciences (1995), the Canadian Historical Association (1994 and 1992),

the Film Studies Association of Canada (1994) and the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium (1994 and 1992). Some of this material appeared in different form in "The 'True North' in Pictures? Photographic Representation in the Hudson's Bay Company's Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945," Archivaria 36 (Autumn 1993), and I wish to acknowledge the critical advice of Terry Cook and the anonymous reviewer.

Out in the field, archivists and staff of the National Archives of Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (Provincial Archives of Manitoba), the Northwest Territories Archives (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), the Anglican Church of Canada's General Synod Archives and the Inuttigut Pirrusiit Documentation Centre (Avataq Cultural Institute) gave of expertise and facilitated the research on which this dissertation is based. Funding for this project also came from a variety of sources: Carleton University's Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research; the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada's Doctoral Fellowship Program; Telefilm Canada and the Ontario Film Development Corporation, funders of the Gerald Pratley Award (administered by the Film Studies Association of Canada); and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's Northern Science Training Program.

A number of images are reproduced in the following pages. These were scanned by a Hewlett Packard ScanJet IIp (300 dpi), utilizing Deskscan II software. While these digitized images lose some of the clarity of the originals, they adequately serve the purpose of providing visual evidence of the concepts

discussed. Interested readers (and viewers) are encouraged to refer to the original archival collections and published materials. Acknowledgements are due to Research Services, Office of the Vice-President (Academic) at the University of Winnipeg, and to Erin Booth in particular, for making the scanning technology available and understandable.

Family provided an environment of support during the research and writing; my mother, Maxine Geller, deserves a special mention. Above all, my greatest appreciation goes to my partner, Pam Logan, for her love and encouragement. Her motivation and humour helped me see through the completion of this project, and made it all worthwhile. While this dissertation took form, the passing of time was marked by the growth of our family. Philip is just over four months old; Alexander is now over four years old, and contributing his own "expressions" on northern imagery.

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| ACI | Avataq Cultural Institute |
| CAE | Canadian Arctic Expedition |
| CAVA | Cartographic and Audiovisual Archives Division |
| CBC | Canadian Broadcasting Corporation |
| CGMPB | Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau |
| DAPD | Documentary Art and Photography Division |
| DINA | Department of Indian and Northern Affairs |
| EAP | Eastern Arctic Patrol |
| GSA | General Synod Archives |
| HBC | Hudson's Bay Company |
| HBCA | Hudson's Bay Company Archives |
| MSCC | Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada |
| NAC | National Archives of Canada |
| NFB | National Film Board of Canada |
| NWTA | Northwest Territories Archives |
| NWTYB | Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch |
| SPCK | Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge |
| SPG | Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts |

INTRODUCTION

TAKING PICTURES AND MAKING HISTORY: PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION AND THE CANADIAN NORTH

As the Nascopie passed through the Straits of Belle Isle, the sighting of the first iceberg was comparable to the firing of a starter's pistol - the deck suddenly swarmed with photographers. Nearly every tourist, a scientist, and a Mountie had a movie camera in action, and most of those cameras were Filmos. And how the Filmos were to be kept purring during the ensuing three-months' cruise!....

Northward the icebreaker steamed, until she reached the apex of her cruise, Craig Harbour.... Probably more feet of film were exposed at Craig Harbour than at any other of the score of settlements on the Nascopie's itinerary, for, while the camera subjects were few, the passengers were imbued with the "farthest north" spirit. They filmed the Mounties and the Eskimos, the buildings and the rocks, and then each other.

-Richard Finnie, Filmmaker and author, on the 1937 Nascopie voyage¹

When the party went ashore [at Craig Harbour] next morning, a day-old Eskimo baby boy and his hardy mother, who was well enough to be at the landing, were among those to greet the members of the expedition, who took scores of pictures and movies of the tiny Eskimo.

-Bombay Times, India (21 October 1937)²

On a dull, warm day in July the Hudson's Bay Company's icebreaker, the Nascopie, set sail from Montreal on its 1937 voyage to Hudson Bay and the eastern arctic. As the sturdy vessel pulled away from harbour, the click and whir of still and motion picture cameras on board recorded the start of the journey.

¹ Richard Finnie, "To the Northwest Passage: A Summer Tour," Filmo Topics 14, No. 3 (Vacation 1938), 6.

² Clipping enclosed in National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Records of the Northern Affairs Program, RG 85, vol. 84, file 201-1-9 [1].

This flurry of photographic activity would continue during the next eighty days, as the ten thousand mile trip became, in addition to a trading expedition, an occasion for its passengers to make an extensive visual record. Inuit welcoming the ship with a brass band at Hebron on the coast of Labrador, posing with the Nascopie's passengers at Lake Harbour, Baffin Island, and spearing fish at Nadluktak River on Boothia Peninsula; Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachments, mission stations and hospitals, Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading posts, and shuffleboard on the deck of the Nascopie; seals, sled dogs, and a pet polar bear cub: these were among the northern scenes captured on film.³

Steaming up the St. Lawrence through the Strait of Belle Isle and up the Labrador coast, the Nascopie carried supplies and employees destined for the HBC's northern fur trading posts in Hudson Strait, Hudson Bay and along the eastern coast of Baffin Island. In addition to the Nascopie's crew, and the apprentices, clerks and post managers on board, Fur Trade Commissioner Ralph Parsons made the journey from Montreal to Hebron. Another senior member of the fur trade was James W. Anderson, making his first of many round trips as Ungava District Manager, his photographs of the Nascopie becoming a yearly feature in the HBC's Beaver magazine.

³ Among the extensive documentation of the 1937 Nascopie voyage the following sources were consulted: NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], Motion Pictures, 1922-1942; vol. 73, file 201-1 [12], Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1936-37; vol. 2145, D.L. McKeand Journal, 1937; NAC, Richard Finnie Papers, MG 31, C 6, vol. 18, file 18-3, Journal, 1937; Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), Fur Trade Department Records, RG 3, series 26A, file 1, Ungava District Weekly Reports, 1937 (J.W. Anderson); RG 3, series 60, file 1, Bay Voyage Records; Richard Finnie, "Trading into the North-west Passage," The Beaver (December 1937), 46-52; and the film Patrol to the Northwest Passage (Department of Mines and Resources and Richard Finnie, 1937). Full information on film sources and their availability in archival repositories can be found in the Filmography section of the Sources Consulted.

One of the more memorable feats of the 1937 voyage, which provided numerous photo-opportunities for Anderson and the other Nascopie passengers, was the rendezvous in Bellot Strait with the Aklavik, the HBC schooner which set out from King William Island in the western arctic. All pitched in to unload lumber and coal for the new post of Fort Ross on Somerset Island, while the three Inuit families brought from Arctic Bay (and originally from Cape Dorset) set up their camp. For the HBC, this was an effort to make the Northwest Passage a commercial possibility, enabling the bringing in of supplies and sending out of furs from east or west.

In addition to transporting cargo, the Nascopie served as the eastern arctic's yearly long distance passenger carrier, resulting in a distinctive social atmosphere aboard ship. Since 1933 tourists from Canada and the United States were invited to join in this "summer cruise to the arctic," to experience (and capture on film) the sights in the Land of the Midnight Sun. One such sight was the shipboard wedding of Kathleen Taylor of Hamilton, Ontario to Fort Chimo missionary Reverend Ronald Walter Wenham, the newlyweds disembarking at Port Burwell following the ceremony and wedding cake. Other missionary men and women, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, went north on the Nascopie or returned south on furlough. Notably absent was Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming, Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, who frequently sailed on the Nascopie to visit his northern parishioners. In the course of the confirmations, baptisms and weddings which he performed at the various ports of call, Bishop Fleming took

pictures of his trip, which were then published in the yearly report of his episcopal visitation to the arctic.

The Nascopie also carried the Canadian government's Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP). As the most visible and sustained attempt to administer and assert Canadian sovereignty over the arctic archipelago since its inaugural patrol on the C.G.S. Arctic in 1922, the EAP established and provisioned police posts, undertook scientific work, and nominally attended to Native health and welfare. Under the command of Ottawa-based northern bureaucrat Major David L. McKeand, the EAP found passage aboard the HBC's vessel since 1932, the government party dining with company officials and accommodating its schedule to the demands of the fur trade. In addition to the usual complement of scientific investigators, RCMP, and medical officers, the government party included Richard Finnie, a filmmaker, lecturer and author specializing in northern subjects. Aided by his wife and co-producer, Alyce Finnie, he was shooting a film of the voyage, adding to the already voluminous official visual record of the EAP created since its inception sixteen years earlier. At the Nascopie's farthest northern stop, the RCMP detachment of Craig Harbour on Ellesmere Island, Finnie and his fellow passengers enthusiastically filmed and photographed the two families of Baffin Island Inuit who provisioned the two resident Mounted Police officers.

Incorporated into the rituals of contact between non-Native and Aboriginal people, the photographic encounter was an established feature of the Nascopie's voyage. Government officials on the yearly arctic patrol; missionaries ministering to the Natives and white residents; HBC personnel journeying to northern fur



Figure 1: Nascopie passenger and Inuit family, Craig Harbour, 1937.
Photographer: Richard Finnie.
Source: Richard Finnie, Canada Moves North (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1948), between 212 and 213.

trade posts: travelling north for various motivations and reasons, many chose to record what they saw on film. Photography served an important means of shared communication among the passengers, as well as allowing the ordering of one's "northern experience" in a way that could be brought back home and displayed to others. This way of seeing the north, however, was not only expressed in terms of constructing a meaningful personal account through the creation of a photographic memoir. Through various avenues, including illustrated publications, film shows, and lantern slide lectures, representatives of the federal government, the Anglican Church and the Hudson's Bay Company disseminated pictures of the north to various audiences outside of the region. Image-making aboard the Nascopie was incorporated into a larger and more extensive project of producing the "North" as an object of knowledge and understanding.⁴

More than a geographical space, the North has played a significant role in the Canadian national imagination. From the rhetoric of late nineteenth century nationalists such as George Parkin and R.G. Haliburton, and the belief in the link between the superior characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race and Canada's northern location and climate, to John Defienbaker's appeal to the northward destiny of Canada in the 1958 federal election, the North has been a part of post-Confederation Canadian political culture. Perhaps most well-known through the

⁴ Throughout this study the word "North" is capitalized to indicate its use as an imaginative construct; conversely "north" refers to the geographic region. On the relationships between popular perceptions and geographic "reality" see Louis-Edmond Hamelin, The Canadian North and its Conceptual Referents (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1988) and Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North Too (Montreal: Harvest House, 1979), 1-13, reprinted in Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989), 7-17; and Amanda Graham, "Indexing the Canadian North: Broadening the Definition," Northern Review 6 (Winter 1990), 21-37.

works of the Group of Seven (see especially the paintings of Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson and Frederick Varley), representations of the "primordial, unpeopled North" took on the character of an artistic movement in the 1920s, further developing the links between national identity and an image of the North.⁵ More recently, Canadian scholars have reworked the role of the North, situating it as a central and defining characteristic of their interpretations of Canadian identity and culture. According to W.L. Morton, in an essay which sought to map out some of the major influences of the North in Canadian history, despite a perceived lack of consciousness among historians of its importance "the ultimate and the comprehensive meaning of Canadian history is to be found where there has been no Canadian history, in the North."⁶ This conception of North has, at its base, a similar perspective to that of a previous generation of nationalists: the North's importance rests in its relationship to the interests and concerns of the "South."

In this respect, Rob Shields examines the central place of "the myth of the 'True North Strong and Free'...as one symbol of specific Canadian nationalistic

⁵ On the role of the North in Canadian nationalism see Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in Peter Russell, ed., Nationalism in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-26 and Shelagh D. Grant, Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 3-21; on the Group of Seven and the North, see Brian Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art" in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 169-173 and Ken Webb, "The Group of Seven," North (March-April 1976), 2-5.

⁶ W.L. Morton, "The 'North' in Canadian Historiography," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada Series IV, Vol. VII (1970), 40. For a recent expression of both the importance of the North and its neglect see "Whit Fraser's Address to the Association of Canadian Universities in Northern Studies - October 23, 1991": "We as Canadians are undeniably a northern people, although most of us may not think of ourselves that way." Northern Review, 7 (Summer 1991), 184.

discourse, which although not completely hegemonic, attempts to reconcile regional viewpoints." In this analysis, it is Canada's essential "northernness" which sets it apart from its southern neighbour, the United States, and which also serves to unify (albeit in a superficial way) its diversity of peoples and landscapes. Shields further situates this discourse as "an oppositional spatialisation" in which southerners view the north as "Other" to the civilized South and yet also as the core of their own identity:

The various images circulating around the "True North Strong and Free" constitute a system of signification, discursive representation which requires analysis in toto... In this system, places or regions mean something only in relation to other places as a constellation of meanings, that is, the North makes sense only with reference to other regions: the "urban jungle," the southern agricultural frontier, or the commodified consumer landscape of Toronto's suburban strip developments.⁷

Shields recognizes the contradictory nature of northern imagery, which views the region as both empty space and resource treasure trove; as both the last best nature in its unspoiled splendour and as development frontier, complete with arctic oil rigs and the scars of strip mining. Yet he is also concerned with pointing out the exclusive nature of this northern discourse: "What is being discussed, after all, is the Southern image of the North, something that Northerners, lacking in media access, economic power, and without political control, are unable to change."⁸

⁷ Rob Shields, "The True North Strong and Free" in Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity (London: Routledge Chapman Hall, 1991), 162-63; 199. See also Douglas A. West, "Re-searching the North: An Introduction to the Canadian Northern Discourse" (Ottawa: Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1990); David Heinemann, "Latitude Rising: Historical Continuity in Canadian Nordicity" and John Moss, "The Cartography of Dreams," both in Journal of Canadian Studies 28, No. 3 (Fall 1993), 134-139 and 140-58.

⁸ Shields, Places on the Margin, 194, 199; emphasis in original.

The following study contributes to this understanding of the ways in which the North was interpreted to those outside of the region. Moving beyond a general analysis of "discourse" based predominantly on the written word, this investigation of northern image-making - the North viewed through the camera's lens - involves a detailed examination of individual and institutional photographic practice grounded in its historical context. In the pictures of these almost exclusively male photographers and cinematographers, a masculine-centred view of the North was reproduced. Northerners and the land they inhabited were caught in the observer's gaze, and in the process, transformed. Contextualized with other images and written texts into authoritative, often simplified, and readily understandable narratives, moving pictures and photographs of distant lands and unfamiliar peoples were inserted into a story of the advancement of the "Canadian Nation," the "British Empire," and "Christian Civilization," themselves overlapping frameworks of a highly circumscribed and selective vision of the world.⁹

An important aspect of the use of photographic and filmic images of these far away northern lands and its peoples relates to attempts to incorporate the north into the larger Canadian nation. In her study of the Victorian "inventory

⁹ For an outline view of the history of photographic representations of the Canadian prairies which asks similar questions about photography's role in constructing and sustaining official images under the sponsorship of state and corporate interests see Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada, 1880-1980," in Geoffrey James et. al., Thirteen Essays on Photography (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography, 1990), 13-32; see also Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, Reading National Geographic (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), for an investigation of photographic practice in the National Geographic, focused on the making and consuming of images of the non-Western world in the magazine.

sciences" of geology, terrestrial magnetism, meteorology, and botany in nineteenth century British North America, Suzanne Zeller explored how the rational and systematic study of nature "gave credence and respectability to the very idea of a transcontinental Canadian nation, and to the conviction that, with science, the idea would become reality."¹⁰ In the twentieth century, scientific metaphors of nation-building were transformed by developments in the technology of communications. As invoked by the title of the series of one-reel scenics and tourist films produced by the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau during the 1920s and 1930s, Seeing Canada involved the visual projection of images of and about the Canadian nation.¹¹ Zeller also notes the "spirit of possession which grew from the inventory process; nationalism provided a vocabulary for justifying and ennobling that possessive spirit." Again, it was photographic ways of seeing which carried this appropriative spirit forward, capturing and making visible the contours of a growing nation.¹²

¹⁰ Suzanne Zeller, Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 6.

¹¹ See Charles F. Backhouse, Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1917-1941 (Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1974), 9-12 on the Bureau's approach to promoting Canadian attractions and resources abroad while serving an educational purpose within the country. This idea of the motion picture encapsulating Canada on film can also be seen in the commercially produced newsreels of the late teens and early 1920s (including All Canada Weekly, Canadian National Pictorial, British Canadian Pathe News) and in the Canadian Cameo series of ten minute vignettes produced by Associated Screen News in the 1930s. See Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 60-62; 229-31.

¹² Zeller, Inventing Canada, 9. On the relationship between photography and nation-building in a later period (1960 to 1990) see Melissa K. Rombout, "Imaginary Canada: Photography and the Construction of National Identity," Views: The Journal of Photography in New England, 12, No. 2 (Spring 1991), 4-9.

By the turn of the twentieth century, this photographic way of seeing was established as a dominant mode within Western culture. According to historian Alan Trachtenberg:

Photography helped engender a new visibility in things and contributed to a rise in visibility itself. A high value was placed upon sight and its uses in modern culture - from surveillance to survey to spectacle to art. More intensely and urgently than in the past, to see became to know - or to hope to know.¹³

The following study is concerned with a particular aspect of this "new visibility" and its consequences, as various institutions and individuals contributed to the construction of a photographic and filmic image of the Canadian North. One of the contentions of this examination of the re-invention of the North is that the taking and subsequent use of photographs and films is a practice that carries with it a certain level of significance, embedded in popular notions of the singular value of these images as evidence. Carrying forward the maxim that "seeing is believing," what appears in the photographic frame is often taken as undisputed truth. And as William Guynn observes, non-fiction film "produces an image whose power of analogy is prodigious and capable of mimicking the chronology of real events by representing the movement of persons and objects through time."¹⁴ Northern representations were played out in the context of this faith in the

¹³ Alan Trachtenberg, "Photography/Cinematography," in Jay Leyda and Charles Musser, eds., Before Hollywood: Turn-of-the-Century American Film (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1987), 75.

¹⁴ William Guynn, A Cinema of Nonfiction (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1990), 14; on the tension between the apparent "reality" of the photograph and its constructed nature see Terence Wright, "Photography: Theories of Realism and Convention," in Elizabeth Edwards, ed., Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 18-31.

special ability of the reproducible visual image to capture the essences of external reality.¹⁵

This power and prevalence of photographic imagery was due, in part, to its adaptability to a variety of uses. In the several decades after the ability to make a photograph - to mechanically record the image produced by light passing through a lens - was realized in the 1830s, photography became entrenched within Western popular culture. Portrait studios fed the growing demand of the middle classes for the consumption of images of family and friends. Cartes-de-visite and stereograph companies were joined by early motion picture makers in capitalizing on the desire to possess and contemplate the likenesses of famous people, noteworthy events and celebrated tourist views.¹⁶

In addition to its commercial uses, photographic imagery was harnessed to covert and overt political ends. John Tagg, for example, has traced the ways in which photography served to uphold institutions of power and control in the context of late nineteenth century state formation in Great Britain. From the development of police photography for the identification of "criminals" to the use

¹⁵ This faith is not entirely misplaced, as photographic images (both still and moving) carry an "indexical whammy," as Bill Nichols observes. Nichols draws on Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotics to make the distinction between iconic signs (which resemble their source, such as drawings), indexical signs (which bear a point-for-point correspondence with their source, like x-rays and photographs) and symbols (which bear an arbitrary relation to their source, such as words). But what is then at issue is the nature of the interpretive frames constructed, the meaningful narratives formed from these photographic and filmic images. See Bill Nichols, Blurred Boundaries: Questions of Meaning in Contemporary Culture (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 18-19.

¹⁶ For two standard histories of photography see Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, The History of Photography (London: Oxford University Press, 1955) and Beaumont Newhall, The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964).

of pictures of working-class housing in the argument for slum clearance, the photograph became accepted as evidence for and implicated in the extension of state power.¹⁷

Technological innovations, which were driven by commercial interests, also permitted increasing numbers to participate in the creation of their own images. The perfection of the gelatine dry plate, dating from the 1880s, allowed the separation of the taking and making of photographs, as it did not have to be sensitized before exposure and developed immediately afterwards. In addition, as a faster process (taking less exposure time for the image to be fixed on the film) the instantaneous image, or "snapshot," was easily achieved. Accompanied by the rise of mass-produced cameras and film, photography was marketed with an appeal to its simplicity and ease of operation. As the early Kodak advertising asserted: "You press the button - we do the rest!" By the turn of the century, camera owners numbered in the millions. As for motion picture technology, developments in non-flammable safety film and smaller cameras occurred in the early 1920s, with the French Pathe and American Eastman Kodak companies leading the way. While more expensive, and thus less accessible than still photography, movie-making also fell into the domain of the amateur user.¹⁸

¹⁷ John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: MacMillan, 1988) and Joanne Lukitsh, "Practising Theories: An Interview with John Tagg," in Carol Squire, ed., The Critical Image: Essays in Contemporary Photography (Seattle: Bay Press, 1990), 220-37. See also Donald E. English, Political Uses of Photography in the Third French Republic, 1871-1914 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984) for an analysis of the uses of photography by French political parties which makes the point that photographs challenged, as well as upheld, the views of the state.

¹⁸ See Colin Ford, ed., The Kodak Museum: The Story of Popular Photography (London: Century, 1989); Graham King, Say "Cheese!" Looking at Snapshots in a New Way (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1984); Brian Coe and Paul Gates, The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography, 1888-1939 (London: Ash and Grant, 1977); Micheline Morisset, "Home

At the same time that images were literally everywhere for the taking, the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed significant changes in the field of visual communication. New printing technologies (especially the perfection of the half-tone engraving process) resulted in the reproduction of photographic images in newspapers, magazines and books. By the 1890s, this printing process had transformed the system and conventions of presenting visual material. Solving the problem of reproducing photographs in type-compatible printing, the half-tone photograph (the "photomechanical reproduction of a photochemical image") was established as a powerful and persuasive carrier of information to mass audiences. While the ability to make and manipulate images of one's personal life became increasingly accessible by the turn of the century, the new media of mass communications marketed their own versions of the visible world.¹⁹

In the realm of moving image production and distribution in North America, a similar history of commercialization and standardization can be discerned. Following the first public exhibition of motion pictures in 1895, through the appeals to working class and immigrant audiences in the Nickelodeon era of the early twentieth century, to the rise of national theatre chains in the 1920s, one comes to the world-wide dominance of the Hollywood studios by the 1930s. Yet other methods of filmmaking and systems of presentation existed. In

Movies," *The Archivist* 108 (1995), 28-29. On Canadian developments see Peter Robertson, "The New Amateur, 1885-1900" in Lily Koltun, ed., *Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940* (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), 16-31.

¹⁹ See Neil Harris, "Iconography and Intellectual History: The Half-Tone Effect," in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds., *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), 196-211.

Canada, this alternative appeared in the production of state and corporate sponsored non-fiction films, which were shown in a variety of non-theatrical venues, including schools and community centres. The seeds of the Canadian documentary movement, associated with the National Film Board under the leadership of John Grierson from 1939, can be found in the institutional structure of the Department of Trade and Commerce's Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau (1917-41). Yet even these non-fiction films of the promotional and educational variety had to contend with the emerging dominant modes of the "classical" Hollywood style and the studios' control over the business of distribution and exhibition.²⁰

The histories of photography and film are linked by these two parallel developments of increasing accessibility over the creation and display of photographic images for the general populace alongside the production and distribution of standardized images as mass communication. The following history of image-making of the Canadian north tends toward an exploration of the latter terrain, as the agents of the state, commercial enterprise and organized religion used photography and film to convey their own versions of the North to various audiences. Yet these constructions of the North were made possible, in part, by the contributions of "amateur" image-makers, as government investigators,

²⁰ See Douglas Gomery, Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Backhouse, Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau; and Morris, Embattled Shadows, especially 127-44 and 217-35. On the institutional background of the NFB see Andrew Rodger, "Some Factors Contributing to the Formation of the National Film Board of Canada," Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 9, No. 3 (1989), 259-268 and also John Grierson, "Report to Establish National Film Board," in C. Rodney James, Film as a National Art: NFB of Canada and the Film Board Idea (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 671-92.

HBC fur traders and Anglican bishops wielded their own Kodaks and Eyemo motion picture cameras in the pursuit of northern views. By examining a range of photographic practice that includes but goes beyond the professional, this analysis of filmic and photographic communication considers the incorporation of the images of non-professional photographers and filmmakers into a body of northern knowledge that was disseminated both within and outside of these institutional structures.

The few previous works dealing with the history of photography and filmmaking in the Canadian north consist of chronological narratives, pausing to highlight outstanding collections of surviving material. "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier," researched and written by staff of the National Photography Collection, Public Archives of Canada (now Documentary Art and Photography Division, National Archives of Canada), outlined the use of photography on Canadian government expeditions from 1880 to 1911.²¹ Similarly, Richard Condon begins "The History and Development of Arctic Photography" with the efforts of the "early photographic pioneers" to picture an arctic world of "extreme cold and darkness." In this article, Condon moves from detailing the photographic documentation of late nineteenth century arctic exploration to the use of photography as "the anthropologist's tool" of the twentieth century. In the course

²¹ Claude Minotto et. al., "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier," in Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Robert Flaherty, Photographer/Filmmaker: The Inuit, 1910-1922 (Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1979), 74-80 (and originally appearing in The Archivist 4, No. 2 [March-April 1977] to 5, No. 1 [January-February 1978]). This material was prepared in conjunction with an exhibition on images of the arctic; see the accompanying catalogue, Public Archives of Canada, Arctic Images: The Frontier Photographed, 1860-1911 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1977).

of attempting to demonstrate the utility of historical photographs as a research tool in its documentation of "social and material aspects of Inuit and Yup'ik culture," Condon provides a comprehensive overview of major technological developments and a survey of the major photographers and filmmakers.²² The notable exception to this tradition is Maria Tippet's introduction to her photographic biography of Charles Gimpel. In a brief yet insightful analysis of the social and cultural meanings of arctic photography, Tippet's rendering of the historical context of Gimpel's own image-making is highly suggestive, if somewhat selective.²³

These histories of northern image-making tend to parallel the historiography of the region, viewing photography as part of the advance of technology into the northern frontier. The history of the Canadian north is typically interpreted as a narrative of incorporation into the larger Canadian nation, as the continued (and progressive) extension of Euro-Canadian institutions into this once remote region. This theme has found its fullest expression in the work of Morris Zaslow, who was especially influential in opening up northern

²² Richard Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," Arctic Anthropology 26, No. 1 (1989), 46-87. This article was also the result of an exhibition, "The History of Photography" at the Peary-MacMillan Museum, Bowdoin College. See also Joanna Cohan Scherer, "Historical Photographs of the Subarctic: A Resource for Future Research," Arctic Anthropology 18, No. 2 (1981), 1-16 and "Repository Sources of Northwest Coast Indian Photographs," Arctic Anthropology 27, No. 2 (1990), 40-50 for two overviews with a similar focus on the research use of historical photographs as ethnographic data; and W. Gillies Ross, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Photographs: A Case Study for Hudson Bay, Canada," Arctic Anthropology 27, No. 2 (1990), 93-112 for a specific study from one geographical area.

²³ Maria Tippet with photographs by Charles Gimpel, Between Two Cultures: A Photographer Among the Inuit (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Limited, 1994), 2-17.

history as a field of study.²⁴ Surveying the historiography in 1985, William Morrison and Ken Coates noted the influence of regional studies in opening up historical writing on the north, yet bemoaned the "south-centred view of northern history" in its continuing preoccupation with the influence and activities of outsiders.²⁵

In the past decade, the consideration of the role and place of Aboriginal peoples in the north, in both the past and present, has worked to broaden this "south-centred" view.²⁶ P.J. Usher, an important contributor to northern scholarship, in terms of both scholarly contributions and applied studies, sets out the idea of the north as "Homeland" as a counterpoint to the concept of the north as metropolitan frontier. A witness and co-ordinator of social and economic evidence for the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement's case at the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry (1974-77), Usher participated in the critique of the old paradigm (which he terms the "modernization/acculturation model") and

²⁴ See Zaslow's two volumes in the Canadian Centenary Series, 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), as well as his The Northwest Territories, 1905-1980 Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 38 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1984). On Zaslow and his role in establishing the history of northern Canada as a serious field of academic inquiry see the introduction by Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison to their edited collection, For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow (North York, Ontario: Captus University Publications, 1989), 1-7.

²⁵ K.S. Coates and W.R. Morrison, "Northern Visions: Recent Writing in Northern Canadian History," Manitoba History 10 (Autumn 1985), 2-9.

²⁶ See, for example, Kerry Abel, Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens' University Press, 1993); Ken Coates, "Best Left as Indians": Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Julie Cruikshank in collaboration with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned, Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Elders (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); and Catherine McClelland, et. al., Part of the Land, Part of the Water: A History of the Yukon Indians (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987).

the articulation of a new set of questions about social change among northern Native societies. In place of the view of the inevitability of industrial development and its attendant material and social "benefits," the alternative view emphasizes, among other points, the historical and contemporary value of the land as a cultural and economic resource for Aboriginal peoples.²⁷

This critical reevaluation, occurring in the context of a resurgence of Native political organization, has not only affected the disciplines of anthropology, geography and political economy, as Usher notes.²⁸ In their concluding remarks in The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies, Patricia McCormack and Geoffrey Ironside suggest that several of the papers in their volume, in challenging "the conventional southern-based analyses of northern research," represent a paradigm shift in the study of the north.²⁹ Yet even viewing the north as Homeland - foregrounding the perspectives and experiences of the Aboriginal people of the arctic and sub-arctic - must come to terms with the varied ways in which the expectations of outsiders increasingly came to bear

²⁷ P.J. Usher, "The North: One Land, Two Ways of Life," in L.D. McCann, ed., Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1987 [second edition]), 482-529 and P.J. Usher, "Northern Development, Impact Assessment, and Social Change," in Noel Dyck and James Waldram, eds., Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 98-130.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 98, 113.

²⁹ Patricia A. McCormack and R. Geoffrey Ironside, eds., The Uncovered Past: Roots of Northern Alberta Societies Circumpolar Research Series No. 3 (Edmonton: Canadian Circumpolar Institute, 1993), 185. See especially the essays in this volume by Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Fur Trade History as Text and Drama" (81-88) and Patricia A. McCormack, "Romancing the Northwest as Prescriptive History: Fort Chipewyan and the Northern Expansion of the Canadian State" (89-109). See also Aron Senkpiel and N. Alexander Easton, "New Bearings on Northern Scholarship," The Northern Review 1 (Summer 1988), 9-26 for a complementary discussion on the emergence of an indigenous (but not necessarily Aboriginal) scholarly community in the north.

on the choices that were available to individual northerners. In the context of twentieth century experiences, the Canadian state, trading companies and missionaries exerted an ever-increasing presence in the north.

Historians, in untangling this relationship between Aboriginal inhabitants and outside institutions, have tended to rely on written documents. While this approach has resulted in important insights, the historical record of the Canadian north is also preserved in a myriad of visual images. What does the preponderance of photographs and films, with the North as subject, signify? Three of the following chapters examine the production and circulation of the visual documents created and sponsored by three of the major southern institutions in the north, the Canadian government, the Anglican Church, and the Hudson's Bay Company, exploring these image-making activities during the years between the two World Wars. The fourth chapter is devoted to an examination of the work of Richard Finnie, a prolific filmmaker, photographer and lecturer on northern subjects during this period.

One of the goals present throughout these interlocking essays on northern representations is the value of visual evidence to the cultural historian. Photographs and films, undeniably influential in transmitting messages about the external world in the visual culture of twentieth century Canada, pose difficulties for the historian attempting to recover and make sense of the past. In practical terms, much of the moving image record has been lost due to the nature of cellulose nitrate, the chemically unstable and highly flammable film base in use

until the 1950s.³⁰ And when film footage survives, it often does so in fragmentary form, sometimes mis-identified in the course of archival processing.³¹ While it is possible to reconstruct films from production notes, correspondence, and reviews (see the following discussion of A.L. Fleming's films and the Hudson's Bay Company-sponsored The Romance of the Far Fur Country), this is clearly not the same as viewing the film itself. In the case of still photographs, the historian is often confronted with little or no information regarding the date, location, subject and maker of a given image. Given such difficulties, how does one move beyond the photographic image as illustration to the photographic image as interpretation?

Furthermore, as previously noted, moving and still images, despite their seeming transparency, carry multiple meanings, convey constructed "truths."³² The strategy followed here is a contextual approach to "reading" images, which can be divided into three inter-related aspects: production, circulation and reception.³³ The context of production asks questions about the photographer or filmmaker,

³⁰ Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, Film History: Theory and Practice (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 28-36. Gomery and Allen estimate that nearly half of the theatrical-length films made in the United States, for example, are lost.

³¹ This is particularly problematic in the case of the archival footage of the 1922 to 1925 Eastern Arctic Patrols held by the NAC, Cartographic and Audiovisual Archives. Careful examination of the films against written evidence, especially shot lists produced by the creators, revealed a number of inconsistencies between the identifications given by the Archives and the images themselves.

³² As Alan Trachtenberg prefaces his study Reading American Photographs: Images as History: Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), xvi: "My argument throughout is that American photographs are not simple depictions but constructions...."

³³ This typology is partly based on the introduction and essays in John E. O'Connor, ed., Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television (Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Kreiger Publishing Company, 1990); for useful suggestions on photographic evidence, see J. Robert Davison, "Turning a Blind Eye: The Historian's Use of Photographs", B.C. Studies, 52 (Winter 1981-82), 16-38.

but also about the institutional and social circumstances surrounding the image's making, including the role and intentions of sponsors and producers. The context of circulation considers the methods in which the photograph or film was displayed (if at all). Was a particular photograph collected in a family album or published in a popular magazine? For films, this involves more elaborate systems of distribution and exhibition. Perhaps most difficult for historians to deal with is the context of reception, to reconstruct how people understood and thought about the images they saw.³⁴ Sociologists and anthropologists can conduct interviews and devise questionnaires in the attempt to analyze viewers' responses.³⁵ Direct evidence of past viewing practices is rare; yet what is valuable to consider is the active role of the viewer in making meaning from the cultural artifact in question. Given the diversity of audiences, embodying cultural, gender and class divisions, the historical study of reception remains a difficult enterprise, a reminder of the complexity of historical experience.

In this study of northern imagery, the reading of content, while informed by the "language" of photography and moving images, owes more to an understanding of the contexts of production and subsequent display. The latter usually involves constructing a sequence of images with an accompanying written

³⁴ The issue of reception and spectator positioning is a hotly contested topic in the field of film studies, drawing heavily on an often decontextualized psycho-analytic theory. See, for example, Guynn, *A Cinema of Nonfiction*, 230-31 on the non-fiction film and its spectator: "If the cinematographic apparatus is arranged so as to produce an artificial psychosis without danger to the organism, a return to the duality of narcissistic identification, the documentary text brings about a partial denial of this regressive movement."

³⁵ See Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, 217-80 for a discussion of the literature and an example of this method.

(or in the case of sound films, spoken) text; in this way meanings arise from the juxtaposition of images with each other and with captions and other verbal material. The emphasis in the following chapters, then, is on photographic practice, on the meanings attached to the making and use of still and moving images of the north, as much as on the images themselves.³⁶

Chapter I, an analysis of state-sponsored imagery, investigates the intentions and uses behind the photographic and filmic practices of the first centralized federal government department administering the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. By recounting a narrative of Canadian government activity which addresses the role played by photography and film in the course of the administration of its northern territories, the importance to the state of gathering and disseminating visual evidence will be established. Drawing on visual and textual material available at the National Archives of Canada (NAC), this chapter first examines the role of photography through the activities of Major L.T. Burwash, government investigator of the arctic during the 1920s. An important theme is the way in which he came to terms with the place of the Inuit within an expanding catalogue of northern knowledge. This chapter then considers the role of photographic ways of seeing in the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol, where the northern vision of the state included aspirations of sovereignty and ownership. Here, too, photography supplied the visual apparatus,

³⁶ Trachtenberg. Reading American Photographs, is an extended example of reading groups of images (albums, books, photo-stories) as historical evidence; on the rhetorical strategies, institutional frameworks and interpretative perspectives of non-fiction film see Bill Nichols, Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

incorporating the land and its inhabitants into the colonial vision of acquisition and control.

Chapter II focuses on the first Bishop of the Arctic, Archibald Lang Fleming, as the most prominent and influential creator and conveyor of the Anglican Church's version of northern pictures. The opening section details Fleming's social and religious thought as set out in his popular writings on the Canadian north. Special attention is paid to his imagery of the North as a land of Twilight, and to the purported role of this harsh environment in conditioning "Eskimo" behaviour. After establishing this context, the second section examines the ways in which Fleming and the Anglican Church's Arctic Missions exposed this Twilight land to public consciousness, through the powerful medium of photographic representation. The analysis will concentrate on the imagery and presentation of photographs in Fleming's publications, lantern slide shows, and motion pictures, building on documentation in the Anglican Church of Canada's General Synod Archives and the published record of Fleming's numerous pamphlets and books. Here the emphasis is on pictures of "transformation," on Fleming's representation of the North as poised on the transition from primitive to civilized.

The third chapter considers filmic and photographic representations of the north in the context of corporate public relations. The Hudson's Bay Company, a formidable power in the region, capitalized on its northern fur trade presence to construct a forceful image of the company as both benevolent protector of Native peoples and positive agent of social change and development. This chapter

begins with the elaborate festivities of the HBC's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1920, focusing on the making and the meanings of The Romance of the Far Fur Country, a film highlighting the company's northern fur trading operations. Moving pictures helped define the extent of the Canadian nation, drawing boundaries and projecting order on the northern wilderness and the "strange" Eskimo.

The following section in Chapter III considers the major public relations initiative of the company in the succeeding decades, The Beaver magazine. Initially founded as a staff journal, from 1933 it turned outward, transformed into a slickly produced "Magazine of the North" by publicity expert Douglas MacKay. In the company's magazine, and in various other initiatives, the idea of "Trading North into Hudson's Bay" incorporated the views of the company's amateur fur trade photographers with those of professional image-makers, creating a compelling vision of the HBC's northern presence. The extensive collections of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, donated to the Province of Manitoba in 1994, provide material for a comprehensive analysis of corporate image-making in this northern context.

Chapter IV considers the activities of Richard Finnie, a particularly prolific northern image-maker, who combined periods of state-sponsorship with a career as an "independent" northern observer. Often critical of the state, church, and corporate authorities in the north, Finnie constructed his own northern vision. Fortunately many of Finnie's finished films survive (at the NAC and Northwest Territories Archives [NWTAA]), and together with his extensive photograph

collections (at the NAC, with further material at the NWTA), several life history interviews, published works, personal papers and considerable documentation in the government archives section of the NAC, provide rich and varied sources for an examination of the career of this "northern authority." In particular, Finnie's attempts to reconcile his ethnographic images of northern Natives with his views of the North as a frontier for development are considered.

The concluding chapter draws together the varied themes of northern image-making examined, setting forth the features of the dominant view of the Canadian North that was widely disseminated through the filmic and photographic activities of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican Church, and the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. Finally, it is recognized that despite their creation in the past, photographic and filmic images of the North have a currency in the present. In addition to the kind of analysis undertaken in this study, which involves contextualizing these past images using the methods and resources of historical research, attempts are being made to reconnect photographic material to the origins of their making. Examples of community-based oral history projects and the work of indigenous cultural centres are discussed in the context of a movement towards the repatriation of cultural artifacts. Understanding the motivations and intentions of photographers and filmmakers and their sponsoring institutions, as the following chapters set out to do, makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the changing meanings of the North as interpreted by the larger collectivity, conveniently labelled the "Canadian nation." Acknowledging the equally significant meanings of this

photographic practice to the subjects of these images and their descendants (who do not always fit so easily into the convenient labels imposed) raises important questions about the goals of doing history, and the role of photographic and filmic evidence in addressing these issues.

CHAPTER I

MORE THAN "A MASS OF ICE AND SNOW": VISUALIZING THE STATE IN "CANADA'S ARCTIC"

An important and often-considered aspect of the history of northern Canada involves the extension of Euro-Canadian interests into the arctic and sub-arctic. In addition to commercial development and the expansion of Christian missions, the Canadian state attempted to impose its own version of social and corporate relationships on the north. Partly a result of the growth of bureaucratic structures from the late nineteenth century, partly a reaction to perceived threats to Canadian sovereignty by other nations, and partly a response to northern conditions, the federal government, in a series of fits and starts, touched ever farther into the lives of Native and non-Native northerners.¹

In this respect, the period between the two world wars marked an important time for the extension of governmental control. As will be seen, the 1920s was a particularly active period. These years witnessed the extension of northern treaties, debates over the responsibility for Inuit welfare, the

¹ On the history of northern administration in this century see Terry Cook, "Paper Trails; A Study in Northern Records and Northern Administration, 1898-1958," in K.S. Coates and W.R. Morrison, For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow (North York, Ontario: Captus University Publications, 1989), 13-35; Terry Cook, Records of the Northern Affairs Program (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1982); Mark O. Dickerson, Whose North? Political Change, Political Development and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories (Vancouver: UBC Press and the Arctic Institute of North America, 1992), 28-87; and Morris Zaslow, "Administering the Arctic Islands 1880-1940: Policemen, Missionaries, Fur Traders," in Morris Zaslow, ed., A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980 (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1981), 61-78.

establishment of government patrols to and RCMP posts in the arctic archipelago, and the creation of vast game preserves. Much of this activity was presided over by the newly created North West Territories and Yukon Branch (NWTYB) within the Department of the Interior, which acted as the centre of northern administration from its headquarters in Ottawa.²

The years after 1931 saw a more passive northern administration, as the government "retired" a number of the more experienced civil servants and the NWTYB lost its status as a separate branch reporting to the Deputy Minister. Yet the structures instituted in the previous decade carried on, and although the Department of the Interior was dissolved in 1936, the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs (part of the larger Lands, Parks and Forests Branch) re-emerged in the new Department of Mines and Resources. It was this administrative framework which supported the renewed activities of the northern bureaucracy after World War II: the extension of family allowance and old age security; the increased commitment to health and education programs and infrastructures; the establishment of northern housing initiatives with the resultant movement from camp life to permanent Canadian-style settlements for many Aboriginal northerners.

² It is important to note that a number of federal departments and agencies, often with overlapping responsibilities, maintained both in-the-field representatives and a measure of central administrative control. William Morrison, in Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), traced the northern activities of the North West Mounted Police (later Royal Canadian Mounted Police), drawing attention to their role in establishing effective Canadian governmental control over the region. Yet the north, although constituting a significant aspect of the Mounted Police's activities, was not the only jurisdiction of the force; particularly after 1920, much of the RCMP's new work was oriented to southern Canada and urban activities.

Administrative Imperatives: Collecting the North in Photos

One way to comprehend the extent and nature of this governmental involvement in the north is through the organization of administrative records. The value of records as windows into the intellectual history of a given institution has received some attention, and actually been applied to Canada's northern involvement. As Terry Cook argued in relation to the textual record-keeping practices of the Ottawa-based northern administration from the late nineteenth century until 1950:

Records were not neutral forces over and above which northern administration developed in whichever way its officials wished. Rather, records were an integral part of that development, often shaping and restraining it. As the lifeblood of an organization and its collective memory, records themselves - quite apart from their subject content about people, places and events - form a valuable indicator of the health and stability of their parent institution and its programmes.³

Drawing attention to this history of record-keeping, Cook evaluates the ways in which previous practices influenced subsequent policy. In particular, the placement of northern administration within the Dominion Lands Branch of the Department of the Interior stamped a resource-based approach onto northern policy, leaving a legacy of passive administration that mostly concerned itself with the regulation and protection of Natives and wildlife, only rarely actively intervening in development. Yet with the establishment of the NWTYB from 1919 to 1923, the bureaucracy was restructured. As Cook notes, this change was reflected in the records-keeping practices of the Branch.⁴

³ Terry Cook, "Paper Trails," 29.

⁴ Ibid., 22-23.

One aspect of this "administrative revolution" was the systematic creation of photographic and filmic records of Branch activities. Clearly the analysis of these visual records require a somewhat different approach than that applied to written records. NWTYB employees' photographs arranged into captioned albums, hired newsreel photographers' footage edited into official films: these suggest modes of analysis attuned to visual symbolism and significance. Yet, like the creation of filing systems for correspondence series or departmental committees, visual images became subject to the vagaries of administrative control, part of the same desire to approach the north in a "rational, efficient manner."⁵

The Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch and its successors built up an enormous archive of visual images. How and why were these still and moving images collected? What does this collecting activity, and the collection itself, suggest about federal government approaches to the north in the period between the two world wars? This examination of the surviving visual record will analyze the making, content and uses of this vast visual library of northern pictures. How, in the course of administrative activity, did NWTY Branch officials photograph and film the north, and how did these images fit into the construction of the North as a "knowable" place?

⁵ Ibid., 22; 23.

Naming, Mapping and Photographic Evidence: Major L.T. Burwash, Exploratory Engineer

A major surviving artifact of this production of knowledge about the North is held at the National Archives of Canada. In 1973 the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs deposited a large number of prints and negatives from its departmental library with the Public Archives of Canada; the following year a further 59 photograph albums were handed over to the Archives.⁶ This total collection consists of 77,217 items (of which 15,716 are negatives and the remainder prints) dating from 1917 to 1957.⁷

The photograph albums (which contain 16,630 prints) constitute a unique source in the history of state involvement in the region.⁸ These leather-bound departmental albums present a sense of comprehensiveness by their sheer volume. Each of the thousands of prints is given an identification number, and virtually all are accompanied by descriptive captions, some handwritten, some typed.⁹ Highlighted is the work of departmental officers in the field. These are

⁶ That this material was in the departmental library of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs is due to the institutional history of the federal government's northern administration. With the dissolution of the Department of the Interior in 1936, northern administration became part of the new Department of Mines and Resources, where it remained until 1947. Further tracing this history leads to the Northern Administrations Service, a branch in the Department of Resources and Development (1950), which attained departmental status in 1953 as Northern Affairs and National Resources. This department was the precursor to the current Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (which merged northern and Indian administration into a single department in 1966).

⁷ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Documentary Art and Photography Division (hereafter DAPD), Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, 1973-357 and 1974-366. See Finding Aid 11 (6 volumes) for a detailed listing, including a name and subject index prepared by northern administrators to manage this vast visual record.

⁸ Note that many of the loose prints in this collection are copies of those found in the albums, while most of the negatives correspond to prints contained in the albums.

⁹ According to Richard Finnie, the son of the director of the NWTYB, his father's secretary, Mabel Anderson, wrote the captions and assembled those albums dating from the 1920s. NAC, Cartographic and Audiovisual Archives Division (hereafter CAVA), ISN 211538, Richard Finnie by

supplemented by photographs sent in by various organizations and individuals: resource-based companies active in the north; missionaries; professional photographers and photo-agencies (including the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau and its successor, the National Film Board, both of which maintained active still photography branches); and several tourists and members of private expeditions. Both in terms of subject matter and make-up, these albums represent the varied aspects of the federal government's involvement in the northern reaches of the Canadian nation. As a visual counterpart to the northern affairs programme records, also held by the National Archives,¹⁰ these pictures document, from the official perspective, the "opening up" of the north to southern Canadian interests.

Yet these visual images are more than merely accompanying illustrations of the surviving written record. Analyzed as documents in their own right, the photograph albums created in the course of Canadian government involvement in the north offer a valuable commentary on that involvement. Their creation, arrangement and various uses signify much about the institutional context and concerns in which they were created and arranged.

Out of these albums which document the activities of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch and its successors during the 1920s, 30s and 40s, a

interview by Claude Minotto, 7 April 1975.

¹⁰ Especially the extensive records of NAC, Records of the Northern Affairs Program, RG 85. See Terry Cook, *Sources for the Study of the Canadian North* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1980) for information on related government records held by the NAC. The Northwest Territories Archives (NWT A), Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre also holds northern administration records; see especially G79-042, Northwest Territories Council; G79-067, Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs; and N92-034, Northern Administration Branch.

full six albums are devoted to the pictures taken by Major Lachlin Taylor Burwash (1874-1940).¹¹ Son of prominent Methodist theologian and educator Nathanael Burwash, young Lachlin attended Victoria College at the University of Toronto. He left for the Yukon in 1897, and from 1899 until 1912 worked in the field and in the office for the Yukon Territory administration as an inspector of mines and mining engineer.¹²

When the first coherent federal government unit devoted to Canada's northern territories was established in the Department of the Interior in 1921, Burwash (now a Major after his service in the Great War) was hired by the new director, Oswald Sterling Finnie, another veteran of the Yukon administration. Along with a small group of other newly recruited officers, Burwash headed from Ottawa to Fort Smith, the entry point to the Mackenzie valley on the Alberta border, where the field headquarters of the new Northwest Territories Branch was established.

After a stint as Mining Recorder and Crown Timber and Land Agent, Burwash embarked upon a series of five investigative trips for the NWTY Branch, covering an extensive area of the eastern and western arctic. After his initial

¹¹ Totalling 2,741 photographs, Burwash's images make up over 16% of the prints in the Albums. See NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 1, "Arctic" (LTB-1923-1 to 167, LTB-1924-1 to 234); Album 2, "Arctic" (LTB-1924-235 to 655); Album 3, "Arctic" (LTB-1924-656 to 762, LTB-1925-1 to 102, LTB-1926-1155 to 1335); Album 4, "Arctic" (LTB-1926-1336 to 1834); Album 5, "Arctic" (LTB-1927-2204 to 2546); Album 9, "NWT" (LTB-1929-4660 to 5038 and LTB-1930-5525 to 5692); see also the Burwash photographs in Album 13, "Arctic" (LTB-1931-6200 to 6344).

¹² See Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) on L.T. Burwash's family background; "Major Burwash, Noted Explorer of Arctic, Dies," Ottawa Citizen (23 December 1940); NAC, R.S. Finnie Papers, MG 31, C 6, vol. 6, file 6-8, "Burwash, Lachlin Taylor" (unpublished biography prepared by Alyce Finnie for the "Encyclopedia Arctica").

economic survey of the Inuit and resources of Baffin Island (1923-24), Burwash undertook two trips to the western arctic, travelling along the arctic coastline from the Mackenzie delta eastward to Hudson Bay, and wintering over on King William Island (1925-26 and 1928-29). Between these latter two expeditions, Burwash spent the summer of 1927 investigating conditions in Hudson and James bays. He returned to the Mackenzie district in 1930, surveying the possibilities and extent of mineral explorations in the Coppermine area, and led an aerial search for remains of the Franklin expedition. Finally, in 1931, he acted as officer-in-charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol on its yearly voyage to the arctic archipelago.¹³

It is the investigative trips, taken between 1923 and 1930, that the departmental albums extensively document. Hudson's Bay Company schooners along the western arctic coast; the snow-covered cliffs on the shores of Baffin Island; wildflowers in bloom; Inuit camps on the sea ice in Boothia Peninsula; portraits of traders, missionaries, Aboriginal people, and Major Burwash himself - how to make sense of this inventory of images snapped during the course of these travels in the Canadian arctic? [See Figures 2 to 5].

One way is through the organization of the albums themselves - as sequences of individual images that, together with their captions, tell a story of Burwash's journeys in the service of the NWTYB. The first of the two albums of his 1923-24 sojourn in Baffin Island begins with images of the C.G.S. Arctic in the

¹³ For an official perspective on Burwash's expeditions see the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch's publications by F.H. Kitto, The North West Territories, 1930 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1930), 69-70; 104-05; 128-29 and L.T. Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic: Report of Investigations in 1925-26, 1928-29 and 1930 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1931).



Figure 2: Major Lachlin T. Burwash, Repulse Bay, May 1926.
Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and
Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 3.



Figure 3: "Ball Game at Imigen," Baffin Island, March 1924.
Photographer: L.T. Burwash.
Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and
Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 1.



Figure 4: "[William] Gibson's (Hudson's Bay Co.) sled off Mount Matheson, King William Island," April 1926.

Photographer: L.T. Burwash.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 3.

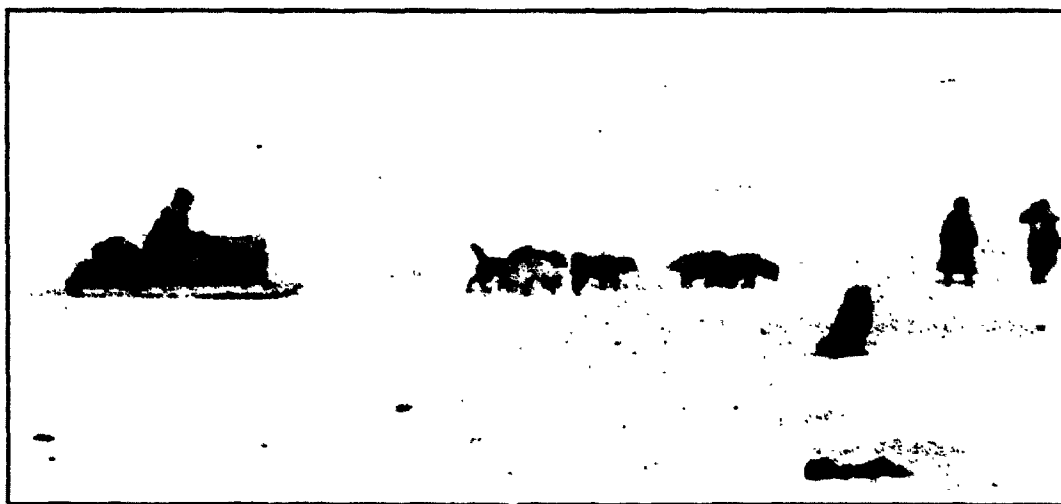


Figure 5: "Near height of land, Boothia Peninsula," April 1926.
Photographer: L.T. Burwash.
Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and
Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 3.

Gaspe, still on the southern leg of its voyage to the arctic archipelago.¹⁴ On the way the stop at Godhavn, Greenland is pictured, including views of the resident Danish officials posing for the camera with the Canadian government party. Other photographs portray Greenland Natives in front of their residences, Danish ships at anchor in Godhavn harbour, and Native kayaks alongside the Arctic.

After shots of sea ice in Smith Sound, glaciers off Ellesmere Island and a trial of Inuit prisoners at Pond Inlet, the albums settle into images of a Baffin Island fall and winter, as Burwash and several Inuit set off by dog team to the camp of Kingua. In addition to this inland trip by sled there are pictures of snow houses and sealing activities. Photographs of the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Dorset are followed by views of Kavanow and Kilabuk who accompanied Burwash by boat on a further exploratory journey along the Baffin Island coast. The series concludes with photos of the outward journey on the Hudson Bay Company's S.S. Nascopic, highlighting the northern posts visited, including Lake Harbour, River Clyde, Pangnirtung, and Pond Inlet, as well as Rigolet and Cartwright on the Labrador coast.

In this sense the Burwash albums are narratives of "exploration," highlighting the physical travels of the investigator through the unknown North. Burwash himself, in his introduction to his unpublished and abundantly illustrated Report of Exploration and Investigation of his second arctic trip, clearly situated himself within a heroic tradition of northern exploration. As he wrote:

¹⁴ NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 1, "Arctic" and Album 2, "Arctic;" see also Album 3, which begins with just over 100 prints of the end of the 1923-24 trip.

The unknown, with its eternal lure is ever beckoning the more adventurous and throughout history, to those who answer the call, must be credited much of the knowledge of today for whether the mystery is in hidden lands, unknown sciences, or in other obscure fields it has for some an attraction which is irresistible and to those who follow the call must be given what honour may be for the outstanding additions to our stores of information.¹⁵

But if the albums highlight the trip itself they are also about the voyage's outcome, the attempt to make the unknown knowable. For Burwash, this aspect of his own exploratory ventures was a further link with previous expeditions. As Burwash himself noted in regard to the various nineteenth century Franklin search parties along the coasts of the arctic archipelago, "...one of its best results was the mapping of thousands of miles of coast line and the naming of hundreds of topographical features."¹⁶

Mapping and naming, as characteristics of the "exploratory" enterprise, were incorporated into the photographic practice of NWTYB field investigators. Geographer J.B. Harley argued for the recognition of maps as active instruments of power, testaments to the struggles and conflicts of imperialism and nation-building. In terms of the history of North American colonization and settlement, Harley called for the reading of maps as the expression of imperial and religious

¹⁵ L.T. Burwash, Report of Exploration and Investigation along Canada's Arctic Coast Line from the Delta of the Mackenzie River to Hudson Bay, 1925-1926 (Ottawa: Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, [1926]), 1. This report, as well as Burwash's The Eskimo, their country, and its resources: economic survey of the east coasts of Hudson Bay and James Bay from Richmond Gulf to Rupert House, including the Belcher and other adjacent islands, 1927 (Ottawa: Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, [1927]) were mimeographed and achieved a measure of circulation within (and outside of) government circles. Copies of the former are available at the Departmental Library, Indian and Northern Affairs (Hull, Quebec; hereafter DINA Library), the National Library (Ottawa), and the University of Manitoba Archives (Winnipeg); the latter is held by the DINA Library and the NWTA (incomplete copy).

¹⁶ Burwash, Report of Exploration, 5.

rhetoric, as metaphors - and tools - of colonial control. Mapping the land was to own it and make that ownership legitimate, as "explorers," surveyors and cartographers enacted a series of erasures by which Aboriginal geography was written over by the topographical descriptions and toponymy of the newcomers.¹⁷

As suggested by the brief and selective overview of the Albums of Burwash's arctic trips, one finds that his photographs are grounded by their captions to a sense of place - the photographer/investigator, in moving through the landscape, actively participates in the naming of the unknown. This understanding rests, in part, on the construction of a common vocabulary of place which finds its ultimate expression in the cartographic project.

In addition to the more generalized connection between information gathering, mapping and the extension of power and control by southern-based agents and institutions, specific circumstances contributed to the link between cartographic and photographic activity as an aspect of northern administration. The structure of the bureaucracy found the Topographical Surveys Branch and the NWTYB both in the Department of the Interior, and this led to a borrowing of personnel. J.D. Craig, Director General of Surveys and formerly engineer in

¹⁷ J.B. Harley (assisted by Ellen Hanlon and Mark Warkus), Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition (Milwaukee: University of Milwaukee, 1990), xii; 1-2; 99. Harley was instrumental in initiating a lively debate among geographers, cartographers and map archivists on the meaning of maps and mapmaking in light of recent critical theory; see, for example, his "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-312 and "Deconstructing the Map," in Trevor J. Barnes and James C. Duncan, eds., Writing Worlds: Discourse, Text and Metaphor in the Representation of Landscape (London: Routledge, 1992), 231-47. For a Canadian example see Terry Cook, "A Reconstruction of the World: George R. Parkin's British Empire Map of 1893," Cartographica 21, 4 (1984), 53-65. Thanks to Edward H. Dahl, cartographic archivist at the NAC, for these references.

charge of the international boundary survey between Alaska and the Yukon (1910-1913), travelled aboard the C.G.S. Arctic in 1922 and 1923, in charge of the first two annual Eastern Arctic Patrols.¹⁸ Accompanying the government party in 1923 was Frank Henderson, a representative of Topographical Surveys who returned the following year as officer-in-charge of the Arctic Patrol.¹⁹ In addition, the training and previous experience of director Finnie and his field officers had involved them as surveyors, engineers and mappers.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, with the dry plate process and more portable camera equipment, photography had established itself as a necessary tool and component of government survey crews.²⁰ And it was the surveyors themselves who were also the official photographers. L.T. Burwash, like other officers of the NWTYB, serves as a particularly prolific example of this relationship between survey work and the collecting of more general knowledge of the country and taking photographs of it. Here is seen the side of photography that is not about artistic endeavour, nor the preservation of family memory, nor the persuasive techniques of advertising, but about the systematic gathering of information for the purposes of government administration and control. Again, to

¹⁸ NAC, MG 31, C 6, vol. 6, file 6-8, "Craig, J.D." (unpublished biography for "Encyclopedia Arctica").

¹⁹ See F.D. Henderson, General Report on Surveys in Franklin District (Ottawa: Topographical Surveys, Department of the Interior, 7 January 1924), unpublished mimeographed report held by the DINA Library, for a verbal description of his surveying operations the previous summer accompanied by numerous photo-prints taken by Henderson. See also NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 6, "Arctic" (FDH-1923-1 to 160) for Henderson's photos.

²⁰ See Andrew J. Birrell, Into the Silent Land: Survey Photography in the Canadian West, 1858-1900 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975) and Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 119-63, on American Geological Survey parties.

draw on Burwash's own report of his activities, here justifying the urgency of his trip due to the impending encroachment of "civilization" in the remote north:

During the past 15 years civilization has steadily extended its outposts until in 1925 not more than five hundred miles of our Arctic coast line... remained unaffected by the trader and white trapper. The lines were ever extending, thus indicating clearly the necessity of developing a home source of precise information if the country was to be efficiently administered.²¹

In the face of the previous expeditions of Norway's Roald Amundsen (1903-06) and Denmark's Knud Rasmussen (1921-23), it was imperative, according to Burwash, that the Canadian government build up its own authoritative source of information.²² And this information, furthermore, was to be documented in visual as well as written form.

Yet as the range of subject matter pictured in the Burwash albums suggests, from geological formations to arctic flora and fauna to the Aboriginal and non-Native inhabitants of the north and their activities, Burwash was involved in a multi-faceted "scientific" endeavour. As the instructions from Director Finnie to Burwash indicate, his tasks as "Exploratory Engineer" were to be all-encompassing:

When on your coming trip from the Mackenzie delta to Hudson's Bay you will be expected to carry out all possible work along the following lines -
 Economic survey
 wild life - land and sea
 traverse surveys

²¹ Burwash, Report of Exploration, 7.

²² This importance attached to a "home source" of information was shared by Burwash's superiors. As Finnie wrote to Deputy Minister W.W. Cory, enclosing a copy of Burwash's report of his journey of 1925-26: "When any questions arise regarding the area around King William Land and the country to the east we will not have to go to Denmark or to any foreign country but will have a man in our own Department who has been over the ground and familiar with conditions." (NAC, RG 85, vol. 771, file 5399, Finnie to Cory, 28 June 1927).

geological notes
 botanical specimens
 biological specimens
 Eskimo census
 photographs
 general natural resources
 anthropology
 traces of Franklin expedition
 weather reports - temperatures - barometer readings
 tide measurements
 ocean currents
 compass variation. (terrestrial magnetism)²³

This list is intriguing not only in terms of the scope of the tasks that Burwash was expected to perform, but also in its blending of both methodologies of knowledge-gathering and categories of subjects to be investigated, all into one comprehensive list. And in this regard "photographs" occupy an interesting position; they are both objects to be collected as well as a visual record - proof - of the collecting activity itself.

Not surprisingly, photographs occupy an important place in Burwash's official report, nearly a hundred photo-prints appearing within its pages. This report, then, in conjunction with the photo-albums of his trip,²⁴ offers a commentary on the presumed evidentiary value of the photograph, and attests to the encompassing nature of Burwash's approach to the tasks assigned. After the report's heroic opening in which Burwash links his endeavour to the continuing quest for the mysterious unknown, the body of the report is mostly that - a report of his movements, a catalogue of observations on places (settlements;

²³ O.S. Finnie to L.T. Burwash, 24 June, 1925; reproduced in Burwash, Report of Exploration, 8-9.

²⁴ NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Albums 3 and 4.

topographical, geological, botanical and zoological features of the country) and Natives encountered (with comments on their physical appearance and mental abilities).

While the body is a "report" of investigations and exploration in some conventional objective, "scientific" sense, its introduction and conclusion are more obviously and consciously subjective and literary. Burwash begins with the grandly heroic opening already quoted; he ends on a philosophical note, concluding with an allegory of the meeting of primitive man with the civilized white fur trader:

The two, our man and the stranger, draw closer, our man moving slowly, the stranger with a quick and eager stride. They meet without any recognized form of salutation and converse as best they may. Our man has started on the long and dangerous trail that leads to the knowledge of the world. Had he known that the stranger, innocent and kindly as he appeared, had at their meeting forged the last link in a chain that would bind him and his fellow Eskimo to civilization, and had he realized even a part of what this bond would mean, he would have been at a loss to know whether he should laugh or weep, for he then had reached the first great fork in his road and his feet were now firmly set on a trail that he and his children must forever follow.²⁵

The authority of these musings on the relationship between "civilization" and "primitivism," and the moral and social effects (and responsibilities) of the former to the latter, rests, significantly, on the evidential base of the report. Major Burwash has seen these things first-hand (the first Canadian government representative to do so!) and thus can speak as an expert on such matters (despite the culturally-bound logic and viewpoint which he cannot escape). The copious photographic prints interspersed throughout the report, including many

²⁵ Burwash, Report of Exploration, 129.

Inuit portraits, are the visual verification of these "facts," providing an added authority to his policy recommendations regarding Native people.

Although appearing in Burwash's mimeographed report, his "Conclusion" was deleted from Canada's Western Arctic, the published volume on Burwash's western arctic investigations which appeared in 1931.²⁶ James Lawler, the departmental editor, felt that the story painted "too dark a picture of the present state of the natives, especially in consideration of all that the Department is doing for them." NWTY Branch director Finnie noted that, while the story might to some extent be true, it contained "a criticism of the trader not entirely warranted, and should not, in my judgement, find a place in a Government report" which would be circulated to the public at large.²⁷ Canada's Western Arctic, however, dutifully reproduced a number of Burwash's images of Native people. While his statements were criticized by his superiors, Burwash's photographs were accepted as conveying truths about the North and its inhabitants.

But what kind of "truths" did these northern images portray? Burwash's photographs not only worked to confirm his written observations and conclusions, but derived much of their meaning from the context in which they were placed. In the departmental albums they became part of an extended in-house narrative

²⁶ Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic.

²⁷ Burwash maintained, however, that his story was the "best way in which he can convey the truth about the situation." NAC, RG 85, vol. 808, file 6772, J. Lawler to J.M. Roberts, Secretary, Department of the Interior, 19 January 1931; and O.S. Finnie to W.W. Cory, 21 January 1931. Following departmental procedure the 5000 copies of the publication were distributed to Senators and Members of Parliament and newspapers in Canada, the United States and England; additionally, copies were offered to interested libraries, universities, and individuals on the NWTYB mailing list (ibid., O.S. Finnie to H.H. Rowatt, Deputy Minister, 14 November 1931).

of Canadian government involvement in the north, evidence of the ever-widening reach of the state and its representatives. Published under the imprint of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch as Canada's Western Arctic, Burwash's northern views were further incorporated into an official public discourse about Canada's claims to its northern territories.

Within the Report of An Exploration and Investigation along Canada's Arctic Coast Line, Burwash's assessments of the Inuit conveyed a further layer of meaning.²⁸ Portraits of Netsilingmiut men, women and children, who visited Burwash's winter camp on King William Island from their sealing camp on the ice south of Rae Strait, are presented, interspersed with Burwash's evaluative comments:

Physically all of the natives seen thus far were much above the average. Muscular men and women comparing favourably in stature with white men, with clear skins and clear eyes, every appearance of perfect health and with every confidence in their ability to garner from the country a living for themselves and their dependents. Mentally they proved to be much as other races, the wise, the commonplace, and the simple, this classification being entirely comparative, the wise being wise only in matters of moment to themselves, the simple being simpletons among a simple people.²⁹

²⁸ Fifty copies of the report were produced by the Natural Resources Intelligence Service for departmental use, which included distribution to departmental officials in Ottawa and to the field office in Fort Smith, N.W.T., as well as to select organizations and individuals requesting it, such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Royal Geographical Society in London, and Vilhajmiur Stefansson (see NAC, RG 85, vol. 771, file 5399).

²⁹ Burwash, Report of Exploration, 58; photographs appear between pages 57 and 58 ("Netselingmeut Boy"[sic]), 60 and 61 ("Netselingmeut men," [2 photos]) and 62 and 63 ("Netselingmeut woman").



Figure 6: "Oo-tak (burned) Igloali," Melville Peninsula, May 1926.
Photographer: L.T. Burwash.
Source: L.T. Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic: Report of Investigations in 1925-26, 1928-29 and 1930 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1931), 17.



Figure 7: A page of "Native type[s], Chesterfield Inlet - July 1926."

Photographer: L.T. Burwash.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 4.



Figure 8: A page of "Eskimo's hand[s], Pond Inlet, Baffin Island," 1931.

Photographer: L.T. Burwash.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 13.



Figure 9: "Mr. Copeland, Hudson's Bay Co. Agent, Repulse Bay, July 1926."

Photographer: L.T. Burwash.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 4.



Figure 10: "Chipewyan Indian - Churchill - August 1926."
Photographer: L.T. Burwash.
Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and
Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 4.



Figure 11: "Native type, Chesterfield Inlet, July 1926."

Photographer: L.T. Burwash.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 4.

Words and pictures work together to place the Netsilingmiut within a hierarchy of races; if they are physically equal to whites (the measure of "civilization") they are decidedly mentally inferior, a "simple people." In a more general sense, Burwash's allegory paints a picture of the effects of culture contact on these "primitive" people, offering signposts for reading thoughts and feelings into the faces captured by his camera's eye: "Today, after several years, he will be hard to recognize.... His air of assurance is gone and given place to perplexity."³⁰ Burwash's text provides a framework for the contemplation of these photographs of a distant and unknown people.

These Native portraits, then, are caught up in a web of meaning that simultaneously freezes and transcends their origins in the photographic encounter between Burwash's gaze and Aboriginal culture. Head and shoulder views of Inuit Burwash visited in the spring of 1926 obey the conventions of portrait photography. Accompanied by captions which name the individuals pictured ("Oo-tak," "Bye and bye," "A-ma-ow-ya,"), they convey a sense of respect for their Otherness while at the same time displaying a tendency towards romanticization [see Figure 6].³¹ Perhaps these people are "primitive," these portraits suggest, but they are also hardy and cheerful and resilient and worth admiring; here are presented the heroic qualities of Inuit lifestyle, of Man against the elements.

³⁰ Ibid., 138.

³¹ NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 3, series of portraits, LTB-1926-1217 to 1285; several were reproduced in Burwash, Report of Exploration, between pages 114 and 115 and in Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic, 17.

In the numerous face-on and three-quarter profiles of Aboriginal people at Chesterfield Inlet and Churchill taken by Burwash in 1926 the names are gone, replaced by the generalized title "native type," and standing in stark contrast to the portraits of named whites.³² Some of these images more obviously foreground the relationship between photographer and Native subject, silent testament to the power relationship inherent in the photographic encounter, and to the struggle over representation lying beneath the surface. The hand that holds the body in place; the eyes that look back, unflinchingly, refusing to submit [see Figures 7 to 11].³³

An uneasy tension operates in these northern photographs, a feeling which intensifies in viewing and contemplating the sheer number of images of Burwash's expeditions. It is the tension between the objectification of people as types and the interest in these people and their culture; between the all-encompassing and authoritarian nature of Burwash's gaze and the sense of humanity of the people pictured that breaks through this scrutiny to assert its presence. True to his mission, Major Burwash has returned from his northern journeys with anthropological data and a visual Eskimo census, photographic likenesses -

³² NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 4, LTB-1926-1398 to 1436 and LTB-1926-1462 to 1487 for the series of Chesterfield Inlet "native types" followed by LTB-1926-1491 to 1517 for the named non-Natives at Chesterfield (July 1926) and LTB-1926-1552 to 1606 for the series "Chipewyan Indian - Churchill" (August 1926); see also Burwash, Report of Exploration, photographs between pages 114 and 115 and Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic, 25, 29 and 43.

³³ See, for example, NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 4, LTB-1926-1578, 1579, 1602, 1603, 1605, 1606.

"Native types."³⁴ Yet for all the sense in which these images are merely pale ghosts, stand-ins for the people portrayed, they continue to convey something more "real": hints of past lives lived, paths crossed - the north that is more than that which can be mapped and measured and counted in the quest for knowledge and control.

The Eastern Arctic Patrol: Visualizing the Extension of Government Control

In addition to the efforts of individual investigation and "discovery," the work of northern administration encompassed other, more corporate endeavours which contributed to the representation of the North. The most visible of these projects (both in terms of public appeal and in the survival of its imagery) was the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP).³⁵ Inaugurated in 1922, the EAP coordinated scientific investigations and surveys conducted by specialists from various federal departments, carried a medical doctor who examined the Inuit at the HBC posts visited, and undertook the transportation of supplies and personnel for government administration, consisting almost entirely of RCMP equipment and

³⁴ This intersection between the surveillance imperatives of bureaucratic photography and the anthropologically oriented recording of physical characteristics evident in Burwash's methodical taking of both face-on and three-quarter profiles of his subjects reaches its most extreme expression in the pages of palms and backs of Inuit hands (NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 13, LTB-1931-6277 to 6288, "Eskimo's hand, Pond Inlet, Baffin Island"). See Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," in Richard Bolton, ed., The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T Press, 1989), 344-89 for further discussion of these themes in the history of photographic practice.

³⁵ For a sampling of the press the EAP received see NAC, RG 85, vol. 81, file 201-1-2, Eastern Arctic Patrol: Clippings (1940-49); vol. 84, file 201-1-9, Eastern Arctic Patrol: Publicity (1933-43) and vol. 576, file 391, Arctic expeditions: clippings (1921-49).

officers; by the late 1920s medical supplies for the mission-run hospitals were also forwarded.³⁶

At first the patrol set out aboard a government vessel, the Arctic, with "veteran arctician" Joseph E. Bernier as the captain,³⁷ and the NWTYB supplying the Commander (later officer-in-charge). With the deteriorating condition of the Arctic limiting the effectiveness of the patrol, the EAP chartered Newfoundland's Job Brothers' Beothic from 1926 to 1932, a specially reinforced sealing ship suited for navigation in arctic waters. In the face of increased cost-cutting measures implemented in the Department of the Interior in the early 1930s - a combination of the transfer of natural resources from the federal government to the prairie provinces in 1930 and the depression-era administration of R.B. Bennett's Conservative government - the EAP rented space aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's own eastern arctic supply ship, an arrangement that continued until the sinking of the Nascopie in 1947.

The EAP renewed earlier attempts to assert control over the arctic islands. The archipelago had fallen under Canadian jurisdiction in 1880, when "all the British possessions in the North American continent not hitherto annexed to any colony" were formally transferred to the new Dominion.³⁸ In response to the

³⁶ See *ibid.*, vols. 68 to 80, file 201-1, for details on the 1925 to 1953 expeditions; see also Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Canada's Arctic Islands: Canadian Expeditions, 1922 and 1923, J.D. Craig; 1924, F.D. Henderson; 1925 and 1926, G.P. Mackenzie (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1927).

³⁷ F.D. Henderson, General Report on Surveys, 1.

³⁸ From the Order in Council, cited in the NWTYB publication A.E. Millward, Southern Baffin Island: An Account of Exploration, Investigation and Settlement during the Past Fifty Years (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1930), 12.

presence of "foreign" whalers in the western and eastern arctic (predominantly American and Scottish) and the explorations of Europeans and Americans in the region, the Canadian government dispatched the Gordon and Wakeham expeditions in 1884-86 and 1897, respectively. In the course of investigating the navigability of Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait, members of these early government-sponsored arctic expeditions took advantage of the newly developed and less-complicated dry plate process and the more portable camera equipment which this technology allowed. In the arctic, as in the west, photography came to supplant the earlier reliance on sketches and paintings as visual records.³⁹

The interest in visually documenting the arctic was carried on during the 1903-04 voyage of the Neptune. Commanded by Albert Peter Low, this was the first Canadian government expedition which actively extended jurisdiction to the northern parts of the archipelago, issuing licenses and collecting duties from whalers, and establishing a police post at Fullerton Harbour. One result of the friendly relationship and mutual photographic interests of Low and whaler George Comer (who was a enthusiastic collector of artifacts and images for the American Museum of Natural History) was a collaboration in photo-sessions of the Inuit during the winter of 1903-04.⁴⁰ Low's report, published in 1906, was the

³⁹ Yolande Dorion-Robitaille, Captain J.E. Bernier's Contribution to Canadian Sovereignty in the Arctic (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs, 1978), 14; Claude Minotto et. al., "To Photograph the Arctic Frontier," in Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Robert Flaherty, Photographer/Filmmaker: The Inuit, 1910-1922 (Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1979), 74-76 and Richard Condon, "The History and Development of Arctic Photography," Arctic Anthropology 26, No. 1 (1989), 59-60.

⁴⁰ Millward, Southern Baffin Island, 13-15; Albert Peter Low, Cruise of the Neptune: Report of the Dominion Government Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands on board the D.G.S. Neptune, 1903-1904 (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1906), 3; W. Gillies Ross, "The Use and Misuse of Historical Photographs: A Case Study for Hudson Bay, Canada," Arctic Anthropology 27, No. 2 (1990), 94-5. Ross describes the "synergistic relationship between Comer and Low [which] contributed to the visual documentation of the people of northwestern Hudson Bay and adjacent

first official description of "Canada's position and prospects in the Eastern Arctic." The inclusion of a selection of Low's photographs as accompanying illustrations indicate his own personal and professional interest in photography; it also speaks to the importance attached to this form of visual documentation as a way of providing geographic and cultural information.⁴¹

In the next series of federally-sponsored expeditions, which became associated with its Captain J.E. Bernier, images of occupying the land outweighed other concerns.⁴² Approached to command the ship for a government expedition to Hudson Bay (1904-05), and then to lead three expeditions to the archipelago (1906-11), Bernier turned his considerable skills and energy towards promoting and defending Canadian sovereignty in the region. When it actually came to claiming the arctic lands as Canadian territory, Bernier invoked an interesting ritual of occupation. His general procedure, basically the same on each of his three missions to the archipelago, involved the erection of a cairn on a suitably prominent and visible site on the land in question. A metal box containing a signed proclamation of Canadian occupation was placed inside the cairn, and a British flag flown (as Canada did not have its own national flag until 1964). Bernier and crew gathered around the cairn for the final moment and the

regions."

⁴¹ Morris Zaslow, "Administering the Arctic Islands," 62-3. Sixty three of Low's photographs, most of them full-page reproductions, are included in the 350 page published report, Low, Cruise of the Neptune.

⁴² While Bernier's actual and legal contribution to the extension of Canada's arctic sovereignty has been questioned, it is clear that at the time he was the acknowledged symbol of Canada's claims. See Gordon W. Smith, "Canada's Arctic Archipelago, 100 Years of Canadian Jurisdiction: Part II: Making the North Canadian," North (Summer 1980), 13-14.

verification of the enterprise, the taking of the official photograph.⁴³ In this pose for posterity, images of occupation provided visual proof of Canadian actions and intent. In the eyes of Bernier and his superiors in Ottawa, it was Norway, Denmark and the United States that posed a potential challenge to Canadian claims. The Inuit, who actually occupied the more southern islands, and at times hunted on the uninhabited areas covered by the expeditions, were clearly inconsequential. In contrast to Low's ethnographic pursuits, Bernier's obsession with promoting Canadian sovereignty displaced interest in the Aboriginal inhabitants, re-imagining the entire arctic as an extension of Canadian territory.⁴⁴

With the onset of economic depression, a change in government, and the Great War, official attention was focused away from the north. The notable exception was the sponsorship of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), 1913-18, initiated by Vilhjalmur Stefansson and co-led by Rudolf Anderson, which generated a wealth of scientific data on the western arctic and resulted in the charting of several islands.⁴⁵ In addition to the complement of cameras carried by the expedition scientists, George Hubert Wilkins joined the CAE as an employee of the British Gaumont company, acting as the official still and cine

⁴³ Dorion-Robitaille, Captain J.E. Bernier, 14-71; 79.

⁴⁴ See, for example, J.E. Bernier, Report on the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to the Arctic Islands and Hudson Strait on Board the D.G.S. Arctic (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910). Only 8 of its 182 photographic illustrations depict Aboriginal people (facing 262, 281, 299); similarly, Bernier devotes only a small section of a chapter on "General Information" to "Natives," which is mostly concerned with his opinions on their "immorality" and the responsibility of white men to improve them (316-19).

⁴⁵ Smith, "Canada's Arctic Archipelago", 12. The difficulties and accomplishments of the CAE, and Stefansson's role, have been recounted in Richard Diubaldo, Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

photographer. Although Wilkins' equipment sank with the Karluk, one of the expedition ships, he was able to secure film and another motion picture camera (from the engineer of the wrecked schooner, Elvira). Wilkins exposed and developed about two thousand feet of film, which was not, however, edited into a finished product. Nonetheless, Wilkins' material covered Inuit life in the ice camps of Coronation Gulf and fishing scenes and views of summer camps.⁴⁶ According to a recent chronicler of the history of arctic photography, it was the achievements of Wilkins and Robert Flaherty, who was shooting footage in the Hudson Bay area at the same time (and who would later become renowned as the filmmaker of the successful and celebrated Nanook of the North), which proved the feasibility of making motion pictures in arctic conditions.⁴⁷

Thus it is not surprising to find George Valliquette, a professional newsreel cameraperson (who also shot Canadian footage for the American-based Fox News) aboard the Eastern Arctic Patrol in the summer of 1922 [see Figure 12]. He made the journey again in 1923 and 1925. On the 1924 expedition "one of the best all round camera men in Canada," Roy Tash, was in charge of the

⁴⁶ Condon, "Arctic Photography," 78-9 and David Zimmerly, Museocinematography: Ethnographic Film Programs of the National Museum of Man, 1913-73 Mercury Series, Paper No. 11 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974), 3-4. Wilkins' film is now deposited in the NAC, CAVA and his stills are preserved in the Photographic Section of the Museum of Civilization (Hull, Quebec).

⁴⁷ Condon, "Arctic Photography," 79.

cinematic record [see Figure 13].⁴⁸ Each year's shooting of some five to ten thousand feet of film was edited into a four to six reel silent, untitled picture.⁴⁹

These films were recognized by Branch director O.S. Finnie as serving "as a valuable record" of the year's expedition, providing a way to broadcast the NWTYB's activities to fellow bureaucrats and their elected employers. A special screening of the 1923 film was shown, for example, with invitations extended to various officers of the Department of the Interior, including the Minister, Charles Stewart, Deputy Minister W.W. Cory and Assistant Deputy Minister Roy Gibson, as well members of other departments. As the departmental estimates were currently under discussion it was hoped that "if the Minister could have a look at our last year's pictures he would gain a better understanding of the problems that confront us in the North...." and thus be more sympathetic to the Branch's budgetary requests.⁵⁰

Another aspect of this record-keeping value involved the documentation of Canadian "ownership" of the region. The connection between upholding

⁴⁸ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], F.C. Badgely (Film Editor, CGMPB) to J.D. Craig, 11 June 1924 (copy). Tash's experience in both photography and laboratory work was gained at Toronto's Filmcraft and the Ontario Government Motion Picture Bureau; he later worked for Associated Screen News (Montreal) shooting documentaries and newsreel footage, including filming the Dionne quintuplets in 1932; see Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 143-44.

⁴⁹ Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1922 (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1922); Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1923 (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923); Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1924 (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1924); and Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1925 (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1925). See NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1] for shot lists of the 1922, 1923 and 1924 films. While none of the complete films seems to have survived, excerpts are held by the NAC, CAVA and the National Film Board of Canada Stock Shot Library.

⁵⁰ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], Finnie to Cory, 26 January 1925; List of names to be invited to private screening, 14 December 1923; Craig to F.C. Badgely (CGMPB), 19 January 1924.



Figure 12: George Valiquette filming crew of Arctic with dead polar bear, Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1922.

Photographer: J.D. Craig.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 6.



Figure 13: The Arctic departing from Quebec on the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol, 1925. Note official cinematographer George Valiquette (in centre with tripod); Richard Finnie, with his Kodak, appears in the upper right.

Photographer: O.S. Finnie.

Source: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, 1974-366, Album 8.

sovereignty under perceived threats by other nations and governmental activity in the north is a theme of several recent historical analyses of the twentieth century Canadian north.⁵¹ J.D. Craig, officer-in-charge of the first two expeditions, explicitly linked the filmic record of the EAP to this larger issue. As he wrote to Finnie in 1925, countering concerns over the costs of hiring a motion picture camera operator: "I still think that the value of a film covering the work of the expedition each year as a permanent record in connection with the maintenance of sovereignty should not be lost sight of."⁵² In the eyes of officials in Ottawa, the annual Eastern Arctic Patrol was an important mark of governmental involvement in the far north, providing a yearly contact between central administration and the outlying regions of the northern hinterland. Filming the EAP and its associated activities was evidence for the extension of this "effective" control over the eastern arctic.

In addition to sponsoring this official cinematographic record of the EAP, the NWTY Branch encouraged the documentation of its yearly voyage by its own employees. While an easy to operate "Sept" Pocket Motion Picture Camera was acquired for the 1922 voyage⁵³, Finnie and Craig recognized that the production of a coherent film version of the EAP required the resources of a skilled camera

⁵¹ See Morrison, Showing the Flag and Shelagh D. Grant, Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988). On the relationship between this "threat" and the establishment of the EAP see Zaslav, "Administering the Arctic," 65-9.

⁵² NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], J.D. Craig to O.S. Finnie, 23 March 1925; see also Craig to Finnie, 8 May 1925.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, catalogue and direction for use of Kino Hand Camera (dated 23 June 1922).

operator. Valliquette and Tash, working closely with the staff and facilities of the Department of Trade and Commerce's Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau (CGMPB) back in Ottawa, also had the experience needed to edit raw footage into a viewable product.

Nonetheless, the practice of hiring a professional to make a film record of the EAP was temporarily suspended in 1926. According to G.P. Mackenzie, officer-in-charge of the Patrol from 1926 to 1930, "as the Expedition would be covering practically the same ground as in the previous year, the expense of taking a [moving picture] Operator would not be justified." The following year, however, the need to keep an up-to-date visual record of Canadian government involvement in the arctic was again recognized, and Mackenzie suggested a plan whereby pictures could be secured without hiring a professional. Although the Branch purchased a Bell and Howell Eyemo motion picture camera as the means of continuing this visual documentation, it was not until Richard S. Finnie was appointed as official historian and cinematographer for the 1928 voyage that a coherent film version of the EAP was again produced.⁵⁴

Still photography, however, in the age of roll film and point-and-shoot portable cameras, did not require the technical expertise of motion pictures. Images taken by the officer-in-charge, the ship's captain, the ship's doctor, and accompanying scientists shared equal billing within the departmental albums with

⁵⁴ Ibid., G.P. Mackenzie to O.S. Finnie, 23 March 1927. The Eyemo, with telephoto lens and tripod, cost approximately \$500; the expense of hiring a camera operator, including salary, travel costs, supplies and developing and printing totalled an average of over \$3,000 per year for the 1922-25 voyages (Cost of Taking motion pictures on Arctic Expedition, 20 December 1924; F.D. Henderson to O.S. Finnie, 23 January 1925).

the still pictures taken by the official expedition cinematographer. Yet despite the number of different photographers, their cameras consistently pointed at the same subjects. Working within the limits of a shared technology, these viewers of the north operated within similar conventions and with similar intentions and interests. The "heroic" knowledge-gathering adventures of a Major Burwash, then, co-existed with more corporate undertakings. In the albums covering the first decade of the EAP, the sense of individual authorship of images, as in the series of Burwash photographs, dissolves into a collective portrait of administrative endeavour.⁵⁵

The reproduction of a selection of these photographs in the official government report summarizing the first five years of the Eastern Arctic Patrol carried further the corporate authorship of these arctic patrol images.⁵⁶ Within the photo-albums, the identity of individual creator remained indelibly marked on the photograph by the Branch's record-keeping practices, which assigned each negative and corresponding print an identification number incorporating the

⁵⁵ See NAC, DAPD, 1974/366. Album 6, "Arctic," (JDC-1922-1 to 30; JDC-1923-1 to 136; JDC-1924-137 to 147; LDL-1924-1 to 27; FDH-1924-1 to 160; and JEB-1924-24 to 37), photographs by J.D. Craig, Dr. L.D. Livitt, Gene J.E. Bernier, and F.D. Henderson; Album 7, "Arctic" (GPM-1926-1001 to 1019; GPM-1927-2001 to 2016; LDL-1926-1020 to 1033; LDL-1927-2077 to 2203; LDM-1926-1038 to 1044; LDM-1927-2013 to 2015; Falk-1926-1068 to 1073; MH-1926-1050 to 1067; MH-1927-2052 to 2076; FHS-1927-2017 to 2048), photographs by G.P. Mackenzie, L.D. Livingstone, L.D. Morin, Captain Falk, M. Haycock and F.H. Stringer; Album 8, "Arctic" (OSF-1925-1 to 16; KSF-1925-1 to 38; LDL-1925-1 to 28; RT-1924-1 to 122; GHV-1925-1 to 69), photographs by R. Tash, O.S. Finnie, L.D. Livingstone, G.H. Valiquette, and R.S. Finnie; Album 11, "Arctic" (JDS-1923-1 to 50), photographs by J.D. Soper; Album 13, "Arctic" (LTB-1931-6200 to 6344; D-1928-3046 to 3050; RMA-1928-3023; RSF-1928-3034 to 3045; RSF-1929-3890 to 3959; GPM-1928-3001 to 3015; GPM-1930-5125 to 5154; LDL-1928-3611 to 3618; LDL-1929-3016 to 3033; LDM-1928-3016 to 3033; and 1929-3600 to 3610), photographs by G.P. Mackenzie, L.D. Morin, R.S. Finnie, Constable Dersch, R.M. Anderson, L.D. Livingstone, and L.T. Burwash.

⁵⁶ Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Canada's Arctic Islands.

initials of the photographer. Publication witnessed the erasure of the photographer's identity, all images carrying equal weight as pictures of Canada's Arctic Islands, as the title of the report proudly and matter-of-factly proclaimed. These photographs, then, served as proof - and trophies - of Canadian possession. Captions could help to clarify the "proper" identification of place and its significance, but questions of individual authorship and point of view, as might be indicated by noting the specific identity of individual image-makers, made way for the generalized identification of these arctic images with official government activity.⁵⁷

Predominant among these images of possession were those of the establishment of R.C.M.P. detachments in the arctic archipelago. While the map that served as the report's frontispiece signified the bigger picture of Canada's arctic and its geographical relationship to the rest of the country, the vastness of the northern region called out for concrete examples of territorial control. A half-constructed building, pictured in the middle ground with the C.G.S. Arctic floating reassuringly in the distance, is identified as "Craig Harbour, Ellesmere Island. This outpost of Canadian civilization, consisting of a Police Post, Customs House and Post Office, was the farthest north of the 1922 expedition - 830 miles from the Pole" [see Figure 14]. With people noticeably absent from the scene, the physical structures of occupation act as markers of the advance of

⁵⁷ It is important to note that the publication as a whole credited the Department of the Interior and the North West Territories and Yukon Branch, and specifically named Minister Charles Stewart, Deputy Minister W.W. Cory and Director O.S. Finnie. As well, the texts of the individual yearly reports are credited to their respective (and named) "officers-in-charge." The overall publication, then, reproduces the hierarchy of the NWTYB's bureaucratic structure. Photographs, like maps, are offered as non-authored, yet authoritative, visual evidence backing up the official text.



Figure 14: "Craig Harbour, Ellesmere Island. This outpost of Canadian civilization, consisting of a Police Post, Customs House and Post Office, was the farthest north of the 1922 expedition - 830 miles from the Pole."

Photographer: J.D. Craig.

Source: Canada's Arctic Island: (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1927), 8.

"civilization."⁵⁸ In a similar vein, the "Panoramic View from Cape Rutherford on East Shore of Ellesmere Island" epitomized the process of naming as a way of inscribing occupation, the (re)named topographic features anchored to the photograph by arrows pointing to their respective locations.⁵⁹

Other photographs addressed the human dimension of the expanding Canadian state, as whites and Natives posed for the camera in ceremonial displays. A Native man and Major Robert Logan, investigating the location of possible airfields in the archipelago on the 1922 EAP, hold up the Canadian Air Force ensign on an "Arctic aeroplane landing ground" at Craig Harbour. Logan stands in front of a tent; a woman and child pose in front of the unfurled flag. This Inuit family, recruited from Baffin Island to accompany and help provision the police, appear as cooperative citizens of the "Canadian" north.⁶⁰ Such examples of symbolic sovereignty, of the showing of flags and the setting up of posts of occupation, made excellent photographic copy.⁶¹

⁵⁸ NWTYB, *Canada's Arctic Islands*, 8; see also the RCMP detachment at Pangnirtung looking neat and tidy and open for business (31); the RCMP detachment, Dundas on the occasion of its formal opening, complete with flag-raising ceremony. August 26 1924 (38); and the fold-out at the back of the volume for a panoramic view of the detachment at Bache Peninsula and its surroundings.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, n.p., fold out at the back of the volume.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, "830 Miles from the Pole," 9. See also "Royal Canadian Mounted Police Detachment, Bache Peninsula", 53, with the assembled Natives and whites posing in front of the barracks under construction (53); here Inuit recruited from Greenland became incorporated into the project of "Canadian" expansion and occupation.

⁶¹ For a more recent example see Kenneth C. Eyre, "Canadian Sovereignty 1922 Style," *North* (May-June 1976), 2-5. The photograph of Logan and the Inuit family posing with the Canadian Air Force Ensign is used in this article to illustrate the Canadian approach to establishing a legal presence in the arctic.

While illustrated government reports were one avenue of disseminating official views on northern administration, J.D. Craig, in particular, recognized the propaganda potential of the filmic versions of the EAP. But untitled films, in the era of silent cinema, had limited publicity value, even if they were listed in the Government Motion Picture Bureau's catalogue, and thus available on the non-theatrical circuit to interested groups and individuals requesting them.⁶² Government officials (including Craig and his successors Henderson and Mackenzie) as well as Captain Bernier and author Harwood Steele (who had accompanied the 1924 voyage as official historian) did use the films in lecture talks, where they could provide the needed interpretation to the flow of black and white images.⁶³ As O.S. Finnie expressed it:

In the films we have made of the Arctic there are no titles. It was always expected that when our films were shown somebody would speak to them and titles would not, therefore, be necessary....if the films are to be fully understood [without a speaker] they should be well and fully titled.⁶⁴

While Valiquette and Tash's films contained rich material, they required the voice-over narration of an expert or the inclusion of explanatory titles to render them meaningful, both to government officials as acceptable vehicles of propaganda and to audiences as understandable pictures of an arctic trip and the people and places encountered.

⁶² Catalogue of Motion Pictures Produced by the Canadian Government Picture Bureau (Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, 1930); copy in NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1].

⁶³ Much like the lantern slide lectures, also in use at this time as a way in which government representatives disseminated information on Canadian administration of the north.

⁶⁴ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], O.S. Finnie to W.W. Cory, 24 September 1928.

Craig, however, was anxious to more widely publicize the efforts of the Canadian government in the north through the distribution of suitable motion pictures.⁶⁵ Between 1922 and 1925, Craig supervised the production, carried out by the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, of the three part Frontiers of the North series from the arctic expedition footage.⁶⁶ Craig and Finnie suggested subjects for treatment, provided background information, kept a close eye on the captions to be included, and screened the films before their world-wide theatrical release as part of the CGMPB's successful "Seeing Canada" series of one-reel educational and informative films.⁶⁷

These short films, like the official publication Canada's Arctic Islands, stressed the active role of the Canadian government in the arctic. Viewers of From Quebec to Baffin Land, following along the course of the C.G.S. Arctic's voyage, were informed that "Canada's Northern Islands are the object of watchful care by the Dominion Government...", the title then dissolving into an animated map showing the location and extent of Canada's northern "possessions." Craig, Bernier and the Mounties, "bound for our frontiers of the North to establish posts and administer the law throughout the vast land of unknown possibilities" are introduced; scenes of Labrador and the coast of Greenland flash by; and the ship enters the arctic ice field. After a period of delay in the ice pack, the expedition

⁶⁵ Ibid., J.D. Craig to R. Peck (Director, CGMPB), 18 April 1923.

⁶⁶ From Quebec to Baffinland (Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1923); Policing the North (Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1923); and Glimpses of Greenland (Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1925).

⁶⁷ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], R.S. Peck (Director, CGMPB) to J.D. Craig, 19 April 1923.

makes its first port of call at Pond Inlet, affording opportunities for pictures of the RCMP party and entertainment and dancing with a group of Inuit who have come aboard the Arctic.⁶⁸

Part of the interest of the Frontiers of the North and the Arctic Expedition pictures from which they were produced lay in the very depiction of this "vast land of unknown possibility" and its inhabitants. The success of Nanook of the North at this time, Robert Flaherty's filmic depiction of an Inuk hunter and his family and their struggle for survival, underscored the dramatic and popular appeal of the frozen north and the Eskimo Other.⁶⁹ Ironically, however, Craig and Finnie's superiors balked at the idea of portraying these exotic aspects of the Canadian nation. When Craig suggested sending some of the arctic films to the 1924 British Empire Exhibition, Deputy Minister of the Interior Cory responded: "these views of the Northern Districts are hardly designed to assist in either immigration or trade and under the circumstances it is not thought advisable to send them over."⁷⁰

The following year Craig tried another approach for increasing the distribution of the Branch's arctic films. In a letter to Ben Norrish, Manager of Associated Screen News, the major commercial film production company in Canada, Craig noted:

⁶⁸ From Quebec to Baffinland; see also NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], "From Quebec to Baffinland."

⁶⁹ For a concise telling of the making of Nanook of the North from a Canadian perspective, see Morris, Embattled Shadows, 196-200.

⁷⁰ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], Craig to Finnie, 9 May 1924; Cory to Finnie, 12 May 1924.

Head Office is unwilling to allow these untitled films to be used for lecture purposes except by one or the other of our own officers who are actually acquainted with conditions in the north and who can explain the films satisfactorily, particularly with a view to preventing a wrong impression being given by the numerous flashes of ice, ice-bergs and other peculiarly northern features. In other words, they are afraid that if used by one unacquainted with conditions they might easily give the impression that the whole of Canada is nothing but a mass of ice and snow.⁷¹

Craig approached Norrish, as well as the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, with an idea to counteract this "frigid" impression. Emphasizing that the trip officially started and ended in Ottawa could be used "as an excuse to show some pictures of what might be called normal industries in Canada," such as fruit packing. Framing the story of the Eastern Arctic Patrol with typically southern Canadian views at the beginning and end would, hopefully, "give as a first impression a view of Canada which would not act as a deterrent for instance to immigration, and finish off with something that would as it were 'leave a good taste in the mouth.'"⁷² Although Norrish's production firm was willing to further discuss the possibility of making such a feature for theatrical distribution, nothing concrete came out of Craig's initiatives.⁷³

Promoting Canadian claims of sovereignty in the arctic and representing Canada as a desirable destination for immigrants, tourists and foreign investment required, in the minds of government officials, a delicate balance, and one that weighed more heavily towards sustaining an image of a country with a southern climate and "normal" industry than embracing northern realities of ice and snow.

⁷¹ Ibid., Craig to Norrish, 2 April 1925.

⁷² Ibid.; see also Craig to R.S. Peck (Director, CGMPB), 19 February 1925.

⁷³ Ibid., Norrish to Craig, 3 April 1925.

Given the nature of film production, the making of an Eastern Arctic Patrol motion picture for general release - or the decision not to make one - required a conscious attention to the construction of its story of Canadian governmental involvement in the north. The discussion surrounding these films, then, indicates a complex and ambiguous attitude about the state's perception of the North as a Canadian possession.

Nonetheless, the Eastern Arctic Patrol continued to assert a Canadian presence in the arctic archipelago. One of those aboard in 1924 and 1925 was Richard S. Finnie, son of NWTYB director O.S. Finnie, acting in the capacity of wireless radio operator and general helping hand.⁷⁴ Finnie returned to the eastern arctic as official historian and filmmaker for the EAP in 1928 and 1929, having gained hands-on experience under the tutelage of both Valliquette and Tash.⁷⁵ Finnie moved beyond the "record" film of Valiquette and Tash and attempted to fashion an entertaining, albeit "factual," picture of government work in the north. Through the use of intertitles and the development of a dramatic structure, such as the sequence in which "Nookapiungwah, the Mighty Hunter of North Greenland, heads the chase [for a walrus] in his kayak..."⁷⁶ Finnie more

⁷⁴ See Chapter IV for an extended analysis of Richard Finnie as northern image-maker.

⁷⁵ NWT, G92-030, Richard S. Finnie interview by Doug Leonard, 6 November 1980; Zimmerly, 6; the 5 reel In the Shadow of the Pole (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928) and the 4 reel The Arctic Patrol (Northwest Territories Branch, 1929) are both held by the NAC, CAVA and the NWT.

⁷⁶ In The Shadow of the Pole (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928). Nookapiungwah's stature owed much to his recent return from an extensive 1,800 mile patrol through the eastern part of the arctic archipelago with Inspector Joy and Constable Taggart of the RCMP ("Beothic Reaches Northern Apex of Patrol Tour" Montreal Gazette [7 August 1929], clipping in NAC, RG 85, volume 69, file 201-1 [4]).

actively and overtly shaped the raw footage of arctic scenes into a coherent narrative thread. Yet like the earlier arctic pictures of the NWTYB, and echoing the pictorial themes of branch photographers in the departmental albums, it was the ship that remained central, its voyage to the North and its return South carrying the burden of narrative understanding.

As in Valiquette's and Tash's earlier films and in The Frontiers of the North series, Finnie's films introduce the passengers and crew on board as its starting point. In the Shadow of the Pole portrays the leave-taking of the Beothic in its depiction of the kiss of a well-dressed woman and a uniformed Mountie. This goodbye at the start of the journey alludes to the other loved ones left behind, and, in its suggestion of sacrifice, heightens the commitment and sense of duty of these northern voyagers. The following image, of a pan of the Beothic as it leaves the dock at North Sydney, Cape Breton Island, ties the individual goodbye to the larger enterprise. The story of the EAP, then, does not revolve around individuals, but rather around the collective journey on which they are embarked.

It is with the objectives and fate of the voyage that the viewer is led to identify.⁷⁷ Finnie's camera recorded the Beothic caught in the ice on its southward journey of 1928, after having unloaded supplies for the RCMP at Fram Havn. In In the Shadow of the Pole, the ship is seen moving slowly through the

⁷⁷ The overriding objective of the EAP is announced in the opening titles of Finnie's In the Shadow of the Pole and The Arctic Patrol, and firmly situated within the paradigm of active government control: "The Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior, has the responsibility of maintaining British sovereignty and guarding the welfare of the Canadian Eskimos in this Arctic land.... Each year a ship is sent forth to patrol Canada's Arctic Islands, and this is the story...."

ice. An intertitle asks: "Are we to be frozen in for the winter?" deriving suspense from its dramatic depiction of the Beothic's destiny. The identification with the ship is carried through visually and rhetorically. The viewer's frame, sharing in the camera's point of view, is constantly directed to the ship; the explanatory titles, in the use of the pronoun "we," further draws the viewer into the action. It is the presence of the ship which serves as an anchor for these filmic narratives of the EAP, operating either as site of seeing (all those pictures of snow and ice taken from aboard the ship) or else positioned in the background when the government party is ashore (the ship as vehicle which ties these shots of the remote north to the southern centre of power).

With the administrative retrenchment of the early 1930s, the visual documentation of the Eastern Arctic Patrol was significantly reduced. Following the steady interest in recording the activities of the EAP on film throughout the 1920s, the next complete and professional cinematic record of the yearly voyage was not made until 1937's Patrol to the Northwest Passage, when Richard Finnie was again engaged for the task.⁷⁸ As well, the photographic record of the EAP underwent a movement away from the multiple views of the previous decade. The sense of collective endeavour involved in the Eastern Arctic Patrol under O.S. Finnie's directorship of the NWTY Branch became subordinated to the single point of view of the officer-in-charge. The departmental albums of the patrols of the 1930s and 1940s featured, almost exclusively, the photographs of

⁷⁸ Although members of the EAP did take some footage on the 1930 and 1933-5 voyages with an Eyemo camera borrowed from the Department of Marine (NAC, RG 85, vol. 853, file 7910, Eyemo Camera, 1933-37). For more on the Patrol to the Northwest Passage (Department of Mines and Resources and Richard Finnie, 1937) see Chapter IV.

Major McKeand (who commanded the EAP from 1932 until 1944) and his successors, James G. Wright (1945-46), S.J. Bailey (1948-49) and Alexander Stevenson (1950).⁷⁹

McKeand, as one of the few NWTY Branch employees to survive the staff cuts of 1931, became one of the most senior bureaucrats in a reduced northern administration.⁸⁰ He dutifully brought back images of his first voyage to the eastern arctic aboard the HBC's Ungava in 1932; increasingly fewer pictures of his trips on the Nascopie appeared in the photo-albums in following years. Within a climate of fiscal restraint, McKeand displayed little enthusiasm for the visual promotion of northern administration. As he noted to his Assistant Deputy Minister Roy Gibson, in 1944: "Twenty years ago I gave up using slides or movies to illustrate talks given on the Mackenzie District and I never use them for talks on the Eastern Arctic."⁸¹ In contrast to the numerous publications of the NWTY Branch (all illustrated with photographic material) initiated under O.S. Finnie's direction, the new Dominion Lands Board and its successors followed a much

⁷⁹ NAC, DAPD, 1974/366, Album 19, "Arctic" (DLM-1932-6345 to 6485; DLM-1933-6500 to 6591; DLM-1934-6950 to 7088; DLM-1935-7190 to 7194); Album 20, "Arctic," (DLM-1935-7195 to 7352; DLM-1936-7355 to 7487; DLM-1937-7488 to 7591); Album 21, "Arctic" (DLM-1938-7592 to 7658; DLM-1939-7659 to 7669; DLM-1940-7670 to 7681; DLM-1941-7685 to 7706; DLM-1942-7708 to 7722; DLM-1943-7725 to 7749); Album 28, "Arctic" (JGW-1945-1 to 90; JGW-1946-1 to 74); Album 37, "Eastern Arctic Patrol" (SJB-1948-1 to 175; SJB-1949-1 to 239); and Album 39, "Eastern Arctic Patrol" (AS-1950-1 to 129).

⁸⁰ O.S. Finnie, Major Burwash, and G.P. Mackenzie were among those northern officers "retired."

⁸¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 55, file 160-1-1 [1A], McKeand to Gibson, 30 October 1944; see also vol. 59, file 160-5-3 [5], McKeand to W.A. Rundle (Vancouver), 2 October 1945. McKeand was not totally accurate here, as, following the lead of his fellow officers, he made use of lantern slides and films throughout the 1920s; see vol. 13, file 20-McKeand, for various examples.

more modest publicity programme.⁸² For McKeand, pictures he had taken aboard the Nascopie were sent in personal notes of remembrance to fellow passengers and their relatives, unlike the use of the photographs of L.T. Burwash and his contemporaries as integral components of unpublished reports and official publications.⁸³

The more limited use and production of visual images represented more than a reflection of the slowing down of government initiatives. It was not just that new RCMP posts were no longer being established in the arctic archipelago - at the same time, views of all the existing ones were plentiful.⁸⁴ The wide coverage given to the north by a decade of official investigation under the auspices of the NWTYB resulted in a weighty archive of visual information which could be drawn upon in subsequent years. In the early 1940s, Burwash's photographs and those from the EAP albums of the 1920s, supplemented by McKeand's pictures, formed the core of a series of albums of the prominent arctic settlements.⁸⁵ This rich legacy of northern images was also circulated outside of government circles. Lantern slide lectures continued as a form of

⁸² The NWTY Branch became the Dominion Lands Board from 1931 until 1934, when it was re-named the Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. In 1936, when the Department of the Interior was dissolved, the Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs became part of the Lands, Parks, and Forests Branch of the new Department of Mines and Resources, and remained so until 1947 (see Cook, "Paper Trails," 31).

⁸³ See NAC, RG 85, vol. 13, file 20-Mckeand, Memo for file, 21 October 1935; "Pictures sent the following," 22 October 1935 and accompanying letters.

⁸⁴ As the exception to the rule, see McKeand's photographic coverage of the raising of the Union Jack at the new RCMP post at Port Harrison in 1935 (NAC, DAPD, Album 20).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Albums 47, Chesterfield; Album 50, Lake Harbour and Cape Dorset; and Album 52, Pagnirtung.

popular education, and private lecturers ex-officials of the department and missionaries borrowed slides, originally prepared by the Natural Resources Intelligence Service for the NWTY Branch, to illustrate talks on northern subjects.⁸⁶ In addition, prints of L.T. Burwash and others were sent to publishers and writers who approached government officials for book and magazine illustrations.⁸⁷

As these government views of the "Canadian North" were recirculated, they served to preserve the institutional memory of previous administrations.⁸⁸

Pictures of all the northern settlements, of RCMP detachments in the arctic islands and fur trade posts in Hudson Bay, provided administrators in Ottawa with a photographic image to accompany the names on territorial maps.

Photographs of northern Natives were seen to confirm preconceived notions of racial and cultural characteristics. Constituted into an archive of social facts, photographs and films were marshalled as evidence for and justification of active policy or benign neglect.

⁸⁶ See NAC, RG 85, vol 758, file 4767, correspondence regarding the loan of slides to Henry Wack of The Redbook Magazine (New York), 1924 to 1927; vol. 878, file 8930 [1], Memo to J. Lorne Turner (Director, Lands, NWT and Yukon Branch), 15 March 1935; vol. 878, file 8930 [2], J.D. Soper (Winnipeg) to R.A. Gibson, 19 November 1942. In 1948, a selection of the best preserved of these "out of date" lantern slides were sent to Yellowknife for educational purposes in the schools in the N.W.T. (vol. 878, file 8930 [2], Note for file, 15 June 1948); these may likely be the collections now held by the NWT, G79-062 and G89-006.

⁸⁷ L.T. Burwash and Richard Finnie photographs were among those sent to Philip Godsell from the mid-1930s, for example, to illustrate his popular magazine articles and books on the north and the fur trade; see NAC, RG 85, Vol. 851, file 7852, Philip Godsell.

⁸⁸ This is particularly evident in the use of NWTY Branch director O.S. Finnie's photographs of the establishment of an administrative presence at Fort Smith (NAC, DAPD, Album 48, Fort Smith). Although Finnie had left the branch over a decade before the album was put together, the authority of Finnie as "Director" continued to be invested in the photographs he took, and which constituted a major part of this composite album.



Figure 19: "A Native Christian Leader."
Source: A.L. Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (Westminster and Toronto: SPG and MSCC, 1928), Plate 31.

The all-seeing eye of the motion picture camera, floating through arctic waters as it captures images of people and place, is a vivid metaphor for the perceived extension of government control in the Canadian north. A similar metaphor about the all-seeing eye and the relationship of knowledge and power comes to mind: Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a design for the ideal prison in which a guard in a central watch tower has visual access to the prisoners who are kept in stacks of cells which surround the central tower. John Tagg has evoked this image in his analysis of the role of photographic documentation in the rise of bureaucratic forms of state power since the late nineteenth century; Bill Nichols, examining the strategies by which non-fiction films represent other cultures and places, uses the figure of the panopticon to symbolize this means of representation as "an economy of knowledge predicated on distance and control centred around a single, all-seeing vantage point."⁸⁹

In the films and photographs created by members of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch and its successors, the camera attempts to engage with the land and people but remains distanced and detached, always on the move in the search to record more before having to turn back south again. Images of the Eastern Arctic Patrol and those of field investigators like Major Burwash shared an underlying impulse of knowledge-gathering, exhibiting the

⁸⁹ John Tagg, The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories (London: MacMillan, 1988) and Bill Nichols, Christian Hansen, Catherine Needham, "Pornography, Ethnography and the Discourses of Power," in Bill Nichols, Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 212. Note that these analyses draw upon Michel Foucault's earlier use of the image of the panopticon in his discussion of the technologies of power in Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (London: Penguin Books, 1977).

guise of an objectified scientific observation. But as Nichols' observes, this detachment and distance, as a feature of filmic representations of "reality," masks an approach to knowledge and understanding that carries important implications:

[it] posits an organizing agency that possesses information and knowledge, a text that conveys it, and a subject who will gain it. He who knows (the agency is usually masculine) will share that knowledge with those who wish to know; they too can take the place of the subject-who-knows... Who are we that we may know something? Of what does knowledge consist? What we know, and how we use the knowledge we have, are matters of social and ideological significance.⁹⁰

Government administrators and field officers viewed the north as the property of the Canadian Dominion. In departmental albums, motion pictures, and official publications, visual imagery worked towards the association of "Northernness" with "Canadianness." Images of the North attempted to mark the region as familiar terrain, despite an ambivalent attitude towards its "difference." The North, then, became something to be domesticated and civilized, brought into the frame of reference of southern Canadian understanding. Just as officials venturing into the arctic remarked with pleasure on the improved "cleanliness" and "orderliness" of the Native settlements that grew up around the northern posts as part of a (hoped for) assimilation into Euro-Canadian values⁹¹, the images they brought back with them contributed to the identification of these

⁹⁰ Nichols, Representing Reality, 31.

⁹¹ See, for example, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Canada's Arctic Islands, 28: "The difference here between the conditions in 1922 and in 1923 was very evident the moment one stepped ashore [at Pond Inlet]. The natives appeared not only cleaner and healthier, but also much happier; while their habitations which had now been arranged in orderly fashion were certainly much more presentable from a white man's point of view."

people and places as part of Canada, albeit existing under the watchful and benevolent eye of governmental control.

Drawing attention to the production and circulation of these representations of reality, as embedded in specific historical and institutional settings, reveals much about how the north was perceived by bureaucrats and administrators as a possession of southern Canada. Part of this perception involved presenting a view of the Inuit, transforming them from unknown societies into knowable entities. Questioning the status of these images as evidence - of whose North? for what purposes? - exposes the assumptions underlying these representations. As Bill Nichols and John Tagg suggest, the gathering of knowledge is never a neutral activity; the films and photographs discussed are far from transparent and unproblematic illustrations of government activity in northern Canada. The creation of this visual record of northern administration, then, was part of the production and circulation of knowledge about the entity called the North, a knowledge which tended to conform to the perceptions of officials in Ottawa and in the field, whatever its relationship to the reality represented.

CHAPTER II

PICTURES OF THE "ARCTIC NIGHT": ARCHIBALD LANG FLEMING AND MISSIONARY MESSAGES OF THE NORTH

The history of missionary-Native interaction in the arctic and sub-arctic is a story of dynamic and complex encounters. Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries followed the fur traders into the Hudson Bay regions and the northwest in the attempt to bring their brand of European-style Christianity to the Inuit, Dene, Cree, and Innu people. Part of the story involves the varying personal styles and beliefs of individual missionaries as they interpreted church policy against a background of competition between denominations. The societies the missionaries met were also diverse, and it is not surprising to find that Aboriginal peoples adopted a myriad of responses, ranging from apparent acceptance and conversion to outright rejection of Christian beliefs and institutional structures.¹

In an overview of the history of Christian missions in the twentieth century, Timothy Yates identifies one of the primary aspects of the missionary experience as that of crossing boundaries, as the missionary takes his or her message to a

¹ For a comprehensive overview, which does not, however, consider missionary-Inuit interaction, see John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 96-117; see also Keith J. Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 137-51. On missions to the northwest and Dene responses (and the importance of continuity in Dene beliefs and lifestyles) see Kerry Abel, Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 113-44.

new setting and another culture. In his history of the missionary-Native encounter in the Canadian context, John Webster Grant similarly draws attention to the significance of mission as an example of the general phenomenon of the transmission of a message across a cultural barrier. Both Webster and Yates consider the role of missionary as sender, and thus facilitator of cross-cultural contact.² In addition to this direct contact between the missionary and those to be converted was the communication of another message that was just as crucial to the mission's success and, ultimately, survival - the publicizing of the mission's activities to the sending society. Missionaries acted as interpreters of the cultures that they contacted.

Responding to the need to reach out to a mass of modest supporters, early twentieth century missionaries and their sponsoring agencies turned to the possibilities offered by the latest communication technologies to spread their word.³ Thus, in keeping with the larger theme of the analysis of photographic and filmic representation of the Canadian north, this chapter proceeds to examine the visual elements of the missionary message, not only in terms of contact between sender and receiver, but especially in terms of transmitting images of mission activity to the wider realm of English-speaking North America and Britain. Through an examination of the life and work of Archibald Lang

² Timothy Yates, Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6; Grant, Moon of Wintertime, 258-60.

³ Grant, Moon of Wintertime, 217-18.

Fleming, first Bishop of the Arctic, the contributions of Anglican-sponsored missions to the construction of the North will be evaluated.

As the unofficial "established" church in the north, benefitting from formal and informal ties with the officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and the members of the federal government's northern administration, the Anglican Church played a substantial role in the region in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴ Yet despite a history of trying to bring Christianity to northern Natives that can be traced back to the Rev. John West and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Red River in 1820, the disjointed nature of these efforts, funded and organized by a number of different British missionary societies, was recognized as an obstacle in the path of effective administration and recruitment in the changing conditions of the post-World War I era. Appointed the first Archdeacon of the Arctic in 1927, then elected the first Bishop of the Arctic in 1933 (a position he held until 1949, just four years before his death), Archibald Lang Fleming (1883-1953) was one of the key figures in northern Canadian missionary work in the first half of the twentieth century, a period which witnessed the growing involvement of the Church of England in Canada in social and educational work in the north.

Fleming devoted most of his lifetime to building up the Anglican Church's northern work, acting as both spiritual leader and chief administrator of the

⁴ An important aspect of this network involved shared religious affiliation and personal ties. D.L. McKeand, a senior northern bureaucrat for much of Fleming's career, was also a devout Anglican and personal friend of Fleming's. And an early association with Hudson's Bay Company fur trader Ralph Parsons on Baffin Island continued as Bishop Fleming maintained contact with Fur Trade Commissioner Parsons until the latter's retirement in 1940.



Figure 15: "The Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming, D.D., first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic."
Photographer: Max Sauer, Jr.
Source: The Beaver (March 1934), 16.

Arctic Missions. Through his numerous publicity efforts, he contributed extensively to a growing body of northern knowledge, and in many ways set the terms of the Anglican Church's approach to the north. Travelling extensively to points both north and south in Canada, and with regular visits to Great Britain and the United States, Fleming spoke and wrote about the Canadian north and the role and place of the Church in the "Arctic wilds."⁵ In addition, he was a prolific photographer, and even ventured into the domain of filmmaking in his pursuit of northern images. Furthermore, Fleming then presented these visual images to his audiences as an integral part of his depiction of northern people and conditions. In this respect, Archibald Lang Fleming provides an intriguing focus for a case study of the way in which one important institution, the Anglican Church, envisioned the north, and the means by which these views were disseminated to the public.

Out of the Twilight: The Life and Writings of Archibald the Arctic

In his posthumously published autobiography, Fleming recounted the circumstances which led a seafaring captain's son from Greenock, Scotland, to proselytize on the shores of Baffin Island. According to Fleming's construction of events, his arctic interest was initially sparked in the winter of 1894, by his sister's tale of seeing Shooldo from Baffin Land, who had been brought to Dundee,

⁵ Fellowship of the Arctic (1929), 4. In his last message in The Arctic News (1949), Fleming wrote: "I have given the best years of my life to this work - as missionary in Baffin Land, as Archdeacon of the Arctic and as Bishop of the Arctic - in order to try and build up our first Canadians who dwell in the lonely wilds of Arctic Canada."

Scotland, on a whaling ship. Furthermore, the young Fleming learned, "there was only one missionary in that land of ice and snow."⁶

Steeped in the tales of missionary adventure - Fleming recalled that his reading of The Young Missionary, a story of the lives of African natives, was interrupted by his sister's story - he found himself "transported from the sweltering heat of African grass huts to the frozen realms of Arctic night with shimmering aurora borealis and houses built of snow!"⁷ For young British evangelicals at the close of the nineteenth century, the missionary call was caught up in the Imperial ideal, in the spread of Christian civilization amongst the pagan tribes of the Empire. Yet for most recruits, ministering to the heathens in darkest Africa or exotic Asia may well have seemed more amenable, and certainly more exciting, than signing up for duty in northern Canada. The older Fleming, writing his autobiography, was keenly aware of how the missionary bodies competed for recruits in the worldwide mission arena, which included African and Asian destinations. One of his lifelong goals was to promote the northern Canadian field, to make the call to the "pagan Eskimo" as worthwhile, urgent, and, perhaps most importantly, as exotically interesting and ripe for heroic endeavour as other potential destinations.⁸

⁶ Archibald Lang Fleming, Archibald the Arctic (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1957), 17-18; see also Fleming, "A Message from the Bishop," The Arctic News (1947), 4 for a brief version of this pivotal experience.

⁷ Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 18.

⁸ For an early articulation of this problem see Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives (hereafter GSA), A.L. Fleming Papers, M70-1, Series 3-A, file 1, Fleming to Dr. Peck, 15 October 1919: "If there is any idea of seeking for new men in Canada it would be wise for the Authorities to take action at the earliest possible moment. Men are not too plentiful as you can understand, and Baffin Land is NOT the most attractive field on the map."

According to Fleming's account, his prayer to minister among the Eskimo people was a vision which "soon faded but was never entirely lost" as he pursued the more material interest of learning the trade of ship's engineer.⁹ In the fall of 1908, after answering an appeal in a missionary paper for men to preach the gospel to the "poor Eskimos" of Ungava,¹⁰ Fleming found himself studying theology and elementary medicine at Toronto's Wycliffe College. The following year he set out for Lake Harbour. There, with the already experienced missionary Rev. J.W. Bilby, he spent the next two years learning the Native language, living and travelling among the Inuit, and establishing the mission at Lake Harbour.¹¹

After a year's furlough in Toronto, during which Fleming was ordained and also married Helen Grace Gillespie (his wife until her death in 1941), he again set out for the arctic in the summer of 1913. Leaving after two years at Lake Harbour, Fleming was forced to curtail his arctic travels due to ill-health, as he later claimed in his autobiography. Yet Fleming's withdrawal from this work was likely influenced by his disagreement with the general organization of the arctic missions at the time. He did make a return trip to Baffin Land in the summer of 1920, taking stock of the "spiritual well-being" of the Natives, who had been without a missionary since Fleming's departure five years previously. Declared

⁹ Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 18.

¹⁰ See typescript of George Holmes (Bishop of Moosonee), letter to the editor, The Life of Faith (23 May 1906), included in GSA, M70-1, Series 3-A, file 1, John T. Griffin to Editor, The Life of Faith, [1947].

¹¹ Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 40-135.

"unfit for active service," Fleming settled into the less physically strenuous work of rector of the Old Stone Church in Saint John, New Brunswick.¹²

Throughout the 1920s, however, Fleming retained an interest in the Anglican Church's work in the arctic. With the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC)'s assumption of responsibility for the maintenance and organization of Canadian missions as a result of the withdrawal of the London-based Church Missionary Society from Canada in 1921, the arctic sphere came under new consideration.¹³ The offer of a five-year grant of five thousand dollars per annum by the Hudson's Bay Company's Governor Sale (approximately one third of the funds needed for the northern work at the time) was also a stimulant to action. In the fall of 1926, Fleming was involved in discussions over the creation of a new position, an Archdeacon of the Arctic, who would also serve as Executive Officer of the Arctic Mission Fund. Despite his concerns for his health and over his ability to act independently while under the authority of a committee consisting of four Bishops (those of Moosonee, Keewatin, Mackenzie River, and the Yukon) and the General Secretary of the MSCC, Fleming accepted the position.¹⁴

¹² Ibid., 137-220. See Fleming's letter to veteran arctic missionary Dr. Peck (15 October 1919), in which he refers to his decision to resign "as I could not continue to be loyal to you and to the Bishop..."(GSA, M70-1, Series 3-A, file 1).

¹³ An exception was the support, from 1925 until 1950, of two northern missions by the Bible Churchman's Missionary Society (London).

¹⁴ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-A, file 1, "Copies of letters about the proposed re-organization of the Church's work in the Arctic," 26 October 1926 to 20 December 1926; see also MSCC Current News Bulletin No. 2 (1927), highlighting the newly created Fellowship of the Arctic.

In this new phase of his career as northern missionary, Fleming now took on the administrative responsibilities of organizing the Church of England's missions to Aboriginal people and non-Natives in the northern parts of the Dominion. As an evangelist, Fleming took seriously the task of spreading the message of Christ and his works. At the same time, as an administrator, Fleming was well aware that the continuation and expansion of the Anglican Church's work in the arctic involved material aspects. Money was needed not only to provide for the missionaries in the field, but to build, supply, and staff hospitals and schools for his northern flock. A large part of his work, then, involved the raising of funds. Fleming met this challenge, to which he committed much of his efforts over the subsequent twenty years, through his various attempts at generating interest in the Eskimo and in the arctic lands where the missionaries toiled.¹⁵

Archibald Fleming's first book-length publication on the north, Dwellers in Arctic Night, appeared in 1928, shortly after he took up the mantle of Archdeacon of the Arctic.¹⁶ It provides a particularly timely view of the development of Fleming's thought, which is essential in order to understand his use of visual imagery in his varied presentations of the north and its inhabitants.

¹⁵ As Fleming expressed it towards the end of his life: "I also felt deeply that I must use every legitimate means at my disposal to keep the work not only before the members of the Anglican communion but before the public. The Eskimos were, after all, Canadian. Their welfare, it seemed to me, should be the concern of all." (Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 216).

¹⁶ Archibald Lang Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (Westminster and Toronto: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, 1928). Fleming had already published A Book of Remembrance, or the History of St. John's Church, St. John, N.B. (St. John, N.B.: Barnes and Co., 1925).

As such, Dwellers in Arctic Night can be viewed as an attempt to bring the "Eskimo," as an object of social analysis and spiritual need, before the Canadian and British public.

Dwellers in Arctic Night was one of two works published in 1928 which set out to interpret life in arctic Canada to English-speaking readers in North America and Great Britain. Both Fleming's book and Diamond Jenness' People of the Twilight used the authors' earlier personal experiences in the arctic as a springboard for their interpretation of the effects of "civilization" on the Eskimo. Jenness' diary-like rendering of the seasons and cycles of the life of the Copper Eskimos along the western arctic coast has garnered more staying power, with its re-publication and continued critical interest.¹⁷ Fleming's combined report on Inuit culture and tale of missionary adventure, however, represents an important strand in the construction of the "Eskimo" in popular culture.

Significantly, Fleming originally entitled his own book "Children of the Twilight." Informed of the similarity with Jenness's soon-to-be released work, Fleming conceded to a change of title.¹⁸ The original phrase, however, was certainly more in keeping with Fleming's characterization of the Inuit, and draws attention to several intriguing facets of his contribution to northern image-making. For Fleming, the Eskimo were clearly situated in a position of dependency,

¹⁷ Diamond Jenness, The People of the Twilight (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1928); reprinted with author's epilogue by University of Chicago Press, 1959. In his forward to Stuart E. Jenness, editor, Arctic Odyssey: The Diary of Diamond Jenness (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1991), W.E. Taylor, senior scientist at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (and formerly director of the National Museum of Man) considers The People of the Twilight "the best single book on the traditional Canadian Inuit."

¹⁸ GSA, M70-1, O.S. Finnie to Fleming, 27 March 1928; Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, viii.

"children" who require the protection and guidance of the missionary. This involved situating the Inuit within a progressive evolutionary understanding of cultural development, as "a race of men who take us back thousands of years to the Stone Age... living the simple nomadic life of our forefathers..."¹⁹

This conceptualization of the Inuit was previously articulated in a report written in the midst of his last summer of active northern missionary work in 1920. Troubled by his meeting with Oo-aug-awak, a "pagan" accused of murder, Fleming set forth his inspired view of the Anglican Church's work:

The vision I see is a great and a difficult, but yet a most glorious one - it is this;- The King of Love rides forth to lead the Church forward into the frozen realms of midnight to bring light and warmth, gladness and healing to the long neglected children of the Arctic snows.²⁰

Here, as in Dwellers in Arctic Night, it is through the heroic endeavour of the missionary, triumphing over personal adversity and an unfamiliar and harsh environment, that the Eskimo is led to a higher state of being.

While stating, at times, that all people should be judged according to the value of their customs as expressions of their own culture, Fleming ultimately applied the standard of his own experiences and knowledge. This aspect of his thought evinced considerable staying power, exerting influence on his image of the "Eskimo" throughout his career. Writing his autobiography over a quarter of a century later, the retired Bishop asserted the equality of Eskimo and white on the one hand, yet continued to portray the "native" as "our brother, but our

¹⁹ Ibid., 3-4.

²⁰ GSA. M70-1, Series 3-A, file 1, Fleming to Dr. Gould (Secretary, MSCC), 15 July 1920.

younger brother. He is lovable, patient and capable of the highest development, but still a juvenile and not an adult."²¹

An integral component of Fleming's portrayal of "these primitive children of the snow"²² involved the projection of a correspondence between the physical aspects of the environment and their cultural adaptations and behaviours as "primitive" people. For Fleming, the outsider, the arctic environment was a strange and unusual place, extracting a heavy toll on its inhabitants:

In such a bleak and barren land, where hard cruel winter reigns for nine months out of every twelve, continual vigilance, effort and skill are necessary on the part of human beings who would wrest even a bare existence from its grudging hand. It is therefore only natural that these people should have retained simple, primitive views of life.²³

Just as the cultural development of the Inuit is seen to be tied to the bleak and barren nature of the arctic wastes, so too is the undeveloped nature of their religious and spiritual life.²⁴

The correspondence between the physical conditions of the arctic and the inner life of the Inuit was evocatively portrayed in the motif of "twilight." As "children of the twilight," the Inuit are 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. In Fleming's terms, it is through coming into the light of the

²¹ Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 304.

²² Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 35.

²³ *Ibid.*, 24-5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 34-8; 55; 80-2; see also Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 154: "The soul of the Eskimo reflects the free moods of hostile nature - silent like the stillness of the frozen sea at one time, then restless and hilarious like the rushing spring floods at another."

Christian God (and accepting the teachings of the Anglican Church) that the Eskimo can step out of this twilight state.²⁵

This story of the Eskimo's emergence from darkness and "groping after the Light of life"²⁶ was subsequently retold in other publications, as well as refined by Fleming himself. In a 1934 survey of Anglican missions in Canada, issued as study material for Church members, the subheadings of the section on the Eskimo indicated the spiritual "progress" being made, using the terms popularized by Fleming (and incorporating Jenness's book title as well): "Dwellers in Arctic Night," "People of the Twilight," "Children of the Light," and "Fellowship of the Arctic." In this publication, one could read of the hardships and triumphs faced by the Anglican missionaries as they guided the Eskimo through their spiritual journey, travelling from a life lived "in fear of the spirits which surround them and inhabit the darkness of the long winter night" towards "the light of the Sun of Righteousness."²⁷

In 1941 Fleming titled his yearly review of his journeys through his Diocese Twilight.²⁸ The publication's cover, a Fleming photograph, further established the pamphlet's theme [see **Figure 16**]. Taken as he travelled by motor boat between Aklavik and Fort McPherson, this image portrayed the

²⁵ For example Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 72.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ H. Walsh, editor, Stewards of a Goodly Heritage: A Survey of the Church's Mission Fields in Canada (N.p.: The Joint Committee on Summer Schools and Institutes of the Church of England in Canada, 1934), 30-49.

²⁸ Archibald Lang Fleming, Twilight (N.p., 1941).

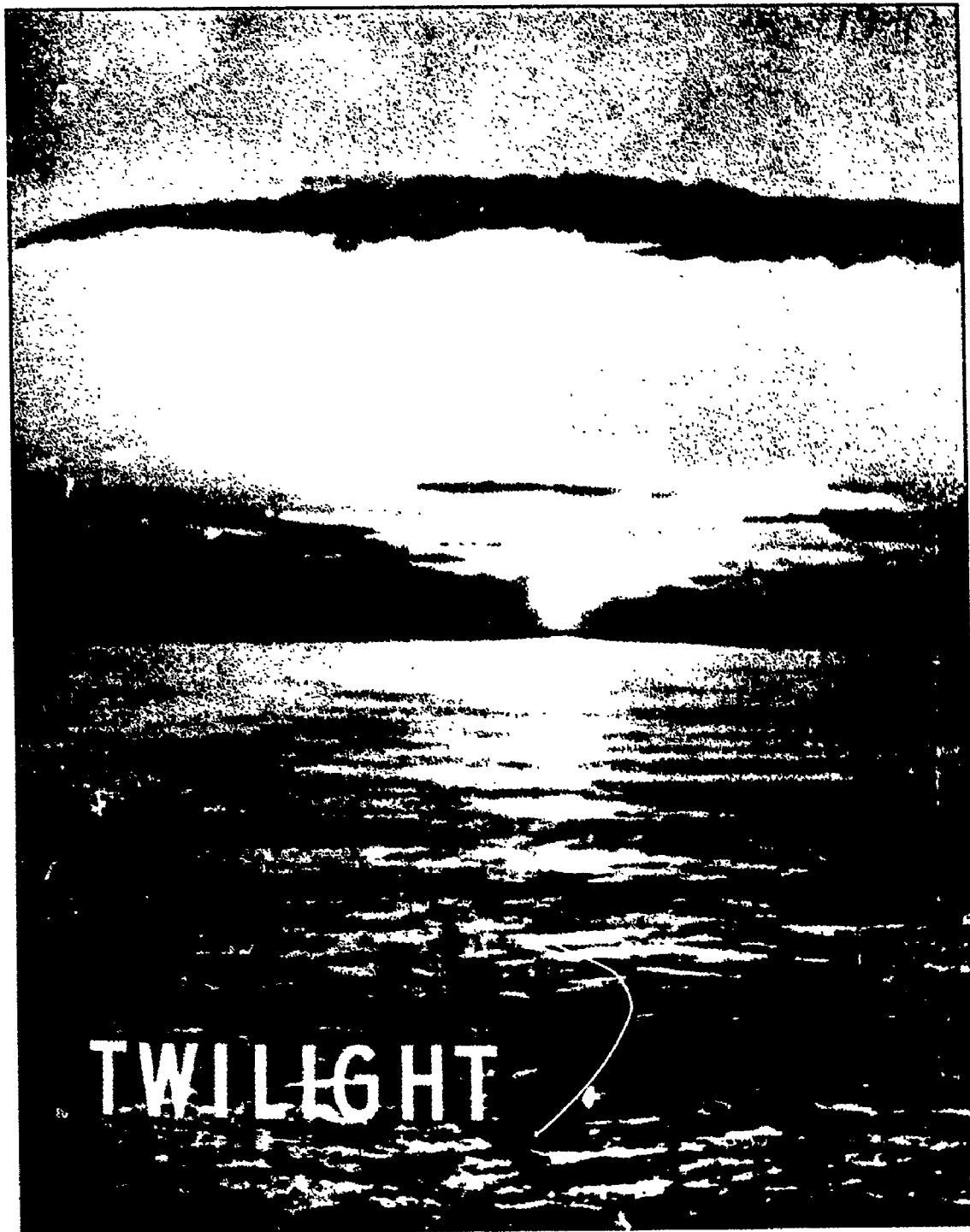


Figure 16: "Twilight": the sun at midnight on the Peel River.
Photographer: A.L. Fleming.
Source: A.L. Fleming, *Twilight* (n.p., 1941), cover.

midnight sun poised between the vastness of the arctic sky and the expanse of the Peel River. Yet Fleming was more than the unseen (yet acknowledged)²⁹ observer of the landscape. He was an active interpreter of the environment, and his text worked to frame the narrative of his episcopal visitation in the following terms:

Arctic Canada is a land of strange contradictions. This is true regarding the country, the climatic conditions... and the people. For weeks around mid-summer and mid-winter it is the land of twilight - in summer because the sun never sets, in winter because the sun does not rise above the horizon....

But Arctic Canada is a land of twilight in other senses as well because it is at the transitional period between primitive pagan simplicity on the one hand and highly organized civilization on the other.³⁰

Throughout the text, as Fleming recounts his journey to and stay at Aklavik and various points on the western arctic coast, he invokes the motif of twilight as transition, poising the north on a great adventure between "the simple primitive life" and the progress towards Christian civilization.³¹ Photographs of the polar ice pack and the arctic coastline give way to images of the exterior and interior of All Saints' Cathedral, Aklavik. Spread across the upper half of the pamphlet's centre pages was a panorama of this settlement at the northern end of the Mackenzie River. In this view the Residential School, Principal's residence and All Saints' Cathedral and Hospital dominate the shoreline (and the accompanying

²⁹ As the pamphlet noted: "Unless otherwise stated the photographs were taken by Bishop Fleming." Ibid., 14.

³⁰ Ibid, 2.

³¹ Ibid., 4, 6, 12, 14.

explanatory caption), vividly illustrating the strides made in this land of Twilight during Bishop Fleming's tenure.³²

By Faith and Sight: Seeing the North Transformed

Fleming's use of the motif and imagery of Twilight carried with it another level of meaning, tied in to his role as international spokesman for the Arctic Missions. As well as making space for the display of photographs in his own books and pamphlets and in the yearly Arctic News, Fleming presented lectures illustrated by lantern slides and films, all intended to bring the "Eskimo" and the North out of the twilight of Canadian and British consciousness and into the glaring lights of public perception. As the headline to a newspaper report of one of Fleming's motion picture lectures put it: "Archdeacon Fleming Brings New Light To Bear on Eskimo and Indian." Photographic representation played a crucial role in constructing this vision of the transition from "primitive" conditions to Christian "civilization" in "Canada's North."³³

In shedding light on the arctic night, Fleming was not content to rely solely on his skills as a writer. He was particularly aware of and adept at making an appeal to the visual sensibilities of his potential audience. Based on his experiences with the success of Dwellers in Arctic Night,³⁴ Fleming considered

³² Ibid., 3, 5, 8-9.

³³ Quebec Chronicle Telegram (28 February 1929), clipping in National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Records of the Northern Affairs Program, RG 85, vol. 310, file 1010-8 [1].

³⁴ The English edition of 3,500 copies "was practically exhausted" by the spring of 1929, according to The Fellowship of the Arctic (1929), 3.

that unless a "book is well illustrated it will be a great weakness, whereas if well illustrated by really first class pictures it will materially add to its selling value." He was also concerned with the placement of images and their final look, strongly suggesting that the snowscenes and icescapes be printed in blue ink and portraits in dark sepia on light buff paper, in order to bring out the best qualities of the photographs.³⁵

This preoccupation with the interest value of photographic illustrations in published material carried over into the realm of Fleming's public presentations. As a high profile and sought-after lecturer and fundraiser, Fleming incorporated previous techniques of missionary communication that were already established by the early decades of this century. In her analysis of Methodist Egerton R. Young's representations of missionary activity in the late 1880s through to his death in 1909, Jennifer Brown draws attention to the ways in which his lantern slide shows, in their "selective presentation of the social and culture changes that missions occasioned," both incorporated and added new dimensions to his written portrayals of Indian missions in the Canadian sub-arctic. Fleming's formation as an authoritative commentator on the Inuit and the arctic was also conditioned by the attempt to represent his northern knowledge in visual, as well as written, form.³⁶

³⁵ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 7, Fleming to Canon Gosling (Secretary, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge [SPCK], London), 4 April 1932 and Fleming to Canon W.K.L. Clarke (Secretary, SPCK), 4 July 1932. The SPCK, in conjunction with the MSCC, published Fleming's Perils of the Polar Pack (London and Toronto: SPCK and MSCC, 1932), an account of Reverend E.W.T. Greenshield's missions to Blacklead Island, Cumberland Sound, between 1901 and 1913.

³⁶ Jennifer S.H. Brown, "Mission Indian Progress and Dependency: Ambiguous Images from Canadian Methodist Lantern Slides," Arctic Anthropology 18, No. 2 (1981), 17-27; for further background see Harcourt Brown, "Letters of Egerton Ryerson Young," Manitoba Pageant 17, No. 46

While it is difficult to reconstruct the performative aspects of his visual presentations, which undoubtedly added to both their appeal and effectiveness, Fleming's early efforts and continuing ambitions as presenter of Eskimo culture and the benefits of Anglican-style Christianity can be traced. As early as 1913, returning from his first two years in the field, the recently-ordained Reverend Fleming gave an illustrated lecture to a Toronto audience on "The Eskimo of Baffin Land." After an initial tone of diffidence and an expression of apology for the possible lack of "scientific" knowledge exhibited, Fleming proceeded to detail the "character" of the country and that of its inhabitants. Fleming made good use of the lantern slides at his disposal (many of which were probably made from his own photographs³⁷); more than entertaining illustrations, they clearly functioned to reinforce and give added weight to his spoken argument. Pictures of arrow and spear heads were shown as Fleming discussed the abilities of "primitive man... to subsist on the natural resources of the country..." while slides of sealskin tents, kayaks, and snowhuts followed his verbal descriptions of the yearly rounds of a life that changed with the seasons.³⁸

Images of the people themselves (presumably portraits) were thrown on the screen as Fleming provided detailed information on physiognomy, further situating the Eskimo as an object of study and highlighting their physical

(Autumn 1971), 3-11.

³⁷ Fleming's handwritten notes on the typed lecture text marked the places where slides were to be shown and indicated the pictures by one-word titles making it difficult to tell with certainty what the images were.

³⁸ A.L. Fleming, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land," 15 February 1913, in GSA, M70-1, Series 7-A, file 14.

Otherness as a race apart. Fleming was caught up in the common - but waning - anthropological pursuit of assigning fixed racial origins. In this respect photographs were seen as scientific evidence for the classification of racial "types." As Fleming later stated, summing up the "objective" aspect of photographic meaning: "Even a layman with no scientific training looking at photographs of Eskimo can recognize the Mongolian high cheekbones, sleek black hair and peculiar epicanthic fold of the eyelid, while sometimes the eyes are oblique."³⁹ In attempting to understand and make explainable his sojourn among the Inuit of Baffin Land, Fleming turned to the categories of anthropological knowledge, which were in turn shaped by photography's "mode of observational enquiry that produced a constructed other."⁴⁰

The rest of the presentation, however, was mostly given over to Fleming's skills as orator, as he recounted a series of short essays on various topics, including "An Eskimo Feast," "A Snowstorm," "The Arctic Sky," "Arctic Journeys," "Arctic Silence" and "Religion of the Eskimo." Combining personal observation with theological content, Fleming attempted to convey something of the loneliness and joys of his mission, of the mystery and majesty of the arctic as he perceived it. Significantly, he turned to these early written impressions throughout his life,

³⁹ Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 7.

⁴⁰ Roslyn Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection," in Elizabeth Edwards, editor, Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 42; see, also, in the same volume Frank Spencer, "Some Notes on the Attempt to Apply Photography to Anthropometry during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," 99-107. On the adoption of anthropological concepts by missionaries see Charles R. Taber, The World Is Too Much with Us: "Culture" in Modern Protestant Missions (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1991).

using them as the basis for sections in both Dwellers in Arctic Night and his autobiography.⁴¹

It is clear, however, that even at this early stage of his missionary career, Fleming was already committed to the techniques of visual communication. This involved incorporating common sense ideas about the value of photographs as "evidence" of the seen world. Like other arctic sojourners, Fleming used the practice of photography as a way of ordering his northern experiences. As well, taking and developing pictures, while altered by northern conditions, nonetheless provided a link with the cultural practices of home, forming part of a repertoire of "keeping in order" that encompassed exercising, reading, breadmaking and celebrating birthdays and Christmas.⁴² And once returned from the north, as seen in his illustrated lecture, photographs provided the means to make one's northern experiences coherent and accessible to an audience unfamiliar with the people and environment yet open to the visual pleasures of the unknown.

Other possibilities were available to the interested practitioner of photographic communication. Returning to Lake Harbour in the summer of 1913, Fleming took his slide show to its logical northern conclusion. He later described a major attraction of the feast-nights which he gave on leaving the Inuit camps visited:

⁴¹ For example, his description of "An Eskimo Feast," recording the Otherness of "Eskimo" behaviour in terms of food and hygiene and as illustrating "pure socialism," was reproduced almost verbatim in Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 20-23 and re-told in Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 61-2.

⁴² Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 62; see also 84, on Fleming's photographic experiences, including the difficulty of changing glass plate negatives while on the trail and a description of that most northern of arctic photographic practices, the igloo darkroom.

We began with a goodly number of photographs taken during my last stay amongst the Eskimo and these pictures created the most lively interest. We went for a trip in Canada and the United States, Scotland, England, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, and France. This was followed by a series of views showing foreign means of locomotion, from a dog-cart in Holland to the latest locomotives and Pullman trains and flying machines. The aim of these pictures was to try to open the minds of the Eskimo by some definite knowledge of the outside world... [I] believe that the evening was instructive as well as happy. Before closing we had a number of New Testament pictures with the usual explanations and lessons made clear; and ended with prayer.⁴³

The benefits of projecting images were assumed to cross cultural boundaries, proving as effective in a snowhouse as at an auditorium in urban Ontario.

According to his own assessment, Fleming and his novel images provided both entertainment and instruction to Inuit viewers. Beginning with pictures of "home" may have served to establish the conventions of photographic seeing, as familiar landscapes and figures were rendered into the two-dimensional space of the photographic image. After this introduction, the slides functioned to (hopefully) transport "civilization" into the arctic night, just as they had brought the northern wilderness closer to his Toronto audience. Notably, Fleming carried with him images of Canada and Europe, projecting a Euro-centric ideal of an "outside world" made up of different countries, yet united in technological progress.⁴⁴ Of course matters of the spirit could also be dealt with in pictorial (though not

⁴³ Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 132-33. This incident is also recounted, with little change, in Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 144.

⁴⁴ At other times Fleming consciously used lantern slides as part of his attempt "to educate the Eskimo to an understanding of their position in the British Empire, and I believe I am right in saying that I was the first to teach the Eskimo of Baffin Land to sing 'God save the King' and to applaud when they saw pictures of His Majesty and members of the Royal Family on the screen at our lantern service." GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 25, Fleming to T.G. Murphy (Minister of the Interior), 9 May 1935; see also Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, 153.

photographic) form, providing an appropriate conclusion to a missionary picture show.

Given this early interest in incorporating visual images in his northern work, it is not surprising to find Fleming again considering their use as he prepared for his first northern trip as Archdeacon of the Arctic in 1927. Making arrangements for the three-and-a-half month voyage aboard the HBC's Nascopie, Fleming decided to bring along "a first class electric lantern and some seven or eight illustrated lectures which will meet the need of both white men and Eskimo...." He tried, unsuccessfully, to interest the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau (CGMPB) in lending him a motion picture projector and films for the "entertainment and edification of the men aboard" the Nascopie, claiming: "It seems to me this would be well within the scope of the national good...."⁴⁵

At the same time, Fleming considered the publicity potential of taking his own motion pictures. Meeting with officials of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch (NWTYB) in Ottawa in May, Fleming learned of the Branch's film work, and was advised in regards to camera equipment. Convinced of the potential, but with costs uppermost in his mind, Fleming wrote to Director O.S. Finnie the following month:

You will be interested perhaps to know that the way seems clear for me to have a moving picture camera.... True, I have only \$100. towards the \$250. necessary for film, but we must walk by faith, not by sight.

⁴⁵ NAC, RG 85, vol. 310, file 1010-8 [1], Fleming to Finnie, 8 July 1927; Fleming to Finnie, 23 June 1927.

Fleming was not content, however, to leave everything up to "faith" in his goal to capture northern sights. He proposed to Finnie that the government might assist his endeavour by undertaking to develop his films. This would be of value to both the government and the northern missions; the NWTYB could make duplicates of portions of Fleming's material if they desired, and in exchange Fleming would be allowed to make use of "parts of your films, such as bears in the water, etc. to add to mine, if necessary. This would be facilitated if they [the government] were handling my films as well."⁴⁶

O.S. Finnie was supportive of this proposal, and passed on the request to Frank Badgley of the CGMPB, the branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce which was responsible for developing the NWTYB's arctic films. Given the Branch's own supply of footage at the time, limited to that obtained on the yearly Eastern Arctic Patrol, Finnie suggested that an exchange of film with Archdeacon Fleming "would be of advantage to the Government," to both his own department and to the Motion Picture Bureau, as they "could perhaps obtain unusual pictures at no greater cost than that of developing the exposed film."⁴⁷

Returning from his trip to Hudson Bay and the eastern arctic, Fleming expressed pride in his accomplishment, as well his hopes for the success of the pictures. He wished that they would prove suitable for use

in the moving picture shows and parish halls. The experts tell me that they are particularly fine, and the firm here [printing them] say that they have never seen such excellent moving pictures taken by an amateur

⁴⁶ Fleming purchased an Eyemo motion picture camera, similar to that used on the NWTYB Branch's Arctic Expeditions. NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], Fleming to O.S. Finnie, 14 June 1927; see also Finnie to Frank Badgley (Acting Director, CGMPB), 17 June 1927.

⁴⁷ Ibid., O.S. Finnie to Fleming, 17 June 1927; O.S. Finnie to Badgley, 17 June 1927.

before. I hope what they say will turn out to be absolutely true, for we do want something to arouse the interest of the people.⁴⁸

Fleming quickly harvested the fruits of his labour. Less than two years later, he strongly advocated the benefits of his arctic films - a motion picture of his 1928 western arctic trip now complemented the earlier eastern arctic picture - in helping "to advertise the work." Writing to his contact at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), which sponsored fundraising for the Arctic Missions and acted as Fleming's headquarters during his biennial British tours, he described his methods of using motion pictures to reach beyond the usual audience of the missionary lecturer. In appearing before meetings of Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis and other philanthropic and business clubs in Canada, Fleming noted:

and while they do not bring any immediate return, they do help to advertise the work, and I find that it pays to come before them. In addresses to such clubs I of course cannot give a regular Missionary talk, but my subject would be "The Changing North Lands and Its Future..." I speak of the advance of the railways into the Far North, the discovery of precious and semi-precious metals, and a great many other things of real interest to all citizens of the Empire.

Fleming further touted the unparalleled success of the film showings, held in theatres, town halls and auditoriums, in attracting "the largest religious gatherings ever held in various places, such as Kingston, Ont, Quebec City, etc."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 14, Fleming to Rev. B.P. Smyth (Baker Lake), 5 December 1927. According to the list of Canadian film productions in Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 261, the 1927 film was entitled Sunset or Sunrise; no other information is provided.

⁴⁹ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 6, Fleming to Rev. G.P. Whately (SPG), 8 April 1929. See The Fellowship of the Arctic (1929), 4: "Let Thanks Be Given to God For: ...The success of the Standard Motion Picture taken in the Arctic, both last summer and the summer before, and for the interest they have aroused."

This interest in creating a motion picture presentation of Fleming's annual visitation carried momentum for the next several years. In 1932, Fleming again approached the Canadian government's northern administration for help, borrowing the departmental Eyemo camera, and arranging for a sharing of motion pictures of the western arctic. This involved the printing of a completed film, To the Arctic by Aeroplane, by the Government Motion Picture Bureau under the Archdeacon's active direction. The titles acknowledged that "this combination film" was made partly from government films, and partly from those taken by Fleming. For their part northern bureaucrats took a passive role in the film's production, intervening only to eliminate the mention of the date ("6th June") in connection with the information that Aklavik was "mantled in eight inches of snow." Admitting that "Snow at Aklavik early in June is not uncommon... it is not always good publicity and little or nothing is to be gained by stating the actual date...."⁵⁰

For his part, Fleming enthusiastically thanked both the northern officials and Captain Badgley of the CGMPB. Following a screening to a packed parish hall of some nine hundred spectators at the annual meeting of the Arctic Mission's Women's Auxiliary in Toronto, Fleming passed on the following report: "Everyone enjoyed the film and the pictures were indeed beautiful."⁵¹ Although this brief assessment indicates a continued public interest in arctic images, it does

⁵⁰ NAC, RG 85, vol. 310, file 1010-8 [1], D.L. McKeand to H.E. Hume, 25 May 1932 and 26 May 1932; Fleming to Hume, 18 July 1932; J. Doyle to H.E. Hume, 20 July 1932; GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 26, C.L. Foster (Honourary Secretary, Arctic Missions) to Director [F. Badgely], CGMPB, 19 May 1936.

⁵¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 310, file 1010-8 [1], Fleming to Hume, 24 October 1932.

not really speak to either the intended meaning or the reception of Fleming's arctic films. Also problematic is the fact that none of these motion pictures appears to have survived the years. Fleming, however, did leave behind a description of his filmmaking activity. Using this evidence, as well as a contemporary newspaper account of one of his film lectures, it is possible to assess Fleming's motion pictures as an expression of northern image-making.

In a letter to Rev. B.P. Smyth, the Anglican missionary at the new Baker Lake station, Fleming wrote of the highlights of his first motion picture attempt of 1927. Based on this account, Fleming's film featured images that were the standard fare of the northern photo-opportunity. The establishment of the mission at Baker Lake was covered by a sequence of Smyth hammering in a peg at the site, while the success of missionary labour was conveyed in a sequence of the people going to church at Lake Harbour. Fleming himself appeared, baptising an Inuk baby. Like other northern travellers, he was impressed by the movement of the Nascopie through the pack ice, and also recorded scenes of passing icebergs. These scenes - of the new mission, of the congregation, of the ship that linked the outposts of the Church to civilization - could, and did, appear in his still photography.⁵²

In other ways this "amateur" film displayed elements of Fleming's considered approach to the medium as a professional fundraiser and northern image-maker. As in his writing and speaking, he was attuned to the need of

⁵² GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 14, Fleming to Rev. B.P. Smyth (Baker Lake), 5 December 1927.

playing to his audience; yet he recognized the unique potential of his film footage in achieving his goals. He described a sequence of Smyth "stirring the dough" as "very good and will cause a laugh I am sure." Smyth aboard the Nascopie being taught "the Eskimo" by Pudlo (a Christian Native whom Fleming had "converted" in his Lake Harbour days and who was accompanying Smyth to Baker Lake) was considered an "excellent picture." Fleming noted that while at first appearing "earnestly engaged" the two men then looked up and smiled. In his presentation of the missionary-Native encounter, Fleming's visual sensibilities recognized the narrative possibilities of film over the still photograph: here, the flow of images over time could combine the realism of the moment with an acknowledgement of the audience, helping to bridge the gap between viewer and subject.⁵³

A newspaper article describing one of Fleming's combined lecture and film shows, of his 1929 visitation down the Mackenzie River to Herschel Island and the Arctic Ocean, confirmed the popular appeal of his presentations, as well as indicating how Fleming framed his motion pictures within a larger discourse of the north. Following this account, Fleming, appearing under the auspices of the clergy of the rural deanery of Quebec, first lectured to the capacity audience gathered at the ball room of the Chateau Frontenac, Quebec. Beginning with an assessment of the arctic regions as "a land of promise," rich in mineral and other resources, Fleming then described the characteristics and habits of the Eskimo in terms that would be familiar to readers of Dwellers in Arctic Night. Ethnographic information (the "Mongolian" background, the Eskimo language and

⁵³ Ibid.

system of counting) was combined with the missionary appeal: "Even in their degraded pagan system of religion, said the Archdeacon, God is at work amongst them, and there is a faint dull glimmer of faith in each man and woman." The work of Church of England missionaries was covered, and the "upright" dealings of the large fur trading companies (the HBC and Revillon Freres) noted.⁵⁴

Only after this interpretation of the "Arctic as Land of Promise" and the Inuit as primitive beings in need of salvation was a "most colorful and interesting seven reel film, interspersed with sub-titles and explanatory remarks from the speaker... thrown on the screen." The writer noted that:

Much surprise was revealed by the audience to find that all the trading stations were neat, orderly villages, with admirable churches and schools. Close ups of the natives at the various stations were shown, and an intense interest was evinced on the part of the audience at the various types of Eskimo, Indians, half-breeds, and occasional white missionaries, nurses and lay helpers.

If one is to accept this assessment of the audience's reaction, Fleming's portrayal of the "settled" appearance of the mission-fur trade post complexes along the Mackenzie River nicely complemented his emphasis on northern development as an advance of "civilization" and its institutions (churches and schools, especially), a theme that was to be emphasized pictorially throughout his life's work. The other striking aspect of this film was its portrayal of the inhabitants of this northern setting. At the same time that the north appeared as a "neat, orderly" and hence, familiar, place, other aspects of the film played towards the appeal of the exotic. The "occasional" non-Native figure likely added to the sense of

⁵⁴ "Anglican Divine Hails Arctic As Land Of Promise," Quebec Chronicle Telegram (28 February 1929), clipping in NAC, RG 85, vol. 310, file 1010-8 [1].

difference of the Aboriginal people pictured. Commenting on his earlier filmmaking efforts, Fleming noted: "As to groups of Eskimos and Eskimo individuals, old men and women, young men and maidens and boys and girls, some laughing, some serious, some smoking their pipes, some chewing their boot soles, some playing, they are all very interesting and clear." While Fleming attempted to portray a wide range of Aboriginal images, both he and his audience recognized that the people pictured did not so much represent individuals, but stood as generalized racial "types," as "Eskimo," "Indian," "halfbreed" or "white," with all of the associated characteristics.⁵⁵

At the same time that Fleming featured films as part of his speaking engagements, he continued to rely on the illustrated lantern slide lecture. Preaching and speaking in England for three months in the winter and spring of 1928, for example, his repertoire included "The People of the Polar North," "Life and Travel Amongst the Eskimo" (illustrated with photographic slides), and "Our Canadian Eskimo" (accompanied by 4,500 feet of motion picture film).⁵⁶ And after he stopped taking motion pictures of his northern trips, he continued to present lectures on them, illustrated by his slides.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ibid.; GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 14, Fleming to Smyth, 5 December 1927.

⁵⁶ Ibid, file 6, The Ven. A.L. Fleming, L.Th. (Archdeacon of the Arctic, brochure distributed by the SPG, [1928]. According to The Fellowship of the Arctic (1929), highlights of his 1928 visit included preaching in Exeter Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and an address at Royal Albert Hall (London) to an estimated audience of 10,000.

⁵⁷ See, for example, The Arctic News (1942), 4. It is interesting to note that after her marriage to Fleming in 1942, Elizabeth Nelson Lukens, an educator from Philadelphia, "entered enthusiastically into the work of the Diocese... Moving pictures taken by her during the trip [to the eastern Arctic aboard the Nascopie in 1942] have since been shown to gatherings of the W.A. [Women's Auxiliary] in Toronto, Vancouver, and elsewhere." The Arctic News (1943), 2.

In addition, a lantern slide lecture, like a well-titled and edited film, could present Fleming's version of the north and the arctic mission experience with or without his presence.⁵⁸ "Across the Canadian Arctic, Baffin Land," for example, designed for British audiences in 1930, served as an introduction to and appeal for the re-organized Arctic Missions, with Fleming at its helm. Any committed church worker, armed with the set of forty-one slides, the prepared lecture notes, and a copy of Dwellers in Arctic Night, could present this authoritative picture story.⁵⁹

The lecture's title indicates the movement from a specific portrayal of Baffin Land to a more generalized view of the "Canadian Arctic," in keeping with the centralization of northern work under Fleming's administration. And as "Canada's" Arctic, situated geographically within a map of Canada in the first slide shown, the northern field was clearly placed within the boundaries of Empire. This message was reiterated a third of the way into the presentation. As a slide of "representatives of the Eskimo population at Pond Inlet" was thrown onto the screen, the British audience was to be reminded that this was "A Family Group from the Most Northerly People in the British Empire."

Following this establishment of setting (the arctic as Canadian, and by extension, the Inuit as British subjects), the second and third slides, of the

⁵⁸ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 6, Fleming to Rev. G.P. Whately (SPG), 8 April 1929 on film showings without Fleming in attendance; Miss E. Blackstone, Honourary Secretary of the Arctic Mission Fund in England was praised by Fleming as she "has at her own expense purchased a most excellent electric lantern and gives delightful illustrated talks on the Arctic." The Arctic News (1933), 4.

⁵⁹ GSA, M70-1, Series 7-A, Item 2, "Across the Canadian Arctic, Baffin Land," lecture notes on lantern slide show given 5 February 1930 (South Osset Church).

schooner Lorna Doone (which took Fleming north in 1909) and the HBC's Bayrupert (wrecked on a reef off the Labrador coast in 1927) imaginatively transported the audience northward. In representing the tenuous supply and communication lines, these pictures showed, in the words of the accompanying text, "the hardships endured by the missionaries in the early days." Views of icebergs and an unnamed ship making its way through the ice pack further signified the "dangers and difficulties" in going north. Once in the arctic, viewers were exposed to a variety of subjects, which formed the core of the show. Pictures highlighting the missionary presence (the mission building at Lake Harbour, "Drawing Near a Settlement") were interspersed with slides illustrating the material culture (particularly clothing and kayaks) and lifeways of the Inuit (seal hunting, igloo building, fox trapping).

Another category of image, that of the Eskimo portrait and group shot, portrayed the "Eskimo" as the subject of missionary desire. Yet how was it possible, through photographic representation, to convey the life of the spirit? How could one provide a visual accounting of the converted? One possibility was to rely on graphic illustrations that reconstructed pivotal events in the missionary-Native encounter. A line drawing, by C.R. Snelgrove, was featured beneath the headline of Fleming's story in The Toronto Star Weekly (4 February 1928), a treatise on the need to consider "the essentially childish nature of the Eskimo" in evaluating their actions and behaviour. Also reproduced in Dwellers in Arctic Night with the title "An Interrupted Funeral," this drawing pictured an incident of active cultural intervention described in both texts [see **Figure 17**]. As Eskimos look on, some scowling and showing resistance, a white man (Fleming) kneels



Figure 17: "An Interrupted Funeral."

Artist: C.R. Snelgrove.

Source: A.L. Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (Westminster and Toronto: SPG and MSCC, 1928), Plate 6.

over a body wrapped in sealskin, while an Eskimo figure in the foreground begins to cut open the covering with a knife. As the caption to the newspaper illustration elaborated: "Ordering the sewing to be undone I discovered that the man was still alive." According to Fleming's accompanying account, because of their "primitive dread" of death, the Inuit would sew up in skins the body of a dying person before death actually occurred. This explanation serves as background for his recounting of a story in which he prevented such a premature disposal. After releasing the body and administering a stimulant to the dying man, he not only regained consciousness "but spoke to us, very feebly, but yet audibly and asked that he be buried in a coffin of wood like a white man..., "not covered in rocks as was the local custom. This illustrated incident conveys the "primitive" nature of Eskimo beliefs with its pagan fears and beliefs in tension with the "proper" approach to Christian death and its rituals.⁶⁰ Given the constraints of the medium of the time, and the reality of the interactions between missionary and Inuit, this is a scene that was not to be captured on film.⁶¹ Relying on this type of illustration calls into question the ability of the photograph to adequately serve the missionary's purpose. At the same time, however, this drawing lacks the authenticity and immediacy of the Eskimo

⁶⁰ A.L. Fleming, "Should We Hang Children?" Toronto Star Weekly (4 February 1928), clipping in GSA, M70-1, Series 4-B, Box 6; Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, Plate 6, facing page 14.

⁶¹ Other rituals, such as baptisms and confirmations, were more readily recorded. Fleming proudly relates the story of "probably the first time in history that a motion picture has been taken of an Eskimo christening." A.B. Cooper, "God in the Arctic," Sunday Circle, 8 July 1933; clipping in GSA, M70-1, Series 4-B, Box 6.

photographs that were a prominent feature of lantern slide lectures and reproduced in Dwellers in Arctic Night.

How then to portray the goals and successes of the missionary program - the hoped for and imagined end to primitive ways - yet retain the power and resonance, as Fleming recognized, of the photographic image? Through juxtaposition of image and text (both spoken and written), and presenting contrasting images together, the lantern slide shows (in conjunction with Fleming's films and publications) worked towards building a visual language of the transition from darkness to light. This was in part accomplished through the photographs' apparent ability to render visible not only facial features but underlying feelings and beliefs.⁶² In "Across the Canadian Arctic," the commentary for a slide entitled "An Unevangelized Eskimo from Baffin Land" proclaimed: "You have only to look at this face to realise that the light of the Gospel had not yet penetrated into the heart and mind." Significantly, this portrait was immediately followed by that of Sow-ne-ah-lo (an influential leader who, although strongly opposed to Christianity, before dying instructed the young men of his village to "learn the commands of God and the words of Jesus, and believe...") and Pudlo, a Native catechist who exemplified in word and deed the faithful Christian leader.⁶³ Native faces and bodies, captured on film, could not

⁶² See Poignant, "Surveying the Field of View," 56-61.

⁶³ While Pudlo's story is briefly sketched out in the lecture notes, for that of Sow-ne-ah-lo the presenter is referred to Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (see 103-110).

only function as contributions to and evidence of "scientific knowledge," but were also believed to convey the unseen matters of the heart and mind.

With only the written text, it is difficult to know with certainty the pictures used throughout this lantern slide lecture. They were likely drawn from Fleming's own collection of photographs, which were supplemented by lantern slides of Canadian government pictures. His own pictures included those taken during his early missionary days based at Lake Harbour (a number of these images also appeared in Dwellers in Arctic Night), as well as shots from his recent arctic trips. Given the difficulty of reconstructing the visual aspects of the lantern slide lecture, the following analysis of "Eskimo" portraits will derive from the published record, which, it is reasonable to assume, paralleled the meaning and intentions, though not the performative aspects and conditions of reception, of the public showings in Britain and Canada.⁶⁴

One of the first studies of the Eskimo in Dwellers in Arctic Night, a portrait of an unidentified Inuk man and captioned "An Unevangelized Eskimo," was implicitly contrasted with the later image of "A Native Christian Leader" (although here the image flow was not as controlled as seen in the 1930 lantern slide lecture) [see Figures 18 and 19].⁶⁵ While both pictures frame their subjects according to the conventions of portrait photography, composing head and

⁶⁴ While the photographs in Dwellers in Arctic Night were unattributed, Fleming notes that about half were taken by him, the rest coming from the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, the Geological Survey of Canada, and HBC and Revillon Freres fur traders (ix). GSA, P7516, Fleming Photograph Collection, Items 1 to 322 is a surviving photo-album depicting Fleming's second stay at Lake Harbour (1913-15).

⁶⁵ Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night, Plate 7, facing page 15; Plate 31, facing page 111.



AN UNEVANGELIZED ESKIMO.

Figure 18: "An Unevangelized Eskimo."
Source: A.L. Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (Westminster and Toronto: SPG and MSCC, 1928), Plate 7.



Figure 19: "A Native Christian Leader."

Source: A.L. Fleming, Dwellers in Arctic Night (Westminster and Toronto: SPG and MSCC, 1928), Plate 31.



Figure 20: "Eskimo Mother and Child, Perry River. These are pagans." and "Eskimo Boys, Sam (the taller) and Ben."
Source: Fellowship of the Arctic (1929).



Figure 21: "I Want To Go To School!"
Source: The Arctic Mission (1932).

shoulder shots of their subjects in three-quarters view, these faces can be seen to reflect subtly the inner qualities implied by their respective captions (and explicitly addressed in the lantern slide lecture). In a slightly out of focus photograph, the "unevangelized" man, unshaven and with hair unkempt, casts a sidelong glance at the viewer. In contrast, the "Christian Leader" while likewise dressed in traditional attire, stares purposefully off into the distance, the crisp image capturing the details of his trimmed moustache and groomed hair.

A more explicit example of this visual contrast appeared the year following the publication of Dwellers in Arctic Night, in the first issue of The Fellowship of the Arctic (renamed The Arctic News).⁶⁶ Initiated in 1929, this yearly illustrated newsletter reported on the activities and achievements of missionaries in the field. Produced out of the Diocese of the Arctic office (located at Church House, Toronto), The Arctic News was distributed to those in Canada and Great Britain who donated money to the cause and became members of the Fellowship of the Arctic.⁶⁷ Two photographs on the back page of this first issue, placed side by side, evoked a vivid visual argument for the possibilities of missionary success. On the left, a young woman, seated with a three or four year old child on her lap, stood for the unredeemed Native: "Eskimo Mother and Child, Perry River. These are pagans." Beside this image the studio portrait of "Eskimo Boys, Sam (the taller) and Ben," cheerfully sporting their Lakefield Preparatory School

⁶⁶ This publication, after several changes of name and format, settled into the four page The Arctic News: The Fellowship of the Arctic.

⁶⁷ "This is a fellowship of prayer and practical help for Arctic Missionaries and to its members periodic publications are sent from time to time." GSA, M71-4, Diocese of the Arctic Records, Series 7-4, "The Fellowship of the Arctic: Freed from the spirit," Pew Leaflet, n.d.

uniforms, testified to the civilizing possibilities when the young Eskimo was released from the "negative" influences of Eskimo culture [see **Figure 20**].⁶⁸

In this classic example of the photographic representation of Native "improvement," the imagined Eskimo is transformed. In this juxtaposition of photographs one can discern an echo of the late nineteenth century image of the vanishing Indian in terms of "cultural extinction," as seen in the promotional postcards of the Carlisle Indian School (Pennsylvania), which pictured "incoming students in native costume and long hair wearing worried expressions, then the same students a few years later in school uniforms, the boys with short hair and the girls coiffured, looking more at ease in the now-familiar surroundings."⁶⁹ Officials of the Canadian government's Department of Indian Affairs also recognized the propaganda potential of the transformation photograph. Two portraits of Thomas Moore, published in the Department of Indian Affairs Annual Report for 1897, portrayed both before - a very "Indian" looking young boy, from his moccasins to his braided hair, stands in front of a fur backdrop - and after - locks shorn and wearing the drab regulation suit of the Regina Industrial School, a slightly older Moore poses with hand on hips and feet crossed in front of him. In his disciplined stance and in the uniform of the Regina

⁶⁸ It is worth noting that this photograph was chosen over that of a more sombre looking Sam and Ben taken during the same studio sitting (GSA, P8495, Diocese of the Arctic Photograph Collection, item 101; caption on back of photograph: "Ben and Sam brought out by A.L.F. to Lakefield School for one year as a try out. The experiment was not repeated.")

⁶⁹ Brian W. Dippie, "Representing the Other: The North American Indian," in Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography*, 136.

Industrial School, Moore is meant to convey the tamed savage, as domesticated and contained as the potted plant he stands beside.⁷⁰

Fleming, unsuccessful in obtaining photographs "of the two boys in native clothing," had to be content with the "after" images of Christian education.⁷¹ Yet in reducing the complex life stories of Samuel Pudlutt and Benjamin Oudlanak into simplified two-dimensional images of the "civilizing" process, "Sam and Ben," like the students of the Carlisle Indian School and the Regina Industrial School of the previous century, came to represent an assimilationist ideal of religion and education united in a project of cultural re-formation. As The Fellowship of the Arctic noted, amongst the items on the comings and goings of arctic missionaries:

Two Eskimo boys named Sam and Ben are at Lakefield Preparatory School, Ontario, and are making rapid progress. The other boys in the school are very good to them. This is simply an experiment made at the request of Ben's father. It is earnestly hoped that friends will come forward with sufficient funds, so that the boys may be kept at school until educated, and then sent back as Missionaries to their own people.⁷²

Mixed in with the early signs of success and the appeal for funds was a statement of the ultimate goal: the re-making of Sam and Ben into the likenesses of their Christian teachers and schoolmates. Fleming, who took a personal hand in arranging this "experiment," put matters more bluntly in his letter to O.S. Finnie,

⁷⁰ Department of Indian Affairs, Canadian Sessional Papers, Vol. XXXI, No. 11 (1897), reproduced in Brock V. Silversides, The Face Pullers: Photographing Native Canadians, 1871-1939 (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1994), 105, originals held at the Saskatchewan Archives Board (R-A 8223-1 and R-A 8223-2).

⁷¹ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 13, Ralph Parsons (District Manager, HBC) to Fleming, 18 June 1928.

⁷² The Fellowship of the Arctic, (1929), 3.

director of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch: "Only let me say that the idea is not to educate these boys and send them back to the simple primitive Eskimo life, but to send them back for all practical purposes as white men."⁷³

After being approached by John Ell Oudlanak, a prominent leader amongst the Inuit of Southampton Island, to have his son educated "outside," Fleming consulted with officials of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch about the plausibility of this "experiment" and enlisted the support of the HBC. While recognizing "the dangers involved in bringing these children from the Far North to civilization...", Fleming saw great possibilities as well. As he formulated the church's social policies in the north during his early years as administrator of the Arctic Missions, schools loomed large in his mind as instruments of Christian advancement. In Fleming's understanding, the Eskimo were "simply an undeveloped race" who, given the advantages of the white man's education, would be able to advance and reach their potential. As the caption beneath a picture of a little wide-eyed Inuk boy in the newsletter of the Fellowship of the Arctic pleaded: "I Want To Go School" [see Figure 21].⁷⁴

Such photographs remain problematic, disturbing reminders of an ideology of cultural dominance that underlay the very real humane goals of "educating" the

⁷³ GSA, M70-1, Series 3-B, file 13, Fleming to O.S. Finnie, 22 November 1928; see also Fleming to Rev. A.W. MacKenzie (Principal, Lakefield School), 4 May 1928: "When they return to the North it will be really as White men and not as Esquimaux."

⁷⁴ Ibid., Fleming to O.S. Finnie, 22 November 1928; Ralph Parson (District Manager, HBC) to Fleming, 18 June 1928; *The Arctic Mission*, (1932), 2. Fleming worked closely with the Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission of the MSCC, recruiting staff, raising funds and formulating policy (see GSA, M70, Series 3-B, file 17).

Native.⁷⁵ And in the selectivity of their presentation, they equate education with "assimilation" and "acculturation," masking the failure of church and state attempts at Native education, as well as the specific historical circumstances behind the individual images.⁷⁶ Although captured as "white men" for a fleeting moment, the experiences of the two nine year-old boys boarding at Lakefield School did not live up to the hoped-for transformation. Samuel Pudlutt and Benjamin Oudlanak, after attaining a level of literacy in the classroom and learning sports on the playing field, returned to the eastern arctic after spending much of the second half of their school year ill, the victims of a lack of immunity to influenza, pneumonia, measles, and tonsillitis.⁷⁷ As Fleming himself had acknowledged, the physical dangers of such an "experiment" were great. Yet overriding this concern was the hoped-for elevation of the Native. It was this belief that justified the continued "need" for Indian and Eskimo residential schools in the North; that saw as necessary and desirable the separation of the younger generation from their "pagan" parents.⁷⁸ The desired goal was

⁷⁵ For a recent assessment of the intents and effects of Native education (particularly residential schooling) in Canada see J.R. Miller, "Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy," Ethnohistory 37, 4 (1990), 386-415 and Robin Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as Colonialist Alibi?" Canadian Historical Review LXXV, No. 4 (December 1994), 548-52 for a critique of Miller's interpretation.

⁷⁶ See Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill, "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," in Barman, Hebert and McCaskill, Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1: The Legacy (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 1-22.

⁷⁷ "Eskimo Boys's Romance Finds Tragic Sequel in Return to Arctic: Archdeacon's Experiment Fails Not in Proof of Intelligence But in Physical Adaptability," Toronto Star (26 June 1929), clipping in GSA, Fleming Papers, Series 4-B, Box 6.

⁷⁸ In an unpublished manuscript, Fleming's second wife, Elizabeth Lukens Fleming, in a simplified and distorted fashion, credited the "Sam and Ben" affair and the attendant publicity with arousing the conscience of the Canadian Government "and there developed the beginnings of education for the children of the North." Nonetheless, one can discern from this passage the place this "experiment" held in her husband's thinking. GSA, M71-4, Series 5-6-1, Box 21, Elizabeth

encapsulated in the image of Aboriginal boys and girls in the uniforms of "civilization," dutifully displaying themselves as dark-skinned "white men" to the camera's gaze.

As Anglican-run institutions sprang up in the Northwest Territories and Yukon under Fleming's regime (his obituary proclaimed that "during the Bishop's oversight sixteen mission stations, two modern hospitals, nine churches, four residential schools, four chapels and two days schools were established and equipped"), the opportunities for visual propaganda increased proportionally.⁷⁹ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Fleming's yearly pamphlets on his northern visitations presented an image of the successful movement from primitivism to civilization. Churches and schools and hospitals (built and run by Anglicans, of course) dot the landscape, while Eskimos and northern Indians begin the journey towards the establishment of "an indigenous Church in Arctic Canada."⁸⁰

The captioned pictures which appeared in Bishop Fleming's review of his 1943 trips to Aklavik, Fort McPherson and the delta of the Mackenzie River in the western arctic and to Eskimo Point in Hudson Bay, for example, can be read as a photo-essay which constructed its own visual argument for continued Anglican involvement in northern social services. The Fleming photograph featured on the cover, a waist-up portrait of an Aboriginal woman in a starched

Lukens Fleming, untitled typescript, n.d., 25-6.

⁷⁹ Obituary, The Canadian Churchman (4 June 1953), clipping in GSA, M70-1, Series 4-B, Box 6. In The Arctic News (1949), 4, Fleming reported that the total cost involved was "well over \$268,000."

⁸⁰ Fleming, Twilight, 14.

Arctic Advance



Figure 22: "Lucy Nersyoo, first graduate Auxiliary Nurse north of the Arctic Circle. Lucy is a full-blooded Loucheux Indian and graduated in June, 1942, after a three years' course at All Saints' Hospital, Aklavik, N.W.T."

Photographer: A.L. Fleming.

Source: A.L. Fleming, Arctic Advance (n.p., 1943), cover.



Figure 23: "Some of the Brownies (Junior Girl Guides) at Aklavik, N.W.T. It has been found that the training developed by the Girl Guides, Brownies, Boy Scouts and Cubs is of great value in teaching the native children the meaning of co-operation. Under normal circumstances the Indians and Eskimos are individualists."

Photographer: A.L. Fleming.

Source: A.L. Fleming, Arctic Advance (n.p., 1943), 13.

THE DIOCESE OF THE ARCTIC



A Pagan Eskimo Family From Victoria Island.

Figure 24: "A Pagan Eskimo Family From Victoria Island."
Source: Brochure for The Diocese of the Arctic, 1939.

white nurse's uniform, posing with her hands behind her back in front of the door to a building, strikingly linked Native improvement to white institutions in this Arctic Advance [see Figure 22]⁸¹. Inside the pamphlet's pages, the northerners pictured, both Native and white, are invariably connected to the various incarnations of the Anglican church and its good works: outside of All Saints' Cathedral, Aklavik, a procession honours the ordination of the Rev. James Edward Sittichinli, "a full-blooded Loucheux Indian, as a 'deacon in the Church of God;'" Nurse Brooks, of All Saints' Hospital, says goodbye to a healthy-looking female patient and her baby; a group of young smiling girls, sporting Brownies' tunics and caps, pose informally for the Bishop's camera [see Figure 23].⁸²

The accompanying caption to this last image is particularly emphatic in its appeal for a new order in the north, modelled on the Imperial ideal:

It has been found that the training developed by the Girl Guides, Brownies, Boy Scouts and Cubs is of great value in teaching the native children the meaning of co-operation. Under normal circumstances the Indians and Eskimos are individualists.

This juxtaposition of image and text displays a curious expression of ethnographic understanding; more importantly, perhaps, it confirmed the belief in the transformative abilities of discipline and training, positioning these techniques of power as a major and continuing factor in the Anglican program. In *Twilight*, Fleming's visual and written report of his episcopal visitation of 1941, Canon

⁸¹ Archibald Lang Fleming, *Arctic Advance* (n.p., 1943), cover. The woman is later identified as "Lucy Nersyoo, first graduate Auxillary Nurse north of the Arctic Circle. Lucy is a full-blooded Loucheux Indian and graduated in June, 1942, after a three years' course at All Saints' Hospital, Aklavik, N.W.T." (14). Lucy Nersyoo was earlier featured baking bread, with an apron and smiling face, in Fleming, *Twilight*, 7.

⁸² Fleming, *Arctic Advance*, 3; 7; 13.

Shepard (principal of the residential school at Aklavik), traded his robes, as pictured a few pages before, for the stetson, cravat and breeches of the Scout Master. Shepard leads a troupe of uniformed Aboriginal Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Brownies on, one presumes, a trek towards "civilization," imagined in the terms of Empire and Christianity.⁸³

As portrayed in Fleming's photographs and films, Aboriginal people were integrated into a vision of the north as part of Dominion and Empire, members of settled communities that were centred around the services of church (and much less visibly, commerce and state). But the arctic was still a Twilight Land, "pagans" continuing to co-exist with the converted [see Figure 24].⁸⁴ There was still a need for itinerant missionaries, men like Canon Webster, who was pictured with loaded sled and dog team embarking on a journey through his far flung northern parish. The arctic environment imposed its own constraints on the advance of Christian progress - one need confront and overcome trials and tribulations such as the "ice barriers encountered during winter trail." And so the work of reaching the "true nomads either on the coast or over the wide open spaces of the Arctic prairies" continued, while audiences in southern Canada, the

⁸³ Ibid., 13; Fleming, *Twilight*, 7; 13. See also the photograph by D.B. Marsh in *The Arctic News* (Spring 1946), 1, in which a Union Jack waving parade of Aklavik Scouts, Cubs, Brownies and Guides march right out of the picture's frame.

⁸⁴ See, for example, the "Pagan Eskimo Family of Victoria Island" on the cover of the brochure appealing for members and gifts for The Fellowship of the Arctic, enclosed in *Sentinels of the North*, 1939; and the portrait and description of Ne-a-ko, "previously described in our publications as 'A Pagan Eskimo from the Baker Lake District...'[he] is now able to take a very active part in the services and can follow Morning and Evening Prayer without difficulty." in *The Arctic News* (June 1939), 3.

United States and Great Britain followed and (hopefully) supported this great missionary adventure.⁸⁵

Fleming's northern pictures received a wide distribution throughout the North Atlantic world, both in his own publications and lectures, and through the publicity he secured as Archibald the Arctic, head of the Arctic Missions.⁸⁶ He was a tireless lecturer; on his 1937 British tour, for example, he averaged twelve speaking engagements a week, travelling as far afield as Edinburgh, Scotland and Dublin and Kildare, Ireland. The following year, he travelled extensively through North America, "preaching in churches and giving lectures and addresses to all manner of organizations." This included three separate trips to the United States (including stops in Washington, Baltimore, Long Island, Philadelphia and Grand Rapids, Michigan) while his Canadian tours took him from Quebec City to Victoria. In Vancouver Fleming "made a record," speaking nineteen times in six days, including a radio broadcast. He also spoke on BBC radio, and according to his autobiography was the first bishop to be seen on television.⁸⁷

Fleming was also increasingly occupied in the growing business and organization of his diocese. With the pressures of publicity work and administration, Fleming's own northern experiences became relegated to a yearly tour aboard ship or plane. As his authority as spokesman on the Canadian north

⁸⁵ Fleming, Twilight, 12; 15 (photograph by Canon Webster).

⁸⁶ For a sense of the publicity garnered by "The Flying Bishop" in the British and Canadian press see GSA, M70-1, Series 4-A, Scrapbooks, 1933-34 and 1938 and Series 4-B, clippings, 1926-29.

⁸⁷ The Arctic News (1937), 1 and (1938), 3; Fleming, Archibald the Arctic, 271-72.

grew, his own work became further removed from the field. One way to counter this tendency was to encourage and make use of the contributions of Anglican workers, adding the touch of authenticity and local knowledge. In a sense this was the function of The Arctic News, in its publication of photos and extracts of letters from the North.⁸⁸

At the same time, however, Bishop Fleming capitalized on his own presence. He frequently drew upon his history as a missionary among the people of Baffin Land, proof of the depth of his own northern knowledge.⁸⁹ More immediately, Fleming relied heavily on his own skills as photographer and filmmaker to provide a constantly updated visual inventory of his travels and observations. As a producer of northern images, Fleming controlled and composed a selective picture of the North on the road to Christian advancement. Along with his secular counterparts of commerce and state, Fleming was devoted to bringing the North into the modern world, capitalizing on photographic representation as a potent tool for refashioning northern bodies and the landscape for the consumption of audiences throughout North America and Britain.

⁸⁸ As in "Active Field Workers Tell the Story," The Arctic Mission (1931), 2.

⁸⁹ Note that Archibald the Arctic, while covering his whole career as a missionary, devotes over half its pages to Fleming's four years on Baffin Land.

CHAPTER III
THE BUSINESS OF REPRESENTING THE NORTH:
FILMMAKERS, PHOTOGRAPHERS AND THE FUR TRADERS
OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

The HBC's 250th Anniversary and The Romance of the Far Fur Country: Natives and the North on Display, 1920

The year 1920 marked an auspicious occasion for the oldest business enterprise in northern and western Canada, as the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) celebrated the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation. From its corporate headquarters in London, the directors of the HBC envisioned an extensive celebration. In addition to the various incentives offered to company employees, ranging from long service medals to a revised pension structure, they foresaw a more public celebration, engaging the services of publicity experts from London and Chicago to coordinate events.¹ Material relating the story of the company's growth and contributions to Canada and the Empire was produced. An official history of the company was commissioned for distribution to distinguished friends and patrons in Britain and North America, and 20,000 "talking books" (a gramophone record outlining the company's past and present, mounted in a book)

¹ Holford Bottomley, Publicity Specialist (formerly with the National War Savings Committee) oversaw events from London, while Louis E. Wilson travelled to Canada as on-the-spot advisor; Vanderhoof and Company (Chicago) were in charge of general United States publicity; and Clifton Thomas, a Chicago advertising man, headed up the Winnipeg publicity bureau especially established for the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations.

were to be given out through the retail stores as souvenirs to children.² A series of historical pageants was designed to take place in May of 1920 in the western Canadian cities where the HBC maintained a presence through its land department and retail stores, while the fur trade district managers organized local feasts and entertainments at the company's approximately 150 fur trade posts.³

With the advice of the Canadian Advisory Committee in Winnipeg (the site of the HBC's Canadian head office) and input from company officials and employees, anniversary celebrations began to take shape. Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, and Victoria witnessed historical displays and costumed parades through the city's streets, coinciding with the visit of the Governor of the HBC, Sir Robert Molesworth Kindersley.⁴ The Winnipeg version was unique, as the Red River Pageant presented a reenactment of "250 Years of Friendship" between the HBC and its Aboriginal trappers and customers. In a carefully orchestrated and rehearsed display of loyalty and connection to the HBC, spectators, photographers and newsreel camera operators were presented with a timeless version of the "Hudson's Bay Company Indian." A flotilla of

² Sir William Schooling, The Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1920 (London: Hudson's Bay House, 1920); Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), T26-1, Hudson's Bay Company Talking Book; Canadian Committee Office Records, RG2, series 3, file 1, "Synopsis of proposals and operations in connection with 250th Anniversary Celebrations, Stores Department," [January 1920]. In addition to the "De Luxe" leather-bound edition of several hundred, another 1,159 copies of the official history were distributed, free of charge, to libraries, schools and public repositories; see London Office Records, Secretary's Dossiers, A.102, file 53, Anniversary Brochures.

³ Ibid., RG 2, series 3, file 6, "Report on 250th Anniversary Celebrations of The Hudson's Bay Company in May 1920," [Louis E. Wilson], 9 July 1920; The Beaver (October 1920), 2-5 and 7-9 provides a brief synopsis of the Anniversary events.

⁴ Kindersley was also director of the Bank of England at the time, and formerly director of the National War Savings Committee during the Great War.

colourfully dressed Natives, who had travelled to Winnipeg from as far afield as the Hudson Bay Coast and the interior of British Columbia, sailed down the Red River in York boats and canoes to historic Lower Fort Garry. Bedecked in feathers and buckskin, they danced "Indian dances," received medals, and smoked the Pipe of Peace with Governor Kindersley.⁵

In his initial proposal for a Red River Pageant, James Thomson, the HBC's Land (and later Fur Trade) Commissioner, foresaw: "...what an opportunity for films!! As an object lesson, and an attraction for the public, it would be a superb show." Thomson's recommendation of a central gathering of "loyal" Indians from the company's central and northern districts - representatives of tribes from British Columbia, Athabasca, Mackenzie River, Saskatchewan, Nelson River, Keewatin, James Bay, Lake Superior and Lake Huron were to be selected - for the purposes of meeting the Governor and receiving medals appealed to company officials in both Winnipeg and London.⁶ Edward Fitzgerald, the Deputy Chairman of the Canadian Advisory Committee, was struck by Thomson's "remarks as to the impression such an event would create in the minds of the natives of the North Country." One aspect of the pageant, then, was the intended effect on the Aboriginal participants. According to Thomson's

⁵ "The Fort Garry Historical Pageant: Celebrating a Friendship 250 Years Old!" undated brochure, in HBCA, RG 2, series 74, file 3; series 3, file 2, Programme of Red River Brigade and Indian Reception [by P.H. Godsell], April 1920; and Album No. 35, The Red River Pageant May 3rd, 1920, Commemorating the Hudson's Bay Company's 250th Anniversary; RG 2, series 2, file 3, J. Thomson to E. Fitzgerald, 24 March 1920.

⁶ There was some difficulty encountered in persuading Native peoples from all these areas to attend; a deadly outbreak of influenza in the spring of 1920, for example, hindered participation from Osnaburgh Post (see *ibid.*, RG 2, series 3, file 2, J.D. McKenzie to J. Thomson, 9 April 1920).

reading of the "Indian" mind, prominent hunters and trappers from the more remote northern and interior posts would be suitably impressed by the invitation to come to Winnipeg: "What never ending tales would be told in years to come in the camps on the shores of Stuarts Lake, Hudson Bay, Lake Athabasca and other inland waters!"⁷

The following year, however, the "downfall" of Abraham Beardy, Chief of the York Factory Band, was attributed to his visit to Winnipeg on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations. Chief Beardy, according to the version of events related by the RCMP officer on the scene, appropriated a portion of the band's relief supplies in exchange for beaver, marten and fox furs trapped by several band members. Previously described as "progressive and respected... [and] one of the few members of the Band who is willing to cooperate, to extend personally, a helping hand to those less fortunate than himself...", Beardy was a "much changed man" after returning from his Red River Pageant experience. In the words of Sergeant Thompson: "I thought his arrogance and conceit would wear off and in this respect I was wrong in my expectations."⁸

⁷ Ibid., RG 2, series 3, file 1, James Thomson to Edward Fitzgerald (Deputy Chairman, Canadian Advisory Committee), 3 October 1919; Fitzgerald to Thomson, 7 October 1919.

⁸ Indian Affairs instructed the RCMP to give Chief Beardy a stern warning, but fell short of okaying his deposition as chief as Sergeant Thompson recommended; for his part, Abraham Beardy maintained the confidence of fellow band members, continuing as Chief of the York Factory Band into the 1940s. See National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Indian Affairs Records, RG 10, vol. 7121, file 578/3-5 [1], Sergeant E. Thompson (Port Nelson) to Officer Commanding, Prince Albert, 2 December 1919; Cortlandt Starnes (Assistant Commissioner) to D.C. Scott (Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs), 24 February 1921 and enclosures; J.D. McLean (Assistant Deputy, Indian Affairs) to Commissioner, RCMP, 6 April 1921.

If this example from York Factory sheds light on the difficulty that non-Native observers in Winnipeg and at the northern posts had of either reading or influencing Native behaviour in the ways they wished, the public display of "Indianness" was much easier to manipulate. Local Red River Pageant organizer Philip Godsell expressed concern about the ability of the specially imported northern Natives to live up to public expectations:

Our Indians will be present on this occasion and as you are aware, they are very shy and retiring, and in the presence of a large concourse of white onlookers will not enter into the spirit of this entertainment unless the personnel is vitalized from some other source.

Godsell recommended the hiring of a group of Sioux from near Brandon, Manitoba, to add colour and the right spirit to the pageant. Well worth the extra money, these were the kind of "Indians" needed to provide "this 'show' with [the] swing and snap" required. As Godsell approvingly noted: "These men all have elaborately beaded and attractive costumes which they would furnish, and are in the habit of taking part annually in the Indian pow-wow at the Brandon Exhibition."⁹ And it was Kinnewakan, the "Sioux Chief" (not Abraham Beardy, Chief of the York Factory Band of Crees) who emerged as the "star" of the Pageant, presenting the Pipe of Peace to Governor Kindersley in a photo-opportunity that was widely disseminated in the local and international press [See Figures 25 to 27].¹⁰

⁹ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 3, "Suggested Program, Indian Reception," 25 February 1920.

¹⁰ HBCA, Album 35, item 136; see, for example, "A Day of Days," Winnipeg Tribune (4 May 1920); "An Outpost of Empire: The 250th Anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company," The Graphic [London]. (5 June 1920), 904-905, clipping in HBCA, Section A, series 102, file 51; and The Beaver (May 1922), cover.



Figure 25: "Group of Swampy Cree Indians from Saskatchewan, Keewatin and Moose Factory Districts," Lower Fort Garry, May 1920.

Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Album 35, The Red River Pageant.



Figure 26: "Kinnewakan, Chief of Sioux Tribe or Plains Cree."
Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Album 35, The Red River Pageant.



Figure 27: "What an opportunity for films!!" The scene of the Red River Pageant at Lower Fort Garry.
Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Album 35, The Red River Pageant.

As the London directors recognized, the publicity value of the Red River Pageant was worth the \$25,000 expenditure, and accordingly stressed the importance of "a complete and careful film record" under the company's auspices.¹¹ One of the attractions of the Red River Pageant was its convergence with a view of the "real Indian" as the romantically costumed - yet no longer threatening - warrior of the Plains, and significantly, the reproducibility of this image in photograph and film.¹² In addition to the prominent Winnipeg photography firms present (Foote and James, Rembrandt Studios, and British and Colonial Press were among those represented), the Red River Pageant was filmed for the company, and the footage, assembled with material from the celebrations held in Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria, appeared throughout Canada and the United States.¹³ Almost as important as the enactment of the Red River Pageant itself was the guarantee of the distribution, across space and time, of this version of the HBC-Native relationship, imagined in the terms of company benevolence towards and control over Aboriginal peoples. The image

¹¹ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 1, F.C. Ingrams (London Secretary) to Secretary, Canadian Advisory Committee, 2 December 1919.

¹² As the Manitoba Free Press noted: "There will be real Indians - not the city-tamed kind that may sometimes be seen selling bead purses along Main Street...." "Pageant Plans Are Complete" (28 April 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 2. On the Red River Pageant and its construction of views of the "Indian" see Peter Geller, "Hudson's Bay Company Indians': Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920" in S. Elizabeth Bird, ed., Constructing the Indian: Representation of Native Americans in Popular Culture (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, forthcoming).

¹³ A.M. Wykcoff of New York's Educational Films Corporation was the camera operator; the finished picture, Hudson's Bay Company Celebrates Its Birth (1920), was distributed as part of Pathescope's Canadian National Pictorial series. See HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 5, E. Fitzgerald to H. Burbidge (Stores Commissioner), 14 December 1920.

of the "Indian" was manipulated to suit the evolving mythology of the HBC's version of history and the promotional needs of the company.¹⁴

Original plans had called for a more extensive demonstration of Aboriginal peoples and culture. In September of 1919, the members of the Canadian Advisory Committee, responding to suggestions from London, endorsed the idea that

To bring more closely home to the dwellers in Cities, the work of the Company in the wilds, it is proposed to gather a representative selection of...[Eskimos and Indians] with sleighs, dog teams and other paraphernalia for exhibition and display.¹⁵

It was quickly recognized, however, that bringing Inuit participants to Winnipeg involved "difficulties of transportation and personal risks...and at a time when they (Eskimos) should be providing food for the ensuing year."¹⁶ Fortunately for company publicists, while Inuit were not to appear in person to the city dwellers of western Canada, their likenesses could make the trip. As the Canadian pageants were being organized, two cinematographers set off for Hudson Bay and the eastern arctic. The Romance of the Far Fur Country, as the title of the finished picture suggests, was conceived of and viewed as a "northern film," both in its production (involving extensive travels in "Canada's most northerly territory

¹⁴ One can see similar themes, especially the role of the HBC in developing Canada from a fur trade wilderness to a modern urban society (with less emphasis on the British imperial connections of the 1920s) replayed in the HBC's promotional campaign for its three hundred and twentieth fifth anniversary. See the television commercials advertising the Hudson's Bay Company (viewed on MTN, Winnipeg, 11 and 18 May 1995).

¹⁵ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 1, "Hudson's Bay Company Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary," 12 September 1919.

¹⁶ Ibid., Memo on "250th Anniversary Celebrations," [October 1919].

from the Atlantic Ocean to Hudson's Bay, the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers and along the Pacific Coast") and in its content ("scenery and native life in the far north").¹⁷

The making of a film "depicting the history of the Company and its present working" by sending a "cinematograph operator by the s.s. Nascopie, or other vessel going into Hudson's Bay during the ensuing season, to take films of progress through the ice, Esquimaux Kayak racing, seal hunting..." was initiated by the HBC's London Office.¹⁸ Deputy Governor Charles Sales' business dealings with E.W. Hammons of Educational Films Corporation led to a production arrangement with the New York-based company, which specialized in making and distributing short film subjects for the American market. The London directors' pursuit of profits in the international film business provided the impetus for a motion picture venture, which became an integral component of the elaborate and far-reaching promotional campaign marking the company's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary.¹⁹

¹⁷ "HBC Pageant Pictures Will Run Two Hours," Winnipeg Bulletin (27 April 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1. The title was suggested by Clifton Thomas (series 3, file 35, Thomas to E. Fitzgerald, 12 April 1920). Unfortunately no surviving prints of The Romance of the Far Fur Country (Educational Films, 1920) were located.

¹⁸ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 1, F.C. Ingrams (London Secretary) to A.M. Nanton (Winnipeg), 30 April 1919; series 3, file 33, E.W. Hammons (Educational Films, N.Y.) to HBC Export Department (Montreal), 2 July 1919.

¹⁹ In September of 1919 the HBC set up an American holding company, Alliance Film Securities Corporation, which held majority shares in Educational Film Corporation as well as several other related companies. Holford Lottomley, the London-based publicist commissioned to oversee the anniversary celebrations, was director of Alliance (as was Bruno Wyers, the HBC's New York agent). See London Office Correspondence, A.92, series 45, file 1, Organization chart, 15 November 1926; for further on the HBC's foray into the film business in the 1920s, see Film Business Records, A.101, series 1 and 2.

Camera operators embarked on two separate expeditions between July and January of 1919-20, covering most of the company's North American field of operations. In the first leg of the "Moving Picture Expedition" (as HBC correspondence termed it), H.M. Wyckoff was secured by Educational Films to travel into Hudson Bay aboard the Nascopie, the company's arctic transport vessel piloted by Captain Edmund Mack. In an illustration of the importance attached to the film by company officials, Canadian Secretary Edward Fitzgerald arranged for a modification of plans just prior to the start of the expedition. Fitzgerald intervened to ensure that an additional operator accompany Wyckoff north, as "in the event of anything happening to this man, the whole purpose of the trip would be defeated." Despite the extra five thousand dollar cost, London management approved of the change.²⁰

Mr. Wyckoff and Mr. Derr shot views of the company's posts along the Labrador coast, in the Bay and along Hudson Strait, as well as scenes of the Aboriginal peoples encountered. While the Nascopie visited Lake Harbour, an Eskimo picture story was recorded, engaging local participants to stage an entertainment for the camera crew. For the second stage of filming, Wyckoff accompanied HBC veteran Captain Thomas P. O'Kelly to Calgary, Vancouver and the Pacific Coast, then on a trek through the Athabasca region by scow, canoe and dog team, to Fort Chipewyan to record scenes of fur trapping in the region. Mack and O'Kelly both took a great interest in the assignment, going

²⁰ Ibid., RG2, series 2, file 127, Fitzgerald to Sir Augustus M. Nanton, 4 July 1919; series 3, file 33, Fitzgerald to London, 25 June 1919. The two were described as "fine moving picture men who are great friends and will work in harmony for business in question." Ibid., Bruno Wyers to E. Fitzgerald, 3 July 1919.

beyond providing transportation and general expertise to suggesting and arranging the filming of appropriate camera subjects. While Wyckoff's vision of the final film was respected, the content of the filmed footage reflected, in many ways, an image of the HBC's northern involvement from a company perspective.²¹

HBC officials in London and Winnipeg eagerly and anxiously awaited the finished film. In January, Fitzgerald offered to send a "Hudson's Bay man" to New York to assist Educational Films staff with cutting, assembling and titling, "so as to have fullest possible advantage on local colour and atmosphere." At the end of February, following the preliminary work of developing and printing the 18,000 feet of film, publicity experts Louis Wilson and Clifton Thomas travelled to the United States to advise on the film, although they were instructed to be "guided by Hammons and Wyckoff's expert advice." They recommended that the footage be cut by half, to about two hours of viewing time (8,500 feet). According to Wilson: "Although the entire film was of great human interest, it was considered advisable only to utilise sections that could be assembled in such a way as to contain the idea of a complete story."²²

This was in keeping with Wilson's idea of the place of the film within overall celebration activities. Although the London Committee initially

²¹ Ibid., series 3, file 33, Edmund Mack to E. Fitzgerald, 13 August 1919 (and enclosed "List of Pictures"); series 2, file 127, Thomas P. O'Kelly to E. Fitzgerald, 6 October 1919; series 3, file 34, O'Kelly to Fitzgerald, 5 January 1920 and enclosures. For his part in the making of the motion picture and other anniversary celebrations duties, O'Kelly received a \$1,000 bonus (series 1, file 2, Minutes of Canadian Advisory Committee, 4 June 1920).

²² Ibid., series 3, file 34, Fitzgerald to Hammons, 13 January 1920; series 3, file 3, E. Fitzgerald to C.M. Thomas, 8 April 1920; series 2, file 6, "Report on 250th Anniversary Celebrations," [Louis Wilson], 9 July 1920.

envisioned the film's showing at the company's stores or in Exhibition Halls accompanied "with special lectures, afternoon teas or musical entertainments...." Wilson decided that motion picture theatres would provide the greatest publicity and an optimum viewing experience. In order to exhibit the film free to the public, a deal was struck with "the most powerful Moving Picture Company in Canada." For a set payment, Allen Theatre Enterprises of Toronto opened up their "best houses" in Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver and Victoria for three days of continuous showings to coincide with the anniversary celebrations in each centre.²³ As the organization of the anniversary promotion evolved, Wilson oversaw the marketing of The Romance of the Far Fur Country as part of his overall scheme. He believed that "bearing in mind our object in suppressing any criticism that still existed in the mind of a section of the public in reference to the Celebrations being an Advertising Scheme, a neutral centre was created for distribution of the free invitations sent out to the public."²⁴ In effect, local business concerns co-sponsored the film's exhibition, handling tickets and thereby gaining public exposure. Local celebration organizers in Winnipeg, however, held their own ideas as how to attract the appropriate audience for the company's northern picture. Proposals from the city's newspapers to publish entrance coupons in exchange for free advertising were turned down. Instead, arrangements were made to distribute tickets at a special booth set up at the

²³ Ibid., series 74, file 1, McLaughlin to J. Thomson, 23 April 1920 and Jay Allen to Hudson's Bay Company, 10 April 1920.

²⁴ Ibid., series 3, file 6, "Report on 250th Anniversary Celebrations," [Louis Wilson], 9 July 1920.

company's own department store, believing that "this method will meet with the greatest measure of success, and that the tickets will reach the more desirable class of people." The goal was not to pack the house "with people who would be attracted because the show was 'free'" but to target the promotion to a specific audience. Good store customers, the middle class consumers of the HBC's material wares, were especially sought-after to consume the images of Canada's northern lands and peoples.²⁵

Other "desirable" audiences included school children and the company's own staff. In Edmonton and Calgary invitations were sent to the public and separate school boards for a special morning show, playing up the "educational" value of the film in conjunction with the accompanying pageants held in these two cities. As well, showings for HBC staff became part of the entertainment and excitement of the festivities. In Winnipeg, the day of the Red River Pageant was a staff holiday, and "to finish off the day, in a manner which will vividly impress all present" staff were invited to the Allen Theatre to "witness the special Hudson's Bay picture." At the more modest celebration in London, a staff dinner was held, accompanied by music and selections from The Romance of the Far Fur Country. Moving pictures of the HBC's far-reaching fur trading operations, while entertaining, were also intended to "impress," to provide a lesson to HBC customers, school children and staff alike concerning the history of the company and its present day role in the commercial life of the Empire.²⁶

²⁵ Ibid., series 3, file 2, H.F. Harman (Assistant Land Commissioner) to Fitzgerald, 22 April 1920; F. Sparling (General Manager, Winnipeg Store) to Harman, 22 April 1920.

²⁶ Ibid., series 3, file 4, Thomas O'Kelly to E. Fitzgerald, 26 April 1920 and 30 April 1920; series 3, file 2, H.F. Harman to E. Fitzgerald, 15 April 1920; series 3, file 5, F.C. Ingrams to E. Fitzgerald,

The gathering of Aboriginal participants in Winnipeg for the Red River Pageant provided a further audience for The Romance of the Far Country [see Figure 28]. Arranged as an "effective publicity 'stunt...'" a block of one hundred seats [at the Allen Theatre] nearest the orchestra were roped off for accommodation of the Red Men." According to Clifton Thomas, the assembled Natives were all "deeply interested" in the film, and were very vocal in their response to scenes of familiar locales and conditions. "The Lake Superior District Indians," for example, uttered "guttural exclamations" when shots of moose were shown. "An instant bestirring of the hunting instinct was apparent... [and] Exclamations translatable into 'Shoot him,' 'Watch them,' 'Get your gun' were heard from several of the Indians." The "men from the Far North" were likewise interested in the trapping scenes depicted on film.²⁷

In this report of the Aboriginal response to the picture show, the assumption was that stirred by these realistic scenes of land and animals, the "Indian" was deeply affected by the images passing by on the screen. Unlike the seasoned middle class motion picture goer of Winnipeg or Chicago, however, the Indian was seen to react in unusual ways:

spontaneous outburst of cheers, shrieks and war cries among the Indians... was something unique for the citizens of Winnipeg in attendance at the Theatre. Children-in-farms were frightened by the demonstration. Two babies were carried out.

18 May 1920.

²⁷ Ibid., series 3, file 6, C. Thomas to E. Fitzgerald, 26 May 1920.



Figure 28: Red River Pageant Participants outside Winnipeg's Allen Theatre, attending a showing of The Romance of the Far Fur Country.

Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Head Office Photograph Collection, 1987/363/A-15/129.

Yet despite this display of unbridled primitivism, these men were "well satisfied and pleased with their trip to the Theatre...", suitably impressed, like the citizens of Winnipeg, by the motion picture portrayal of the HBC and its field of operations. Thomas took this as a starting point for suggesting a further use of The Romance of the Fur Trade Country. Making copies of the part of the film dealing with "the Eskimo country" and sending them and half a dozen projectors North "should be of immense value in good-will, giving the Hudson's Bay Company a still stronger position in the esteem of the Ungava and Baffinland people as against the Company's opposition." Motion pictures were seen as effective propaganda for both the "Native" and the "citizen."²⁸

Thomas' suggestion to send The Romance of the Far Fur Country to be viewed by those who appeared in the film and other Inuit was not, apparently, acted upon, although the showing of films to Inuit spectators was soon to be seized upon by the HBC, the federal government and northern missionaries. The main use of the Hudson's Bay Company film was its exhibition in moving picture theatres in conjunction with other anniversary events, where the appeal to the public capitalized on the film's northern material. Viewers were asked "What Do You Know of the Great Canadian Northland?" and invited to "travel over 2,000 miles through the North, sitting in the Allen Theatre."²⁹

²⁸ Ibid., C. Thomas to E. Fitzgerald, 26 May 1920. The main opposition in question was Revillon Freres, a French company which operated fur trade posts throughout Labrador and Canada at this time.

²⁹ Calgary Herald, [May 1920], clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1.

Promotional materials focused on The Romance of the Far Fur Country as an expression of Northern adventure. Newspaper articles (based on the company's press releases) extolled the success of the film's production in the face of dangerous northern conditions. As the headline in the Vancouver Sun announced: "Faced Death to Obtain Pictures / Wonderful Reels Taken In Frozen North To Be Shown Here." In this tale of the quest for northern images, cameraman Wyckoff was elevated to heroic stature (while his co-operator on the first leg of the trip was never even mentioned). Wyckoff's expedition with Captain O'Kelly was described in mythic terms, as they became lost in a blinding snowstorm during their trek through fur trade country: "They faced starvation. Their half-breed drivers mutinied. Wolves killed their best dogs. In these frozen solitudes they got their pictures at the risk of their lives." The making of the film itself was a story of triumph over adversity, adding, somewhat paradoxically, to both the "life-like realism" and the "romance" of the resulting picture.³⁰

Publicity experts rewriting the story of the Moving Picture Expedition from their offices in Chicago drew on images of the Northlands that were current in North American popular culture. Since the mid-teens, the American motion picture industry replayed the stories and themes of Rex Beach and Jack London,

³⁰ Vancouver Sun (27 April 1920). The papers in Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver all ran similar stories, liberally quoting and paraphrasing the press release prepared by the Chicago firm handling the HBC's publicity; see HBCA, RG 2, series 74, file 1, enclosures with letter by Walter Noble Burns, Statistician, Vanderhoof and Company, 16 April 1920. It is worth noting that in Kelly's reports to HBC headquarters in Winnipeg, he did note extremely cold weather conditions and difficulty securing appropriate winter clothing, resulting in some hardship during the return trip from Fort McMurray to Fort Chipewyan. These official reports, however, tell a very different story from the sensationalistic accounts published in the newspapers. See RG 2, series 3, file 34, O'Kelly to Fitzgerald, 8 November 1919 and 5 January 1920.

writers who established a vivid literature of the northern frontier in their tales of the Klondike.³¹ The Romance of the Far Fur Country, while not a picture of gold rush adventure, could be framed as a story of the battle against the elements "in the winter solitudes beyond civilization's farthest frontiers."³² The ad for the film showing in Edmonton explicitly made these connections between the Hudson's Bay Company film and the fictionalized North, referring to "Rex Beach's stirring tales of the fierce Northland... [and] the wild lure of it all with Robert Service."

But now this fascinating "Far Fur Country," unvarnished, in all its engrossing romance, is coming to Edmonton - to pass before you upon a living silver page instead of a printed one - to entertain you as you have seldom been entertained before.

At the same time that the film was conventionalized in familiar terms, through the references to a previous literature of the North, it was also set apart as unique, in its portrayal of "Scenes Never Shown Anywhere Before." The "lure of photographs" and the lure of the frozen North came together, taking both filmmaker and viewer "across white deserts where camera never clicked before."³³

One of the moving picture's selling points, in this regard, was the rarity of the film's portrayal of the seldom seen Inuit. The Vancouver Province, for

³¹ See Frank Norris, "Popular Images of the North in Literature and Film," The Northern Review 8/9 (Summer 1992), 53-81. According to Norris (53), in his survey of images of Alaska and the Yukon, the north of film is "a frozen frontier populated by Klondike prospectors, outlaws, sled dogs and stout-hearted Mounted Policemen along with a smattering of Eskimos, dance-hall women, seal poachers, fisherman, and other hard-bitten characters who inhabit the fringes of life."

³² HBCA, RG 2, series 74, file 1, undated press release enclosed with Walter N. Burns, 16 April 1920.

³³ Edmonton Journal (3 May 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1; series 74, file 1, undated press release enclosed with Walter N. Burns, 16 April 1920.

example, made a point of noting that this exhibition would mark the first time that such realistic studies of these little known people would be shown to Vancouver audiences. The advance notice in the Winnipeg Free Press elaborated on the attraction of the "Eskimo" within this cinema of the North, reporting that the film treats "of the wonderful fur country of Canada and the strange people who inhabit that country; namely the Eskimos." After praise for the picture's "splendid photography and exquisite scenery," the article continued:

Nearly all westerners have seen pictures of the Eskimos, those little people of the far north, swarthy of complexion, muscular to the nth degree and not at all handsome to look upon. But few have beheld the real article, or seen them in motion pictures. The Romance of the Far Fur Country is full of the Eskimos, and their doings, their customs, habits and their general mode of living.

The review in the Edmonton Journal similarly remarked on the images of "Eskimo life and character" as "all at once novel and interesting, because new and unfamiliar." In the absence of real live Natives - such as those on display at the Red River Pageant - films could provide a ready substitute, offering up moving images of the Eskimo for the visual contemplation of their Otherness. At the same time as expressing a reaction to the "strangeness" of the Eskimo, however, the Edmonton Journal reviewer attempted to make connections between the exotic world glimpsed on screen and the familiar world of western Canadian city life: "Style in dress seem just as important a factor in femininity there as on Jasper

Avenue." Even the "new and unfamiliar" could be made to fit into the gendered categories of the observer.³⁴

The film itself contributed to these comparisons between the subjects on screen and the viewer in the theatre by presenting a narrative of Aboriginal life that conformed to the style and content of the motion picture show. A "little drama" appeared within The Romance of the Far Fur Country, complete with a narrator and cast of characters.³⁵ Entitled "The Life Story of a Baffin Island Eskimo," it was described as "quite realistic and well produced, giving appropriate scenery and characterization...." This film within a film contextualized scenes of kayak races, dancing and a hunting party shot at Lake Harbour, Baffin Island using the cinematic forms of fiction film.³⁶

Two years before Robert Flaherty's Nanook of the North hit the motion picture theatre screens with resounding success in 1922, with its combination of the "machinery of the fiction film" and the portrayal of "real" Eskimos, the HBC-sponsored Romance of the Far Fur Country covered similar territory, and demonstrated the appeal of the "Eskimo" to film audiences and film producers.³⁷

³⁴ Vancouver Province (11 May 1920); "Picture at Allen," Winnipeg Free Press (1 May 1920), clippings in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 2; "Moving Pictures Depict History Of Famous Company," Edmonton Journal (3 May 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1.

³⁵ Ingnilikuk, the teller of the story; Ooyaraluk, his mother; Innotseak, his sweetheart; and Nooyeout, her mother.

³⁶ "Moving Pictures Depict History Of Famous Company," Edmonton Journal (3 May 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1. This sequence was originally shot as an "Eskimo Story" (see series 3, file 33, "Proposed Eskimo's Story," enclosed in Edmund Mack to E. Fitzgerald, 13 August 1919).

³⁷ For a reading of Nanook of the North in this light see Erik Barnouw, Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 32-48; quote from 39.

Flaherty's early Eskimo images, in fact, were known to the officials of the HBC. Viewing an exhibition of "a really remarkable series of moving pictures, illustrating the life of the Eskimos around Hudson Bay..." shown to the New York Geographical Society, Bruno Wyers, the company's New York agent, brought up the feasibility of including this material in the company-sponsored film. After conferring with celebration organizer Holford Bottomley while in London, Edward Fitzgerald informed Wyers of the desirability of keeping "our film display strictly to Hudson's Bay Company's own pictures." In keeping with the overall publicity thrust of the anniversary celebrations, using only motion pictures shot by Wyckoff and Derr guaranteed the company's ownership over the final form of these northern images.³⁸

Revillon Freres, the HBC's northern opposition, on the other hand, took up Flaherty's proposal of February 1920 to provide financial backing for a film on Eskimo life. Part of this interest was due to the intellectual and artistic interests of Thierry Mallet, president of Revillon Freres' New York branch and author, in his own right, of romantic northern tales based on his travels in the Canadian arctic and sub-arctic. Another impetus was the advertising advantage that could be taken of Revillon Freres' own upcoming two hundredth anniversary in 1923. As Flaherty wrote to his wife, Frances, in June of 1920, regarding Revillon Freres' interest and financial commitment: "this further explains this film enthusiasm. They plan, of course, to make it one better than the recent

³⁸ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 34, Wyers to Fitzgerald, 27 December 1919; Wyers to George A. Skinner (President, Educational Film Corporation), 27 December 1919; and Fitzgerald to Wyers, 17 February 1920.

anniversary of their rival."³⁹ Within a climate of increasing importance placed on corporate publicity, the HBC-Revillon Freres competition for furs spilled over into the realm of public relations, contributing to the creation of Flaherty's Nanook of the North.

The image of the North as a wild frontier land, where the "primitive" Eskimo epitomized Man's struggle over a brute and fierce Nature, reached an artistic and commercial crescendo in Nanook of the North. The meanings and significance of the making and screening of The Romance of the Far Fur Country is, in part, embedded in this history of the North's popular appeal. It is also pertinent, however, to consider the film's production, promotion and exhibition as part of the HBC's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations, executed in the "Character of [a] National Memorial." Caught up in a multi-media promotional campaign which constructed the celebration of the company's birthday as "the commemoration of an epoch in the nation's progress," these northern views added another dimension to definitions of "Canada" and "Empire" that were at the same time comprehensive and exclusive.⁴⁰ Reporting on the

³⁹ Robert J. Flaherty to Frances Flaherty, 28 June 1920, Robert J. Flaherty Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York; cited in Mark Langer, "The Rifle on the Beach: Colonialist Traces and the Walrus Hunt in Nanook of the North (Ottawa: unpublished paper, 1991). On Mallet, see Gwyneth Hoyle, "Capt. Thierry Mallet: Adventurer, Businessman, Writer," in J.S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles, and D.P. Heldman, eds., The Fur Trade Revisited, (East Lansing/Mackinac Island: Michigan State University Press and Mackinac State Historic Parks, 1994), 427-46.

⁴⁰ "Celebration of Hudson's Bay Anniversary Will Take on Character of National Memorial," Vancouver World (28 April 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1. This article was quoting celebration organizer Louis Wilson; see also his final report on the need to steer away from "a purely Commercial Advertising Project" towards an emphasis on the "National Educational and Commercial value to Canada" of the planned activities (RG 2, series 3, file 6, "Report on 250th Anniversary Celebrations," 9 July 1920).

arrangements for the film's showing in Victoria, the Colonist remarked:

Heretofore the northern region of Canada, especially, has been known from the geography only. Hereafter it is to be made known through the medium of accurate motion picture records. Not only the country, but the modes of travel and the habits and life of its inhabitants are shown on the screen, as well as the trapping and preparation of the furs caught for market.⁴¹

A film of the HBC's great fur trading enterprise, on the one hand, made concrete and truly visible the northern reaches of the nation. Moving pictures of northern places vividly and "accurately" confirmed a new and expansive view of the Dominion, and of the resources available for exploitation and incorporation into the Canadian market.

The HBC, furthermore, provided a reassuring presence in this still untamed land. As another reviewer noted, discussing the film's "interesting glimpses of wild northern scenery":

HBC posts are practically the only evidences of civilization to be found from many hundreds of miles and after watching the film show a long panorama of river and forest and rapid, one felt a distinct sense of relief when one of these posts suddenly came into view as one rounded a corner of the river.⁴²

The HBC stood for civilization in the wilderness, a mark of the familiar in the vast expanse of "undeveloped" nature. Yet what of the inhabitants of these northern lands, and how did they fit into this imperial vision of Canada, with its desire to encompass and make order of the northern wilds? Glimpses of the "strange" Eskimos, variations on the colorful spectacle of the Indian warriors of

⁴¹ "Here To Arrange Showing of Big Film," Victoria Colonist (12 May 1920), clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 2.

⁴² "Striking Film of Fur Country," [Vancouver Province, May 1920], clipping in HBCA, RG 2, series 13, file 1.

the Red River Pageant, confirmed the "normality" of urban life in the growing cities of the Dominion. The anglo-Canadian culture of the prairie and pacific west seemed safe and civilized compared to the life of the northern Native, portrayed as eking out a primitive existence on the fringes of the emerging Canadian nation.

Northern Images as Corporate Publicity: Reading (and Viewing) The Beaver Magazine

By the time of its two hundredth and fiftieth anniversary in 1920, the Hudson's Bay Company was a vastly different enterprise than its fur trading predecessor of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The HBC's Fur Trade Department, with its trading posts, transportation division, and fur sales certainly constituted a major component of the company's operations. But after the vast territory of Rupert's Land (granted to the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay in 1670) passed from HBC control to the Canadian government in 1870, the company established an active Land Department. While the new Dominion government busied itself with the extinguishment of Aboriginal title to the territory, the HBC, under the terms of the Deed of Surrender, retained legal ownership to one-twentieth of the fertile belt (approximately seven million acres) and fifty thousand acres around its posts, which included land in what would become the major cities of the Canadian west.⁴³

⁴³ For a critical view of the HBC's "cashing in on the Charter," see Frank Tough, "Buying Out the Bay: Aboriginal Rights and the Economic Policies of the Department of Indian Affairs after 1870" in David R. Miller, et. al., The First Ones: Readings in Indian/Native Studies (Piapot Reserve #75: Saskatchewan Indian Federated College Press, 1992), 398-408. On changes in the company's

As successive waves of immigration from the eastern provinces of the new Dominion, Britain, the United States and western and eastern Europe populated the prairies, the HBC eventually reaped substantial profits from its real estate holdings.⁴⁴ As the west grew, the HBC responded to - and helped shape - rural and urban growth, investing capital in the emerging regional economies. A further aspect of this transformation of the company's structure, management and operations was its entry into the retail business. This involved a movement from the selling of trade goods to the largely Aboriginal customers at its posts to the marketing of consumer goods to farmers, ranchers and city dwellers in the prairie provinces and British Columbia.⁴⁵

One aspect of this evolution into a modern business was the HBC's foray into the world of public relations. As the analysis of the company's two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebrations revealed, the creation and manipulation of a corporate image was caught up in the construction of the company's fur trading past as a historical romance, weaving the Hudson's Bay Company into a narrative

operations in the 1870s and 1880s see Shirlee A. Smith, "A Desire to Worry Me Out': Donald Smith's Harassment of Charles Brydges, 1879-1889." The Beaver (December 1987-January 1988), 4-11 and Arthur J. Ray The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 3-19.

⁴⁴ Tough, "Buying Out the Bay," 400, notes net land sale profits between 1891 and 1930 of \$96,366,021.

⁴⁵ For a case study of the HBC's expanding role in the regional economy of southwestern Alberta, and the transition from fur trading posts to general stores to modern department stores, see Henry C. Klassen, "The Hudson's Bay Company in Southwestern Alberta, 1874-1905," in J.S.H. Brown et. al., The Fur Trade Revisited, 393-408; on the HBC retail trade and its administrative transformations, see David Monod, "Bay Days: The Managerial Revolution and the Hudson's Bay Company Department Stores, 1912-1939," C.H.A. Historical Papers (1986), 173-196.

of national (and imperial) progress and development.⁴⁶ In The Romance of the Far Fur Country, the company's contribution to the new Dominion was brought home to audiences of the urban west in the form of scenes of the company's northern fur trading operations. Interestingly, while the fur trade had declined in importance in terms of the HBC's overall Canadian operations (ranking third in gross sales, behind the land and retail departments at the outbreak of World War One), it still held a unique place within the company's image-making strategies as they developed over the next two decades.⁴⁷ And as the fur trade department embarked on a major arctic expansion in the interwar years, the HBC's public image took on an increasingly northern look.

The Romance of the Far Fur Country did not find its continued expression on the silver screen, however, but in the pages of The Beaver magazine. Like the company's archives, its documentary publishing program (the Hudson's Bay Record Society), and its museum collection, The Beaver owed its existence to the heightened sense of the importance of public representations engendered by the anniversary celebrations.⁴⁸ Specifically, it was Clifton Thomas, imported from Chicago to run the celebration publicity in Winnipeg, who suggested a "Company

⁴⁶ For a perceptive analysis of the HBC's minute books (HBCA, Series A.1) as an artifact of image-making, especially reflecting Governor Charles Sales' (1925-31) sense of the company's role in the building of Empire, see Anne Morton, "The Looking-Glass Vision: The Minute Books of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1914-31" (unpublished paper presented at the Rupert's Land Research Centre Colloquium, Winnipeg, 1986).

⁴⁷ Ray, Fur Trade in the Industrial Age, 98-99.

⁴⁸ See Diedre Simmons, "Annals of the Fur Trade: The Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives," The Beaver (June/July 1994), 4-12 and Simmons, "'Custodians of a Great Inheritance': An Account of the Making of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, 1920-74 (MA Thesis, University of Manitoba, Department of History, 1994), 26-51; and Robert Coultts and Katherine Pettipas, "'Mere curiosities are not required': The HBC Museum Collection," The Beaver (June/July 1994), 13-19.

House Organ or Institutional Magazine" as part of a permanent advertising and public relations bureau. Thomas became the first editor of The Beaver, a position he held until 1923, when the centralized publicity office he ran was rendered obsolete by a company reorganization which decentralized advertising and local publicity.⁴⁹

During The Beaver's first three years, Thomas produced a newsy and informative monthly magazine, mainly directed towards inspiring loyalty and the work ethic amongst the company's urban-based retail staff. In keeping with his background as an American advertising agent, Thomas envisioned the new company journal, which he subtitled "A Journal of Progress," as an expression of the burgeoning North American culture of consumption. Thomas made his pitch for "interdepartmental cohesion and co-operation" in the rhetoric of commercial success, epitomized by the narrative of the self-made man.⁵⁰ The HBC's Northern presence appeared infrequently, usually framed in the past tense. In an article in 1921, for example, staff contributor J. Brown wrote of how "HBC Officers Once Controlled a Northern Empire," maintaining "Christianity and the institutions of the British empire in the face of blizzard and ice and savage tribes

⁴⁹ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 12, C.M. Thomas to Edward FitzGerald, 22 May 1920 and 28 June 1920; FitzGerald to H. Burbidge (Stores Commissioner), 12 July 1920 and FitzGerald to Burbidge, 3 July 1923.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Thomas to FitzGerald, 22 May 1920. On the figure of the self-made man, see for example, "Our Governor" and E.U. Pugsley, "Courage and Persistence Won Success For Fletcher Sparling," The Beaver (October 1920), 10 and 12-13; W.M. Conn, "New Fur Commissioner Famed as Trader and Organizer" (November 1920), 2-4, and "The Men of the Hudson's Bay" series which ran from January 1921 to September 1923.

and all the other barriers of the north country."⁵¹ While this piece touched on some of the elements of the 1920 promotional film, it, like The Beaver during Thomas' editorship, did so in written form, ignoring the visual appeal of the North.

The selection of Robert Watson as Thomas's successor marked a significant change in approach for the company's staff journal, away from an explicit association with publicity and advertising.⁵² Under Watson, a Scottish emigrant to Canada, an employee in the stores department, and a published author of several novels and short stories in American and British publications, The Beaver turned away from American-style corporate publicity towards a more literary approach under the direction of "one of the Company's own people." Moving from monthly to quarterly publication with the December 1924 issue, The Beaver maintained its format and function as a journal for and by HBC staff, as originally devised by Thomas. Watson, however, capitalized on his own skills as a writer, at the same time encouraging these talents among his fellow employees.⁵³

Reflecting developments in the technologies of graphic arts as they influenced periodical publishing at the time, black and white photographs, along with line drawings, were used as illustrations to accompany articles, and the

⁵¹ J. Brown, "HBC Officers Once Controlled a Northern Empire," The Beaver (December 1921), 2.

⁵² HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 12, Fitzgerald to A. Brabant (Fur Trade Commissioner), 4 July 1923; series 38, file 123, Fitzgerald to J.S. Smith (Saskatoon), 4 July 1923.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, RG 2, series 3, file 12, H.T. Lockyer to E. Fitzgerald, 10 October, 1923; Fitzgerald to A. Brabant, Fur Trade Commissioner, 4 July 1923 and 10 August 1923. On Watson's background see The Beaver Office Research Files (Winnipeg, Manitoba), "Robert Watson," and "H.B.C. Vernon Accountant Winning Fame as an Author," The Beaver (December 1920), 51.

occasional photo-spread appeared.⁵⁴ In Dogs of the North, for example, a full page opposite an article of the same title was devoted to the unattributed contributions of fur traders in the field [see **Figure 29**]. Among the gathered images were shots of dog teams near Churchill and Trout Lake, portraying tiny figures of animals and men against a washed out background of snow and sky.⁵⁵ The quality of the photographic reproduction, combined with an unengaging graphic layout, worked to diminish the interest value of these northern pictures. Throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, the pictorial potential of the magazine remained dormant, subordinated to the written word. Yet in the ten years of Watson's editorship (from 1923 to 1933), one can discern glimpses of The Beaver's future emphasis on northern imagery.

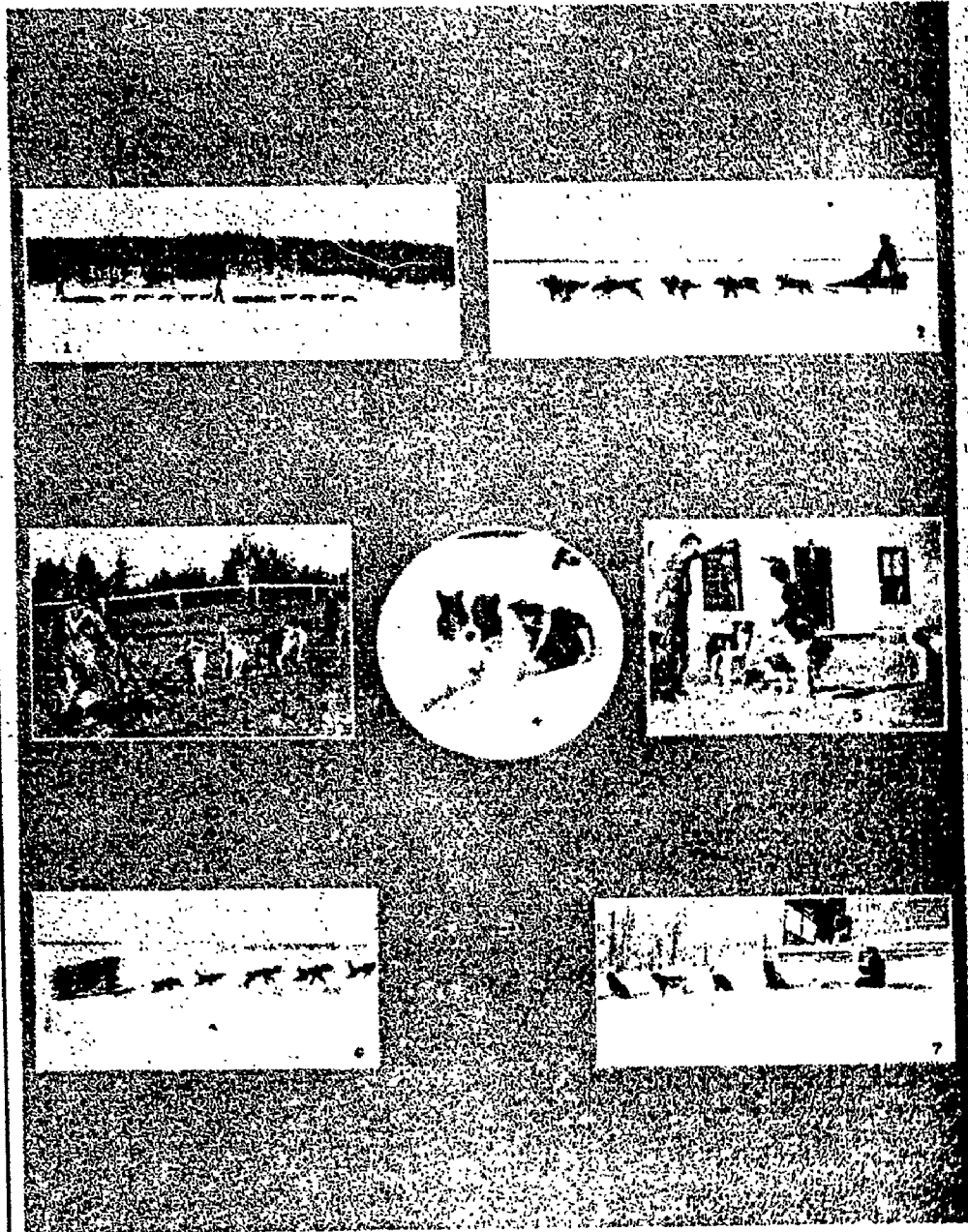
Most of this northern content derived from Watson's appeals for contributions from members of the Fur Trade Department.⁵⁶ "Our Contributors," for example, praised district manager C.H. French (later Fur Trade Commissioner from 1927 to 1930) for his "illustrated articles on native life and customs,

⁵⁴ Estelle Jussim, Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century (New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1974) provides a comprehensive history of the developments leading to the widespread use of photographic reproduction in magazine, newspaper and book publishing.

⁵⁵ "Dogs of the North," The Beaver (June 1925), 134; see also "The Lone Northland," (May 1924), 299.

⁵⁶ As phrased in The Beaver (September 1927), 64: "Men of the fur trade; we rely on you, our first line of defense."

Dogs of the North



1, Dog teams near Churchill
 3, Ploughing with dogs
 5, Feeding dogs at Grassy Narrows

2, Speding home to Trout Lake
 4, Leader of Rupert's House team
 6, Dogs hauling wood at Churchill

7, Mail team

Figure 29: "Dogs of the North."
 Source: The Beaver (June 1925), 134.

animals, hunting, trapping and places of interest, on which he is an authority, [and which] have done much to enhance the instructive value of our magazine."⁵⁷

French's articles, and those of other fur traders', helped to reflect the diversity of the HBC's corporate interests while serving to further the goal of a heightened esprit de corps among a geographically dispersed staff. For French, an enthusiastic collector of images and documents of the company's history - he provided lantern slides for use in Romance of the Far Fur Country and was at one point considered as a lecturer to accompany the film's exhibition - The Beaver provided a ready outlet for his historical and photographic interests.⁵⁸

French's regard for representations of the HBC's past and present was built on a tradition of picturing the north by the company's employees. Recently incorporated into the history of Canadian photography as the "Moose Factory Group," George Simpson McTavish, Bernard Rogan Ross and James L. Cotter photographed scenes of post life on Hudson and James bays in the 1860s and 1870s, among the earliest images of the region.⁵⁹ Cotter's photographic practice is illustrative of the way these men incorporated photography into the larger project of making order out of the northern environment during the second half

⁵⁷ "C.H. French," The Beaver (September 1924), 459.

⁵⁸ HBCA, RG 2, series 3, file 1, E. Fitzgerald to J. Thomson, 30 October 1919; series 3, file 3, E. Fitzgerald to L. Wilson, 19 February 1920.

⁵⁹ In addition, William Bell Malloch, a medical doctor who served at Moose Factory in the 1870s, and George Horetzky, who left the HBC after a stint as accountant, and subsequently pursued a career as survey engineer and professional photographer for the Canadian Pacific Railway, were also actively pursuing photography at this time. The term "Moose Factory Group" is used by A.J. Birrell in "The Early Years, 1839-1885" in Lily Koltun, editor, Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada, 1839-1940 (Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984), 10-14, which reproduces a number of their photographs.

of the nineteenth century. Entering the service of the HBC in 1857, Cotter spent much of his career on the Bay, at Moose Factory, Fort George, and Rupert's House. As representations of the North, his images, while taking the immediate environment of the post and its inhabitants (including his own family) for much of their subject matter, were in many ways oriented outwards. According to his son, Cotter "made an intensive study of the art and possessed many books on the subject written by the leading photographers of the time...." Engravings based on his photographs appeared in the Illustrated London News and the annual reports of the Geological Survey of Canada, and Cotter was especially proud of the interest that the prominent Montreal-based studio photographer William Notman took in his work.⁶⁰

Despite his physical distance from the metropolis, Cotter was enmeshed in a particular moment in the history of photography. He operated within the tradition of the dedicated amateur, combining technical skill and knowledge (including a thorough acquaintance with exposure times and the preparation and developing of the wet-collodion negatives) with an aesthetic understanding of the medium and its place within a developing "art" of photography. Yet as Andrew Birrell suggests, this pastime was also related to the interest in scientific collection and observation by HBC officers and servants at these northern posts, itself part of maintaining a sense of British North American culture and identity.⁶¹

⁶⁰ H.M.S. Cotter, "Chief Factor and Photographer," The Beaver (December 1933), 23-26; 66.

⁶¹ Birrell, "The Early Years," 12; see also H.G. Deignan, "HBC and the Smithsonian," The Beaver (June 1947), 3-7 and Debra Lindsay, "Science in the Sub-Arctic: Traders, Trappers and the Smithsonian Institution, 1859-1870"(University of Manitoba: Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, 1989).

The Canadian arctic and sub-arctic provided a living laboratory for British and American-based armchair zoologists, botanists and ethnologists, who required scientifically minded men to gather the needed material from the field. In this sense, Cotter's photographs display a preoccupation with the material culture, technology, and physical appearance of the northern Aboriginal people he encountered.⁶² Cotter's ethnographic pursuits included the observation and documentation of the Inuit in written as well as visual form, consciously placing his own information within the bounds of ethnological reference.⁶³ What Carl Berger noted about natural history - that it "reflected and channelled some of the strongest drives in colonial culture. It was an instrument for the appropriation and control of nature..." - also illuminates the impulses behind the photographic practice of this period. Within Cotter's Victorian frames of reference, photography provided a potent means for visualizing the scientific observation of northern nature, which included the classification and categorization of Native peoples.⁶⁴

These nineteenth century observations (both visual and written) subsequently appeared in The Beaver, taking on added meanings within the pages of the company magazine. In the December 1926 issue, a scene of a man, sled

⁶² See, for example, the following photographs by James L. Cotter in NAC, Documentary Art and Photography Division, Montreal Book Auction Collection, 1977-216: "Indian Camp near Moose Factory"; "Camp. Shores of Hudson Bay"; "Little Whale River, N.E. Shore, Hudson Bay"; and "On the Abitibi River near Moose Factory."

⁶³ See Cotter's posthumously published articles "Eskimos of Eastmain," The Beaver (December 1929), 301-306 and (March 1930), 362-65, which were brought to the attention of the journal by his fur trader son (and frequent Beaver contributor) H.M.S. Cotter.

⁶⁴ Carl Berger, Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 77.

dogs and an igloo (crudely retouched to bring out more detail) taken by Cotter in 1871, was one of four photographs displayed under the collective caption "When You and I Were Young." Together with the other photos - of "Late Chief Factor D.C. McTavish, who died in 1913, and C.H.M. Gordon, then accountant at Rupert's River district, now post manager at Fort Alexander" posed seating in the bush; of J.L. Cotter's son, H.M.S. Cotter, preparing an outdoor meal; and C.H.M. Gordon's 1885 view of the "Mink" sailing from Rupert's River - the effect was of a nostalgic link with the past, made all the more palpable by its visual evocation. Furthering The Beaver's goal of inspiring company staff, scenes of life lived and observed in the service of the northern fur trade evoked a sense of history and the continuity of traditions.⁶⁵

In another continuity with the past, Cotter's ethnological interests were shared by a number of modern day fur traders whose photographs and writings appeared in the journal. Thus the publication of a manuscript by Cotter, on "The Eskimos of Eastmain," found by his son in the bottom of a trunk and "rescued" from oblivion, fit in with a substantial theme running through The Beaver of the 1920s and into the 1930s. Although illustrated with a selection of his photographs (a large group of Cree at Rupert's House; a full length portrait of an Inuk woman and child; views of Moose Factory) the emphasis was on Cotter's description of northern Native culture, a well-written treatise extolling the "amazing" adaptability of the Eskimo of the Hudson Bay coast to survive in an environment so harsh that a "wilder and more desolate region can hardly be

⁶⁵ The Beaver (December 1926), 28.

imagined." This interpretation was re-stated by active fur trader-contributors such as William (Paddy) Gibson and Richard Bonnycastle. These company men also wrote admiringly of Inuit technology as a perfect expression of the triumph of Man (albeit of the primitive variety) over a hostile Nature. In Gibson's words: "...in this land where the harsh realities of life are unmitigated, the mere joy of living is a keen experience."⁶⁶

At the same time that Inuit culture was described optimistically, if somewhat romantically, in these texts, Inuit portraits were offered up as exotic images, visual breaks from the written word. "Types of Canadian Eskimos," in the June 1931 Beaver, presented a page of five photographs taken by Cotter, Gibson and Bonnycastle: a woman and girl in the top row, a mother with child in her parka in the centre, and two men on the bottom. While capturing their subjects within the conventions of portrait photography, the caption drew attention to the unusual features of two of the pictures, the labrets ("bone ornaments thrust through sides of lower lip") and snow goggles worn by the two men. Also acknowledged was the identity of the photographers, while the subjects of these portraits remained unnamed. A common identity was imposed on these Canadian Eskimo "types," despite different locales and the thirty year time span between Cotter's death in 1889 and the twentieth century images of Gibson and Bonnycastle. Less important than the identity of the men and women pictured,

⁶⁶ J.L. Cotter, "Eskimos of Eastmain," The Beaver (December 1929), 301-302; William Gibson, "The Victory Relics," (December 1929), 311-12 and "The Seal Hunters," (December 1931), 347-48; Richard Bonnycastle, "An Igloo Night," (March 1931), 163-65; see also Norman Irwin, "A Story of Eskimo Courage," (December 1931), 351-52.

and the particular circumstances of their individual lives, was their display as representatives of their race, as anonymous and ideal cultural types.⁶⁷

At other times, however, images of the Aboriginal people of the north were given a more specific meaning by the accompanying Beaver text. Identifying the subject of a photograph of a seated elderly figure, the reader was informed that she was an "Eskimo woman at Chesterfield Inlet, said to be over one hundred years old; blind and unable to walk." The caption, "A Protege of the Company," left no doubt as to the benevolent impact of the HBC presence in the north, positioning the woman as an object of the company's protective policies [see Figure 30].⁶⁸ Similarly, but more emphatically, the editorial copy contextualized the cover picture of the 1928 Beaver, a waist-up portrait taken by HBC trader Gaston Herodier at Port Harrison, of an Inuk woman with a child in the hood of her caribou-skin outer garment:

By kind and just treatment the Eskimo hunters have grown to be good friends of the company as the Indians have been for generations.

Every year, on the company's supply ships, medical doctors are carried, also an abundance of medical supplies, for the safe-guarding of the health of the northern natives, a welfare work which is carried on at the company's expense.⁶⁹

While the "Hudson's Bay Company Indian" was an established feature of company rhetoric, envisioning the longstanding economic and social interactions between HBC traders and Aboriginal peoples, the more recent expansion into the arctic called for an articulation of the HBC-Eskimo relationship. Photographs of the

⁶⁷ The Beaver (June 1931), 216.

⁶⁸ The Beaver (December 1924), 11.

⁶⁹ The Beaver (March 1928), 152.

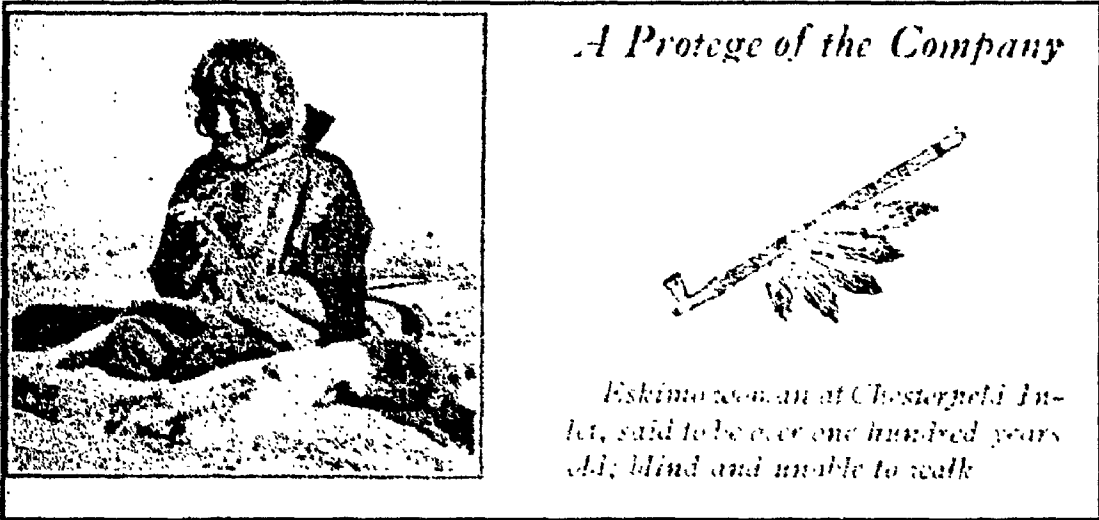


Figure 30: "A Protege of the Company."
Source: The Beaver (December 1924), 11.

company's Inuit "friends" presented visual evidence for assertions of company paternalism and Native compliance in the evolving arctic trade.⁷⁰

This interest in building up an image of the HBC as provider of "native welfare" in the 1920s found its organizational expression in the creation of the Development Department. Operating as part of the London office, the department attempted to apply the techniques of scientific management to more profitably exploit the resources of northern Canada, Labrador and Newfoundland. Experimentation in brine-freezing salmon and dyeing and dressing the pelts of white-coated seals went hand in hand with a program intended to uplift the northern Native, and particularly the Inuit, both physically and morally. The latter effort included a program of developing "home industries" (essentially the manufacture of Native crafts for the tourism trade, such as Inuit-made toy seals) and Native nutrition (including the distribution of cod liver oil and powdered milk through local post managers).⁷¹

George Binney, in addition to recruiting and training fur trade apprentices as part of his responsibilities with the company's Development Department, was responsible for various aspects of the "native welfare" program. This included writing The Eskimo Book of Knowledge, a bilingual manual on morals, health

⁷⁰ See also The Beaver (September 1930), 66, in which three photographs of Inuit (a family group; a close-up of a man's face, appropriately sporting an HBC pin on his cap; and a mother and child) were framed as a promotion for the Fur Trade Department, with the following accompanying text: "There are 3000 Eskimos, comfortable, happy and contented, scattered across Canada's Arctic regions. Practically all of them do their fur trading with the Hudson's Bay Company." On the features of the "HBC Indian" see Robert Watson, "A Company Indian," The Beaver (June 1931), 220-222.

⁷¹ Alex Ross and Anne Morton, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Archives," Business Archives 51 (November 1985), 22-23; Ray, Fur Trade in the Industrial Age, 219-221.

and history, published in English and "Eskimo" (in this case the dialect of the Labrador Inuit) by the HBC. In the words of the reviewer in the Daily Telegraph, this was "Arctic Empire Building," as word and picture relentlessly conveyed its message of the social value of an expanding Civilization - defined in terms of an imperially-minded corporate capitalism. Photographs of the Royal Family were provided as a visual complement to Binney's text, which opened with a section on "The British Empire to Which You Belong":

As there are many races, so there are many different rulers, but the greatest ruler of all, who governs with justice White Men, Brown Men and Black Men in very many countries, is KING GEORGE the ruler of the British Empire. He is your king.

Sections on health and cleanliness furthered the avowed aim of promoting - or more accurately perhaps, projecting - a British ideal on the north and its people. Available to interested Britons, southern Canadians and Inuit for a fee (8/-, \$2.00, and a few ermine skins respectively), it is difficult to know whether this book was written more for Inuit instruction or as publicity of HBC good intentions.⁷²

This interest in Native Welfare, which found expression in the London-produced The Eskimo Book of Knowledge and the Canadian-published Beaver, was played out against a backdrop of Canadian government criticism of the company's northern operations. In the 1920s, the HBC expanded its chain of arctic fur trading posts in pursuit of the lucrative arctic fox. As A.J. Ray notes,

⁷² George Binney, The Eskimo Book of Knowledge (London: Hudson's Bay House), 1931. In a somewhat bizarre advertising manoeuvre, a pamphlet selling the book in Britain quotes, amongst rave reviews of the book as "an expression in simple form of the highest ideals of British colonization" (Times Literary Supplement), this pithy assessment of The Daily Worker: "Can you beat this for crude imperialist propaganda?" See HBCA, A.102, file 816.

this was part of an effort to recapture what was seen as the older, more profitable type of trade that was losing ground in the sub-arctic as expanding transport networks (especially the post-war development of bush plane service in the north) fuelled increasing competition.⁷³

In particular, government officials in the newly created Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch (supported by their superiors within the Department of the Interior) were concerned with the negative effects of the cyclical arctic fox economy on the Inuit, accusing the company of reaping profits during good times and leaving the government to deal with issues of relief during hard times. Other concerns centred on the question of resource depletion from overkilling game and its effect on the animal and human ecology of the region.⁷⁴ The company's position, not surprisingly, centred on a view of the Inuit as ideally suited to the HBC-controlled white fox economy, thereby benefitting from a limited contact with civilization, yet still primitive enough to live off the land. Governor Charles Sale's pronouncement to future Fur Trade Commissioner Ralph Parsons, that

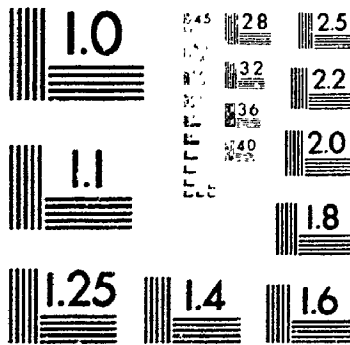
...like yourself, I look upon the Eskimo as children of the Great Company, and that I should like to feel that we have fulfilled our duties towards them to the utmost, at the same time avoiding the evils which accompany the indiscriminate distribution of relief..."

⁷³ Ray, *Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*, 95, 139, 154, Figure 41, "Canadian arctic fox production, 1920-45," 158, 186. Ray notes the importance of this arctic expansion, yet chooses to pass over it, basing his analysis of the post-1870 fur trade on data and evidence from the central sub-arctic (xvii).

⁷⁴ Ray, 217-19; Philip Goldring, "Canadian Problems and Foreign Models: O.S. Finne's Inuit Policy, 1922-31" (Ottawa: unpublished paper, 1988), 31-44.

3

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

summed up the paternalistic attitude underlying the justification for established trading practices and minimal relief measures.⁷⁵ In light of differences with federal policy makers, the transmission of a positive view of the Inuit as a healthy and happy people, benefitting from the presence of the HBC and their involvement in the fur trade, took on an added importance.

Yet since the dismissal of C.M. Thomas in 1923, and the abolition of the publicity department that he created, the company lacked a comprehensive approach to managing its official image. In the early 1930s, under the new governorship of Patrick Ashley Cooper (who replaced C.V. Sale after his resignation in 1931) and a strengthened Canadian Committee, a renewed interest in corporate publicity emerged, which would have a significant impact on the HBC's role in sponsoring and disseminating images of the north.⁷⁶ Having previously expressed concern with a "deterioration in the standard of The Beaver Magazine" the previous year, the Canadian Committee recommended the suspension of its publication after the September 1932 issue, citing a cost of nine thousand dollars per year and an unsatisfactory editor. Under Governor Cooper's

⁷⁵ HBCA, RG 2, series 8, file 902, C.V. Sale to Ralph Parsons, 6 September 1925.

⁷⁶ The Canadian Committee, initially established as the Canadian Advisory Committee in 1911, was based in Winnipeg and composed of members of western Canada's financial elite. In the course of the next several decades, London directors and Canadian committee members engaged in a push and pull for authority. The increase in Canadian control was reflected in the appointment in 1931 of a chief executive officer in Canada (a position held by P.A. Chester until his retirement in 1959), although the London directors continued to wield considerable power, retaining ultimate control over finances and general policy. See Ray, Fur Trade in the Industrial Age, 171-74 and Monod, "Bay Days," 174-76; 188-89.

instructions, however, a new Beaver was launched. Thirty-three year old Douglas MacKay was hired as editor and company publicity director in February of 1933.⁷⁷

Following training at Columbia University's School of Journalism, MacKay worked for newspapers in New York and Toronto. In 1928, he began a new phase in his career, leaving his position as a member of the parliamentary reporting staff of the Canadian Press Association to become publicity manager of Canadian Steamship Lines, and then publicity director of the Seignury Club, Montreal. MacKay brought experience in both journalism and publicity to his new job with the HBC, which he skilfully applied towards establishing The Beaver as "The Magazine of the North," as its new subtitle proclaimed. This new direction was proudly announced on The Beaver's contents page, beginning with the September 1933 issue: "Its editorial interests include the whole field of travel, exploration and trade in the Canadian North as well as the current activities and historical background of the Hudson's Bay Company in all its departments throughout Canada."⁷⁸

An initial distrust by Canadian management of the value of this return to American-style public relations was quickly dispelled by Mackay's energetic

⁷⁷ HBCA, RG 2, series 38, file 123, P.A. Chester (General Manager), Memo of conversation with R. Watson, 1 February 1931; series 10, file 8, Canadian Committee Reviews, Minute 6052, 14 June 1932 and Minute 6145, 8 August 1932.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, series 38, file 71, Staff Record; Clifford Wilson Papers, E.95, file 78, clipping on MacKay's death [1938]; The Beaver (September 1933), 1. For an expression of MacKay's understanding of the aesthetics of mass selling and advertising, see HBCA, RG 2, series 7, file 707, D. MacKay, "Report on Trademarks and Labels," 16 June 1933.

approach and commitment to company ideals.⁷⁹ As a result of his initiatives, The Beaver became a cornerstone of the HBC's corporate image. And although MacKay's program was cut short by his death in an airplane crash while on company business in January 1938, his program was carried on by subsequent Beaver editors Alice MacKay (1938-39) and Clifford P. Wilson (1939-57). Shortly after MacKay's death, George Allan, the chair of the Canadian board, reported to London that despite the yearly costs of \$20,000, the Canadian Committee was in full support of the magazine. And conducting its periodic review of The Beaver in 1945, the Canadian Committee members "unanimously agreed that this unique publication should be continued, as it was a valuable public relations medium...."⁸⁰

Reaching beyond Governor Cooper's appraisal of The Beaver as a vehicle for linking "the many members of the staff who are scattered over the length and breadth of the Dominion....," MacKay envisioned the magazine's audience in more expansive terms. In addition to the readership of company employees, The Beaver would be distributed, free of charge, to economic and political leaders and representatives of the press in Canada and Britain. As MacKay put it, The Beaver "will become a means of consolidating our friendship with many people

⁷⁹ Ibid., series 38, file 71, P.A. Chester, "Memorandum for File: D.M. ", 23 December 1932: "Personally I incline to the point of view that this publicity racket was a creation of the U.S.A. which has had an increasing vogue in the last ten years." For a survey of concurrent developments in the world of corporate capitalism, see Alan R. Raucher, Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1968) and Richard S. Tedlow, Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950 (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1979).

⁸⁰ HBCA, A.102, file 272, Allan to Governor and Committee, 27 October 1938; RG 2, series 10, file 8, Canadian Committee Minute 2155, 20 September 1945. These costs represented a considerable investment over the old-style Beaver; printing costs for the September 1931 issue, for example, were just under \$1200 (RG 2, series 47, file 12, General Ledgers, 1932-33).

and will give persons in important positions in the life of this country correct glimpses into the nature of the Company's operations."⁸¹

From a printing of just over 5,000 copies in 1932 (which were circulated almost entirely in-house), over 10,000 copies were printed in 1938, the year of MacKay's untimely death. The quarterly magazine's readership continued to rise steadily throughout the next decade, attracting growing numbers of paid subscribers from Canada and the United States [see Table 1].⁸² Clearly The Beaver never reached the popularity of Canadian consumer magazines such as Maclean's and Chatelaine, which both boasted circulations in excess of a hundred thousand at the beginning of the 1930s, or of the American magazines which dominated the Canadian market.⁸³ But such comparisons are in themselves only partly meaningful. The Beaver was not a commercial magazine, dependent on mass circulation to attract advertising revenue, but a carefully crafted and specifically targeted vehicle of corporate-sponsored image-making.

Integral to this change in audience was a revamping of The Beaver's content and design. Beginning with the September 1933 issue, The Beaver, with its larger page size, higher quality paper stock, and extensive use of photography,

⁸¹ Ibid., A.102, file 269, Chadwick Brooks, 16 November, 1932; Mackay to Brooks, 1 August 1933. By 1935, nearly 1500 complimentary copies were distributed to senior executives, government officials, newspaper and magazine editors, and club reading rooms across Canada (RG 2, series 8, file 1116, MacKay to G. Allan, 3 July 1935).

⁸² Ibid., RG 2, series 47, file 12; series 10, file 8, The Beaver Circulation [1958]. After subscriptions were introduced by MacKay in 1933, the 471 subscribers in 1935 increased to over 2,500 by 1938 (see series 8, file 1116, MacKay to Allan, 3 July 1935; Extract from address given by Mrs. MacKay, 16 May 1939).

⁸³ Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media (Toronto: McGraw Hill-Ryerson Limited, 1978), 46-47; Mary Vipond, "Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s," Canadian Historical Review LVIII, No. 1 (March 1977), 43-63.

TABLE 1
THE BEAVER CIRCULATION, 1925-1952

| Year | Issue | Paid Subscribers | | | Total Printed |
|------|--------|------------------|-------|--------|---------------|
| | | Canada | U.S. | Total | |
| 1925 | June | | | | 4,000 |
| 1926 | Sept | | | | 4,350 |
| 1927 | March | | | | 6,075 |
| 1928 | March | | | | 6,250 |
| 1929 | Sept | | | | 5,150 |
| 1930 | Sept | | | | 5,725 |
| 1931 | Sept | | | | 5,650 |
| 1932 | Sept | | | | 5,070 |
| 1933 | Sept | | | | 8,000 |
| 1934 | Sept | | | | 8,500 |
| 1935 | [June] | | | 371 | 8,900 |
| 1936 | Dec | | | | 10,450 |
| 1937 | Dec | | | 1,529 | 11,750 |
| 1938 | Dec | | | 2,506 | 10,790 |
| 1939 | Dec | 2,542 | 1,378 | 3,920 | 11,000 |
| 1940 | Dec | 2,262 | 1,465 | 3,727 | 10,600 |
| 1941 | Dec | 2,161 | 1,586 | 3,747 | 12,500 |
| 1942 | Dec | 2,029 | 1,578 | 3,607 | 11,950 |
| 1943 | Dec | 2,575 | 1,901 | 4,476 | 13,170 |
| 1944 | Dec | 3,032 | 1,914 | 4,946 | 14,000 |
| 1945 | March | 3,604 | 2,537 | 6,141 | 14,500 |
| 1946 | Sept | 4,089 | 3,106 | 7,195 | 15,700 |
| 1947 | Sept | 4,532 | 3,536 | 8,068 | 17,380 |
| 1948 | Sept | 4,468 | 3,538 | 8,006 | 17,600 |
| 1949 | Sept | 4,572 | 3,705 | 8,277 | 19,050 |
| 1950 | Sept | 4,671 | 3,928 | 8,599 | 20,660 |
| 1951 | Sept | 5,046 | 4,063 | 9,109 | 21,000 |
| 1952 | Sept | 6,335 | 5,153 | 11,488 | 26,675 |

Sources: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Canadian Committee Office, RG 2, series 10, file 8; RG 2, series 47, files 1 to 16; and RG 2, series 8, file 1116. No information prior to 1925.

projected a decidedly modern look.⁸⁴ This was the heyday of the illustrated periodical in North America; the launching of LIFE magazine in 1937 was the commercial culmination of this process, as magazines throughout the decade increasingly employed visual elements, and photographic imagery in particular. The camera played a central role in American culture of the 1930s, as photography was increasingly harnessed to the mass marketing techniques of advertisers, the propaganda purposes of government (especially in the various projects of the Farm Security Administration) and the aim of public education by documentary artists. Photographers were the quintessential purveyors of human and social evidence, embodying the quest for documenting and attempting to define the meaning of "American experience."⁸⁵

Part of MacKay's genius was his harnessing of the graphic techniques of this visual culture towards a particularly Canadian expression. MacKay's larger publicity project, building on the historical and contemporary links between Canada and Great Britain, cast the Hudson's Bay Company as a progressive and

⁸⁴ MacKay's assertion that "I am particularly anxious to use photographs wherever possible..." (HBCA, A.102, file 269, MacKay to J. Chadwick. Brooks, 1 August 1933) is borne out by a comparison of the ratio of text to illustrations, based on a sampling of one issue per year. As little as 5% and no more than 15% of any issue from 1920 to 1932 was made up of photographic material; during the first two years of MacKay's editing of the magazine, 23% and 28% of The Beaver was photographic content, steadily increasing to 44% by 1938.

⁸⁵ On the use of graphic design elements to transform women's magazines into "a predominantly visual experience, constructing an audience of spectators" during this period see Sally Stein, "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1919-39," in Richard Bolton, ed., The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 146-161; see also Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History: Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 245-50 and 313-14 note 46; and William Stott, Documentary Expression and Thirties America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

peaceful agent of development of the Canadian nation.⁸⁶ MacKay envisioned The Beaver beyond this historical lesson, however, with its focus on the "northern and more picturesque phases of the Company's activities."⁸⁷ Presenting the HBC as the embodiment of Canada as a northern nation foregrounded the colourful activities and personalities of the fur trade, and provided a link between a "glorious" past and a future full of possibilities. And as MacKay recognized, the North as a "unique and... essential feature which gives character to our magazine..." was a field well-suited to an illustrated periodical, providing endless photo-opportunities as subject and background for HBC image-making.⁸⁸

At times The Beaver revealed MacKay's affinity for American-style institutional advertising, presenting photo-montages and picture stories of scenes from the HBC's retail stores.⁸⁹ Yet even here MacKay framed the material within the Northern theme:

We are a northern people, living on the north half of the North American continent.... By way of emphasizing that being a Northern people does not mean an Arctic people, we include in this issue some pages of pictures illustrating life in our stores....⁹⁰

⁸⁶ For a fuller expression see the still-cited Douglas MacKay, The Honourable Company: A History of the Hudson's Bay Company (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merill Company, 1936). Written while an HBC employee but on his own time, this "unofficial" history was approved of by Canadian management but encountered initial resistance from London (see HBCA, RG 2, series 8, file 1243).

⁸⁷ HBCA, A.102, file 269, MacKay to J. Chadwick. Brooks, 1 August 1933; see also file 271, George Allan (Chair, Canadian Committee) to P.A. Cooper (Governor), 30 May 1934 for an endorsement of "the present policy of confining the magazine to the northlands" at the highest level of HBC management.

⁸⁸ Ibid., MacKay to Brooks, 28 March 1934.

⁸⁹ "This Exciting Business of Selling in the Big Bazaars," The Beaver (December 1933), 33-36; "Merchant to Millions," (March 1935), 15-18; "Swift and Candid," (December 1937), 27-45.

⁹⁰ "The HBC Packet," The Beaver (December 1933), 6; see also "The HBC Packet," (December 1937), 5.

For the most part, however, it was images of the sub-arctic and arctic that constituted The Beaver's definition of North. To this end, MacKay, acting in the appropriate fashion for the director of a public relations campaign, sent a number of professional photographers out on assignment.

The first to go north on Beaver business was the Montreal-based Max Sauer, Jr., "an excellent photographer" with a keen recording eye who set a high standard for subsequent Beaver photographers.⁹¹ MacKay selected ten of Sauer's images, taken aboard the Nascopie, the HBC's arctic supply ship, and reproduced them in The Beaver in impressive style. "Six Photographs by Max Sauer, Jr." and "Four Arctic Photographs," in the December 1933 and March 1934 issues, were presented one image to a page, with minimal editorial commentary to detract from the visual message [see Figures 31 to 33].⁹²

In publishing these pictures, MacKay implemented a strategy of presentation which would be continued in The Beaver throughout the next two decades. As the achievements and expression of an individual author - "by Max Sauer, Jr." - these photographs were accorded a high status as both document and art; in the words of the magazine's brief introduction, Sauer "has brought back a series of photographs which are equal to the finest that have ever come from the North." At the same time, however, The Beaver contextualized these images within a system of meaning. Captions anchored each picture firmly to place

⁹¹ NAC, Records of the Northern Affairs Program, RG 85, vol. 71, file 201-1 [8], D. MacKay to D.L. McKeand (Northwest Territories Branch), 28 April 1933.

⁹² The Beaver (December 1933), 15-21 and (March 1934), 15-19.



Figure 31: "The Little Brown Men of the Arctic."
Photographer: Max Sauer, Jr.
Source: The Beaver (December 1933), 16.

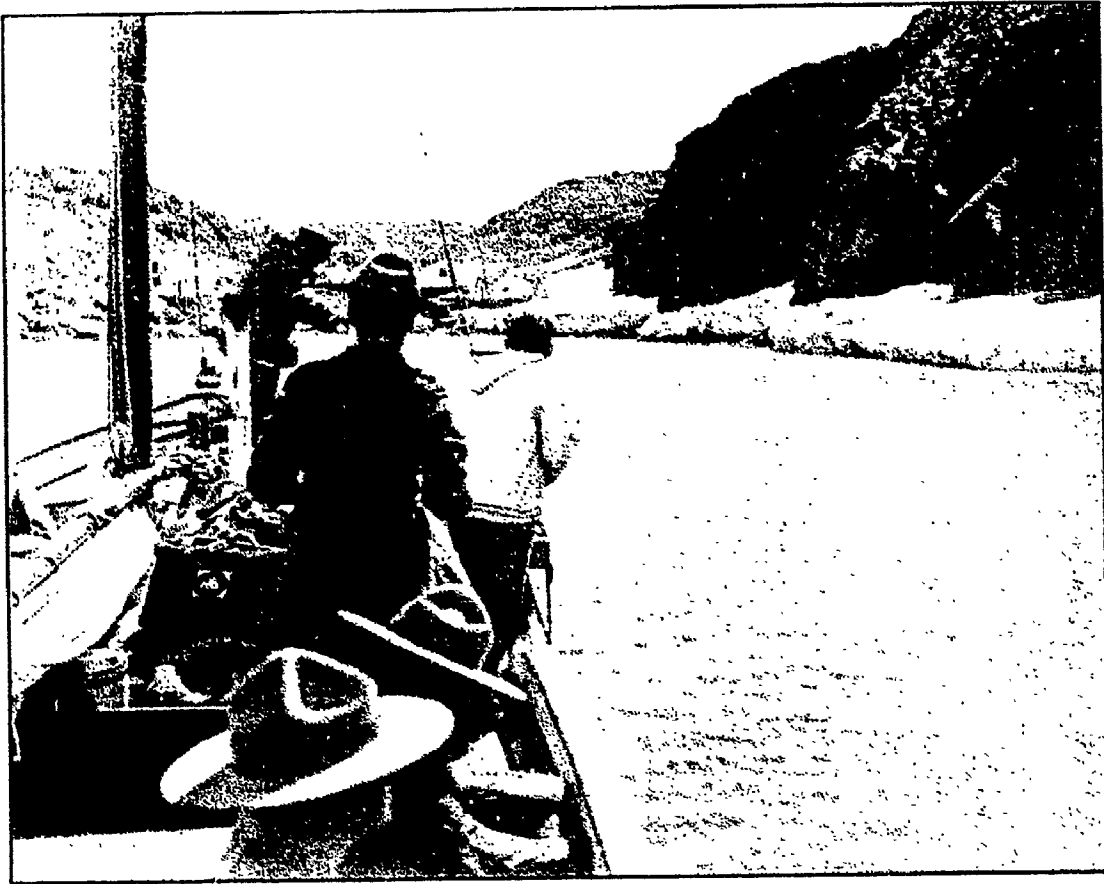


Figure 32: "Port Burwell Post on Hudson Strait."
Photographer: Max Sauer, Jr.
Source: The Beaver (December 1933), 18.

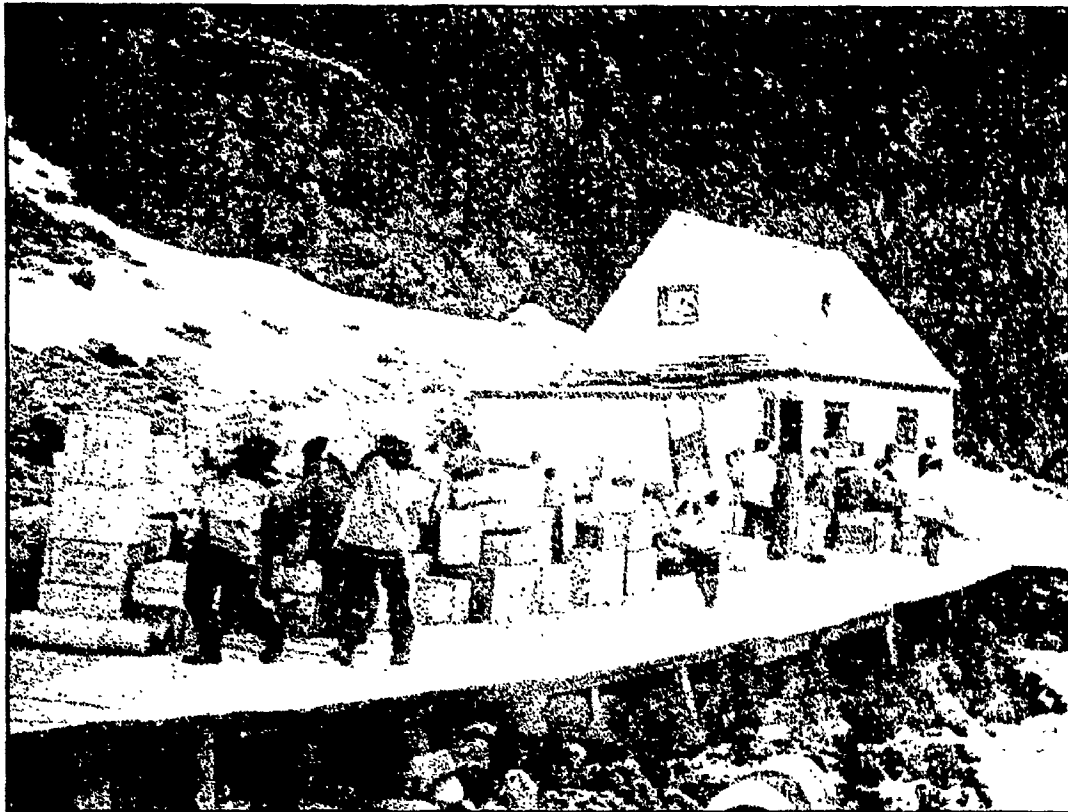


Figure 33: "Chocolate, Tea and Ham for Burwell."
Photographer: Max Sauer, Jr.
Source: The Beaver (December 1933), 21.

("Wolstenholme Post at the Entrance to Hudson Bay." "Port Burwell Post on Hudson Strait,") while the whole was presented as "arctic photographs," integrated into an ongoing project of defining and visualizing the North, and the HBC's role therein.

Viewed as a series of photographs, these two photo-essays constructed a narrative of commercial achievement, centred around the presence of the Nascopie as conveyer of material progress. The Sauer pictures in the December issue moved from an image of Inuit men aboard ship to a long shot of Wolstenholme post, framed against the background of a snow-covered arctic mountain. The next shot presented Mounties and Inuit aboard a Peterhead boat entering Port Burwell (the post buildings visible in the background), followed by three scenes of unloading operations at Wolstenholme, Port Harrison and Port Burwell.

"Four Arctic Photographs," which appeared in the next issue, related a similar story of the exporting of furs in exchange for the importation of material goods, all neatly packaged in Hudson's Bay Company crates. The first image, however, a low angle shot of an imposing "Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming, D.D., first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic" (as the caption announced), introduced the element of Christian religion into the picture, the Anglican church appearing as visible co-patron in the north. Both photo-series also left no doubt as to the recipients of the Nascopie's bounty. From the very first photograph, "The Little Brown Men of the Arctic" (the title conveying a tone of paternalistic affection), of five men looking out at the expanse of arctic sea, to the closing

image of the second series, of the smiling acknowledgement by two Inuit men and a boy "Enjoy[ing] Fort Garry Coffee During Unloading Operations at Port Burwell," the Native was pictured as both onlooker and happy participant.

The following year, Harvey Basset of Associated Screen News⁹³ was secured to film the 1934 trip of the Nascope, which boasted the presence of HBC Governor Patrick Ashley Cooper and his wife, Mrs. Cooper. For company publicists the trip became a great occasion, centred around the first visit of a Governor of the HBC to Hudson Bay in the company's two hundred and sixty four year history.⁹⁴ A number of Bassett's photographs were featured in The Beaver, in "An Illustrated Record of an Unique Voyage," while over one hundred of his pictures appeared in Trading into Hudson's Bay, a commemorative volume of this "event."⁹⁵ In The Beaver and in book form, the photographic record was bound up in an interpretation of the course of northern history. From the founding myth of des Groseilliers's establishment of Rupert's House in 1668 to Governor Cooper's return to the HBC's northern roots lay an unbroken chain of

⁹³ Associated Screen News, initially financed by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1920, was "the dominant force in Canadian film" by the end of the 1930s, specializing in the production of theatrical shorts, industrial and promotional films, and newsreels. See Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 222-32.

⁹⁴ Although A.A. Chesterfield, a professional photographer from Montreal and ex-HBC fur trader, writing to apply for a position as photographer-writer on the Canadian government's Eastern Arctic Patrol, criticized the "forced methods" of the HBC's 1934 publicity campaign. NAC, RG 85, volume 72, file 201-1 [10], Chesterfield to D.L. McKeand (Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), 8 May 1935.

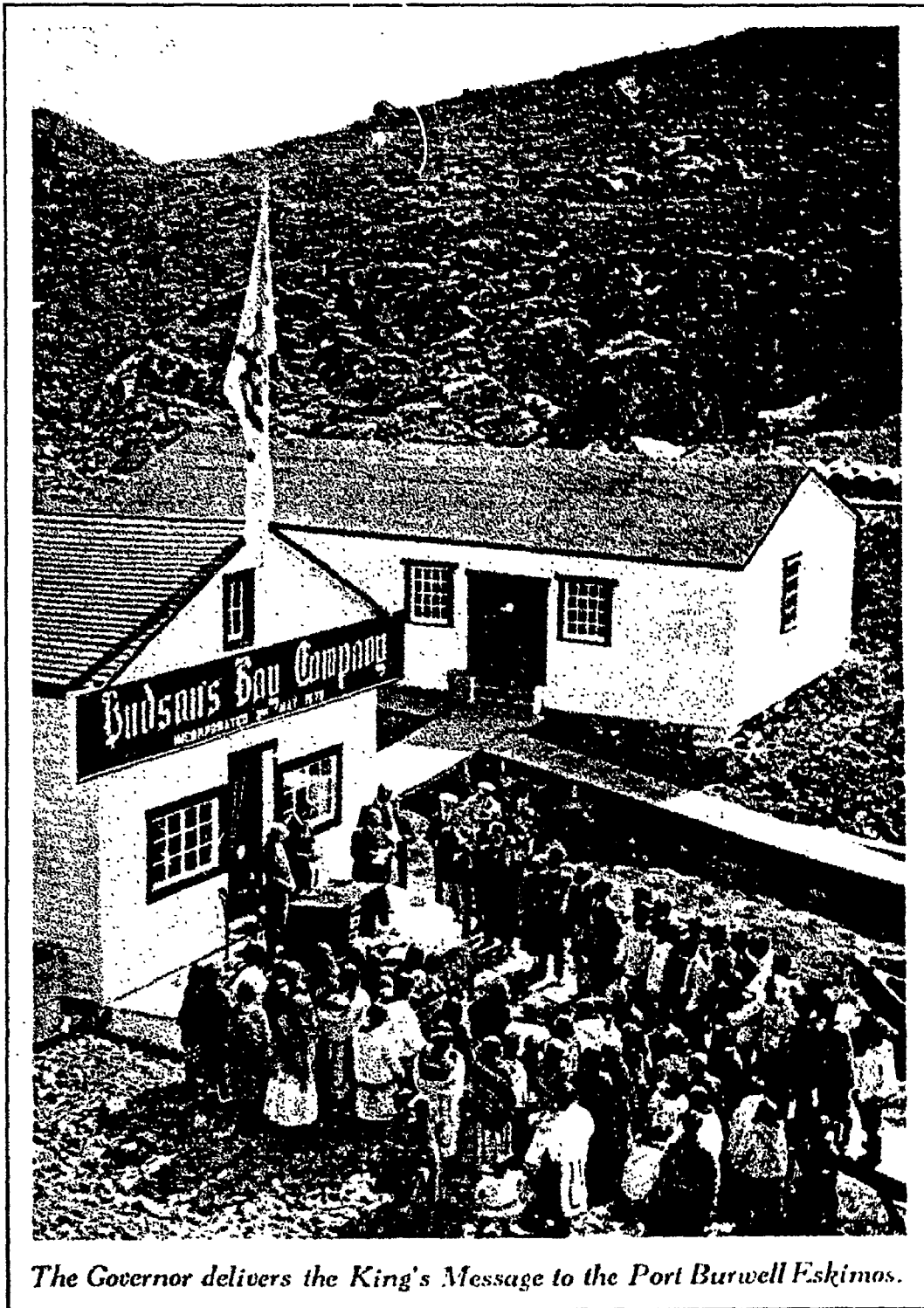
⁹⁵ The Beaver (December 1934), "An Illustrated Record of an Unique Voyage," 9-12; R.H.H. Macaulay, with photographs by H. Bassett (Associated Screen News) Trading Into Hudson's Bay: A Narrative of the Visit of Patrick Ashley Cooper, Thirtieth Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to Labrador, Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay, in the year 1934 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Company, 1934). Authorship, however, is difficult to determine, the book being credited as "from the journal of R.H.H. Macaulay" (who accompanied the Coopers on their northern tour); MacKay, however, undoubtedly played a significant role in the book's production.

events, "an ordered sequence" that was presented as a "cause for pride in our history." As the editorial commentary in The Beaver continued: "we are conscious of the obligation placed upon us by our predecessors to add, even in these modern days, more pages to that history." The photograph appearing opposite this text offered up its own historical lesson of hierarchy and allegiance in its depiction of Governor Cooper and other HBC officials presiding over an orderly gathering of "Port Burwell Eskimos," delivering a message from King George to his "Eskimo subjects" [see **Figure 34**].⁹⁶

The motion picture version of Governor and Mrs. Cooper's journey further developed this theme of an ordered social hierarchy in the North. The two hour film of "The Governor's Trip to the Eastern Arctic" replicated much of the content of the memorial volume within its filmic structure.⁹⁷ From the opening title sequence, set against the HBC seal, this moving picture conveyed a sense of pomp and ceremony. At the same time, the third person narration of the intertitles added a touch of (distanced) familiarity to these unfamiliar scenes. Centred around Governor Cooper as the main character, the film presented his movements through an ordered northern landscape of HBC posts, guided by the company vessel. The film invited the viewer to join vicariously in on the voyage,

⁹⁶ The Beaver, "An Illustrated Record of an Unique Voyage," (December 1934), 10; see also Macaulay, Trading into Hudson's Bay, 89 on this "new chapter... added to the story of the Hudson's Bay Company.... [A] story of loyal men and great leadership... which must now tell of Patrick Ashley Cooper, the first Governor to visit the Company in the barren Northland."

⁹⁷ "Governor's Trip to the Eastern Arctic" (Hudson's Bay Company, 1934); this is the title assigned by the HBCA as the opening title sequence of the film is missing. Some of this footage also appears in Trading Into Hudson's Bay (Hudson's Bay Company, 1936).



The Governor delivers the King's Message to the Port Burwell Eskimos.

Figure 34: "The Governor delivers the King's Message to the Port Burwell Eskimos."

Photographer: Harvey Bassett.

Source: The Beaver (December 1934), 10.

to accept the film's point of view and perspective as a natural and appealing way of viewing the HBC's role in the north.

In the film's scenes (made intelligible by their order and the descriptive intertitles included⁹⁸), the North was highlighted as a site for the rituals of gift-giving and exchange. In the film's version of events "the little brown people of the Arctic" (again) are seen gathering to greet the Governor and his entourage at each northern post visited.⁹⁹ The viewer is informed that in response to the message relayed by Governor Cooper "from His Majesty the King to his Eskimo subjects... the head Eskimo read a reply which the Governor, on his return to England, handed to his majesty." After a further address by the governor, a copy of which, translated into syllabics, was given to each man - the film lingers over a scene of seated Inuit men studying this speech - presents were then distributed to the assembled Natives. In these ceremonies of exchange Native and white were seemingly bound together. Yet this relationship was far from equal. Just as Cooper stood in for King George and represented the values of hierarchy and authority, as the Governor he embodied the notion of the superior material presence of the HBC, the representative of commercial Civilization in the North.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ On this aspect of filmic interpretation (at its most blatant and coercive), and the way in which words framed northern Natives according to the mental and imaginative constructs of white observers, see the sequence of the shot of a Native man offered as evidence for the preceding title: "The laziest man in Lake Harbour/ He lives by stealing bait from traps."

⁹⁹ Quotations in the following discussion are from the film's intertitles.

¹⁰⁰ The text of the King's message read: "You should know that we have often heard tell that no people are merrier, more friendly, or more thoughtful for their families than the Innuvit. In the same way that parents are proud of their children so the Queen and I take especial pride in our faithful and hardy Innuvit." Quoted in Macaulay, *Trading Into Hudson's Bay*, 37.

What the film does not reveal is the role of photographic representation in these exchanges, in conveying messages of "family" and "Empire." While Governor Cooper presented a hunting knife and a copy of his message to the men, Mrs. Cooper distributed dresses or sweaters and a folder containing a message and a photograph of herself and her children to the Inuit women. Then, following the formal gift-giving portion of the program, races and other sporting events were held, concluding with the screening of motion pictures. Included was a special film, extending King George's message to "his Eskimo subjects." According to the book version of events "to make that message more real ...[the King] had asked the Governor to show...[the Inuit] a special film of their King's ceremonial life, a film from His Majesty's own collection."¹⁰¹ The 1934 voyage of the Nascopie not only took away images of the north, but also left some behind. Inuit men received hunting implements and the Governor's words, Inuit women clothing and a photographic keepsake of the Governor's wife; but all - men, women and children - were invited to watch, as interested and loyal subjects, the image of the King, father of the Empire.¹⁰²

In its depiction of the relationship between the company and northern Native peoples on film, a relationship which positioned the company as surrogate

¹⁰¹ Macaulay, Trading Into Hudson's Bay, 15, 38; NAC, RG 85, volume 71, file 201-1 [9], D.L. McKeand (aboard the Nascopie) to J.L. Turner, 3 August 1934.

¹⁰² Governor Cooper's message further highlights this gendered view of the Coopers' visit and the Inuit: "I have journeyed over the great Sea from the island of Britain to meet the Inuit hunters... and I have brought my wife with me on this [sic] long journey, so that she who is especially fond of children may greet [sic] your wives and families.... Take courage, hunters, strive harder so that you may gain greater reward for the good of your wives and children." NAC, RG 85, vol. 71, file 201-1[9], copy of "The words of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to the Inuit."

of imperial authority, Trading into Hudson's Bay both mirrored and contributed to this way of perceiving the Hudson's Bay Company's northern presence. Government officials in Ottawa, however, interpreted the meanings of these exchanges between Governor Cooper and the Inuit in a different light. O.D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, reacted with surprise when he learned of Governor Cooper's breach of diplomatic protocol in transmitting greetings from the King, although no official action appears to have been taken.¹⁰³ As MacKay recognized, and government officials at times expressed a measure of concern over, the Nascopie's annual voyage to Hudson Bay and the eastern arctic presented persuasive images of the HBC's power and authority in the north.

Following Sauer and Bassett, other professionals ventured northward in the interests of HBC publicity, their pictures becoming incorporated into this narrative of the HBC's leading and beneficial role in the region. Nicholas Morant, a staff photographer with the Winnipeg Free Press (and later for Canadian Pacific Railways) covered the Norway House-Island Lake canoe brigade in 1936, while Richard N. Hourde photographed the western arctic that same

¹⁰³ Ibid., R.A. Gibson (Assistant Deputy Minister of the Interior) to J.L. Turner (Director, Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), 23 July 1934. According to Skelton: "A message addressed to the Eskimo inhabitants of Canada would normally be issued on the advice of His Majesty's Ministers in Canada and would have been transmitted to the Eskimos in question through a recognized Canadian Government agency which in the present case would be the Head of the Canadian Arctic Expedition [D.L. McKeand]." Skelton to R.A. Gibson, 24 July 1934.

year.¹⁰⁴ Lorene Squire, an American nature photographer known for the "exquisite composition" of her wildlife photographs, took on a different kind of assignment for the HBC in 1938.¹⁰⁵ Travelling by plane to the Arctic Ocean at the mouth of the Mackenzie River, then joining the Nascopie at Churchill for the northward voyage to posts in the archipelago, Squire recorded scenes of both the western and eastern arctic. Before the journey, Alice MacKay (who briefly replaced her late husband as Beaver editor) wrote to Squire concerning financial and travel arrangements, and then laid out The Beaver's guidelines:

In addition to your own specialty, you would do a more or less routine record of life in the north as you see it, and hitherto unrecorded posts.... [The object] is to have a reserve supply of the finest northern pictures from which to draw over quite a period of time.¹⁰⁶

The goal, then, was not merely to obtain a series of interesting northern pictures for immediate publication, but to build up a storehouse of HBC-sponsored images. Thus, after Squire's death in an automobile accident in 1942, the HBC began a ten year campaign to acquire her extensive negative collection. As C.P. Wilson requested in a letter to her father: "We are naturally very much interested

¹⁰⁴ "With The Canoe Brigade/ A Series of Northern Pictures by Nicholas Morant," and Nicholas Morant, "Plumb Loco- All of 'Em," The Beaver (September 1936), 31-38 and 46-49. For Hourde's photographs see "From the Western Arctic," (December 1936), 29-35; "Three Pictures of Eskimo Life" and "Fifty Years of Steam on the Mackenzie River," (June 1937), 18-19 and 42-43; and "Arctic Fishing," (September 1937), 33-36.

¹⁰⁵ Alice MacKay, review of Squire's Wildfowling With a Camera in The Beaver (December 1938), 51-3. For Squire's wildlife photography see "Six Pictures," The Beaver (June 1938), 34-39; "Behold the Beaver," (December 1939), 6-12 and "Dwellers in the Marsh," (December 1940), 14-18.

¹⁰⁶ HBCA, RG 2, series 7, file 95, Alice MacKay to L. Squire, 26 May 1938 and "The Packet," The Beaver, December 1938, 5. For Squire's Nascopie work see cover photograph and "A Summer in the Arctic," The Beaver (December 1938), 29-38; cover and "Fort Ross and the Northwest Passage," (March 1939), 23-37; and "Eskimo at Shiptime," (September 1941), cover.

in anything she produced, and especially in her northern pictures."¹⁰⁷ Sponsoring and collecting images went hand in hand, as The Beaver presided over a growing visual archive.¹⁰⁸

By 1940, professionals had covered most of the scenes of the company's northern operations for its magazine, in effect providing a photographic map of Hudson's Bay Company "territory." The June issue of that year, in fact, featured an outline map of Canada, divided into the company's fur trade districts, and completely filled in with photographs by Bassett, Hourde, Morant and Squire. The Mackenzie Athabasca district, for example, was represented by a photo of the Distributor, the company's ship on the Mackenzie River; the Western Arctic district by a shot of an Inuk hunter with his rifle poised, astride a small motor boat (emblazoned with the initials "HBC") on the edge of the ice floe; the Ungava district by the stalwart Nascopie in the arctic ice pack; and the Nelson River district by an Indian trapper in snowshoes.¹⁰⁹ Hardy and resourceful Native hunters and trappers, pictured alongside company transport vessels, conveyed an impression of the HBC's pervasive influence.

¹⁰⁷ HBCA, RG 2, series 8, file 1100, C.P. Wilson to H.E. Squire, 10 February 1948. The Squire family sent off a number of negatives in 1952, and then again in 1965, following the death of Mrs. Squire; see Lorne Squire Photograph Collection, 1987/46, consisting of 2,952 black and white negatives.

¹⁰⁸ In addition to commissioned work, pictures of other professionals were sometimes displayed in the magazine's pages, and then added to The Beaver collection. See "Life in the North," The Beaver (December 1937), 12-17, the work of prominent American photo-journalist Margaret Bourke-White, who accompanied the tour of Governor General John Buchan down the Mackenzie River in 1937 on assignment for LIFE magazine.

¹⁰⁹ "Fur Trade Districts," The Beaver (June 1940), 30-31.

Yet it was not merely a matter of filling in the map, of creating and presenting the North in the image of the HBC. If professional photographers were required to maintain the quality and standards of a pictorial magazine of the North, the participation of men in the field was needed to provide a measure of direction and local control. As Alice MacKay explained to Lorene Squire, embarking on her first trip to the arctic: "Among those on board [the Nascopie] will be J.W. Anderson, District Manager of Ungava District, who literally knows the Arctic like a book, and can advise you on the spot...." The HBC provided remuneration and transportation and, just as importantly, an appropriate orientation to the North.¹¹⁰

Company officers and servants not only acted as guides and interpreters for professional photographers in the field; the photographic contributions of fur traders were recognized as an inexpensive and authoritative source of "authentic pictures" of northern life.¹¹¹ But as Douglas MacKay noted, The Beaver was not about to publish every photograph with northern content that crossed his desk.¹¹² What was needed were quality photographs, both in terms of subject matter and technical proficiency. To this end, The Beaver ran a how-to piece on photographic methods, written by C.P. Detloff, the staff photographer of the

¹¹⁰ HBCA, RG 2, series 7, file 95, A. MacKay to Miss Squire, 26 May 1938; see also A. MacKay to P.A. Chester, 10 June 1938.

¹¹¹ "The HBC Packet," The Beaver (December 1934), 5.

¹¹² "More than ninety photographs are reproduced in this number of The Beaver, and of these sixty are amateur efforts.... With the professional it is possible to talk on a blunt business basis, but with the amateur, whose pictures The Beaver needs, there is the uncomfortable work of turning down pictures which have been sent in at our own request. In the preparation of this issue approximately two hundred and fifty pictures were examined...." "The HBC Packet," The Beaver (December 1935), 6.

Winnipeg Tribune, with the "hope of securing more and better photographs from the North."¹¹³

Detloff advised potential Beaver contributors "to think before you shoot," offering practical advice of both a general and specific nature: "To meet the requirements of a pictorial magazine of the class of The Beaver a photograph must possess interesting subject matter, must tell the story in a glance and be clean cut and of good contrast." After covering some of the common errors of the amateur, including poor composition, under or over-exposure, and out of focus shots, Detloff offered suggestions on film types and filters for northern conditions and the ubiquitous "snow scenes." He then turned to a brief discussion of the failed photograph, pulled from the growing file in The Beaver office at Hudson Bay House in Winnipeg: a funeral at Port Harrison made interesting subject matter, but "picture very shaky;" a dog team and sled suffered from bad composition and lack of filter; the photographer of an Indian tug-of-war "stood too far away, figures are an undecipherable mass. A close-up showing straining faces would have furnished an excellent news picture."¹¹⁴

Detloff's commentary, and its publication, are significant in several respects. In the first place, there is the reference to "The Beaver file," that archive of published and unpublishable photographs that would continue to grow

¹¹³ C.P. Detloff, "Comments on Common Errors in Photography," The Beaver (December 1934), 40-41.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

in the succeeding decades.¹¹⁵ In amassing The Beaver file, the company was not merely a passive collector, but an active sponsor of northern views. Hiring professional photographers was an important part of this program. Detloff's article underscores another aspect of the company's role in creating a particular vision of the North. The HBC actively promoted amongst the company's northern staff a photographic way of seeing that drew its criteria from the interconnected realms of the illustrated press and mass market advertising. In the interests of publicity and promotion, the image of the North, as produced by the company's fur traders, was to be honed and sharpened according to the journalistic and commercial sensibilities of the day. News value and compositional precision were to become determining factors, as "amateur" fur trade photography became, in effect, professionalized. MacKay himself acknowledged this movement, applauding the efforts of those who are "no longer content to confine their efforts to family groups and infants, but go out after pictures of real compositional value."¹¹⁶

The photographic interests of James Watt Anderson serve to illustrate this transition among one HBC fur trader, whose keen interest in image-making was

¹¹⁵ After being maintained by the company library at the HBC Canadian head office in Winnipeg, this photograph collection, consisting of over 100,000 images, was passed on to the HBC Archives; see HBCA, Head Office Photograph Collection, 1987/367.

¹¹⁶ "The HBC Packet," The Beaver (September 1935), 5-6. See also "Camera Study Competition," The Beaver (December 1938), 48-9, in which a jury consisting of editor Alice MacKay, noted commercial artist Arnold Brigden, and chair of the competitions committee of the Winnipeg Camera Club, E.V. Caton selected winning entrants from the 617 pictures submitted by 97 staff members. The winning entry was a photograph of a young trader sorting furs at York factory; second prize a head and shoulder portrait of a long-haired, bearded "old Eskimo;" and third prize a shot of "A trapper making tea" on the trail.

recognized and promoted as a valuable asset to the company.¹¹⁷ Lauded at his death in 1962 as "one of the best known Company fur traders in the last half century," Anderson spent forty-eight years of his adult life in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Following in the footsteps of his maternal grandfather, who was employed by the company, the seventeen year old Anderson signed on as an apprentice clerk in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1910. Upon coming to Canada, Anderson's career with the company followed a familiar path from apprentice to clerk to post manager, his advancement coinciding with various moves from post to post within the James Bay District. It was during the early period of his life in the Canadian north that Anderson married Annie Margaret McLeod of Moose Factory. A family with longstanding ties with the company, both through seasonal employment at the posts and through marriage with company employees, the McLeods were known as "HBC people," reflecting the company connection and their Aboriginal heritage.¹¹⁸

J.W. Anderson, like other fur traders, turned to photography to record and make sense of his experiences in northern Canada. As changes in photographic technologies broadened the accessibility of the medium beyond a few select members of the HBC's officer class, the camera became an unofficial part of the

¹¹⁷ As Clifford Wilson noted: J.W. Anderson "is to all intents and purposes the associate editor of The Beaver. When the editor wants some information on the North of the past thirty-five years, Mr. Anderson's office is generally his first port of call." "Contributors," The Beaver (December 1944), 50.

¹¹⁸ BayNews (July-August 1962), 5; HBCA, Servant's Contracts, A.32, file 20 folios 274-280; Fur Trade Department, RG 3, series 40a, file 1; Shirlee Smith (former Librarian, Hudson's Bay House and Keeper, HBCA), personal communication, 27 November 1987. For an autobiographical account, see J.W. Anderson, Fur Trader's Story (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961).

fur traders' outfit by the early decades of the twentieth century. The images which survive from this period of Anderson's life display an intimacy that encompassed both the people and places pictured.¹¹⁹ Like the photographs that make up the family album, these are images in the service of personal and family memory, glimpses of the interconnected nature of work and family life for a Scottish emigrant settling into the rhythms of the northern fur trade during the teens and 1920s.¹²⁰

Most of the surviving photographs taken by Anderson, however, relate to the public aspects of his life. As District Manager of Ungava from 1937 to 1952, he eagerly collected scenes of his inspection tours by ship and plane. His photographs from these years are markedly different from those he took as a young man at the posts of James Bay, involving different motivations and techniques. Taking hundreds of pictures in a single trip, Anderson employed the photograph as a tool of documentation, as a visual report that could be passed around amongst fellow fur trade management who, like Anderson, were based at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ See HBCA, James Watt Anderson Photograph Collection, 1986/45, N1 to N253, negatives from Anderson's years at Moose Factory, Rupert's House and Fort Albany (1910 to 1927).

¹²⁰ See Peter Geller, "Family Memory, Photography and the Fur Trade: The Sinclairs at Norway House, 1902-1911," Manitoba History 28 (Autumn 1994), 2-11 for an analysis of a fur trade family album of life at a northern Manitoba post in an earlier decade; and William C. James, Fur Trade Photographs: A.A. Chesterfield in the District of Ungava, 1901-1904 (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985) for a discussion of photography and its role in constructing memories from the recorded scenes of the past.

¹²¹ See, for example, Anderson's photographic coverage of the 1939 Nascopie voyage in HBCA, James Watt Anderson Photograph Collection, 1987/205, items 76 to 455.

By the mid-1930s, Anderson was an enthusiastic contributor to The Beaver, writing on such subjects as the Rupert River fur brigade and the company's beaver conservation schemes in James Bay. These articles, some of which were illustrated by his photos, conveyed a story of the company's continuing efforts to maintain the economic welfare of the Natives of northern Canada. Whether carrying on the centuries old tradition of river transport, or "pioneering in the North" by initiating conservation programs, the HBC was contributing to the "moral and physical well-being" of the Indian.¹²²

From 1937 to 1946, a selection of Anderson's photographs taken aboard the Nascopie, on his district inspections of the eastern arctic, were published as a yearly feature in The Beaver.¹²³ Amongst his extensive photographs from these years are multiple shots of the same subjects, displaying a conscious attempt to frame an aesthetically pleasing view, with the idea of publication in mind. Anderson was no longer photographing the north as a personal document of daily existence, but was engaged in capturing the public aspects of the Nascopie's annual trip from the vantage point of the senior HBC official on board.

¹²² J.W. Anderson, "7000 Square Miles of Beaver Sanctuary," The Beaver (June 1934), 16-18; "The Rupert River Brigade," (December 1935), 13-17; 66 (illustrated with his photographs); "Beaver Sanctuary," (June 1937), 6-11; see also "On the Trail," (photos by J.W. Anderson), (March 1938), 7-11. Anderson also supplied articles and photographs for the Moccasin Telegraph, the HBC's fur trade personnel magazine launched in 1941 (he was described as its "most consistent contributor" in the April 1948 issue), as well as for the House Detective, a modest publication produced by the staff at Hudson's Bay House in the 1940s.

¹²³ "Two-Sixty-Eight," The Beaver (September 1937), 50-51 (which included Richard Finnie's photographs as well as Anderson's); "Sailing With the Nascopie," (September 1938), 50-52; "Summer Cruise to the Arctic," (December 1939), 44-45; "Fur Trade News," (December 1940), 52-55; "The 1941 Voyage of the R.M.S. Nascopie," (December 1941,) 7-9; "Wartime Voyage," (March 1943), 38-41; "Fort Ross Voyage," (December 1944), 45-47; "Nascopie: Veteran of Two World Wars," (December 1945), 43-45; and "Peacetime Voyage," (December 1946), 44-47.

Anderson's photo-features took the story of the Nascopie into the war years and beyond, until the sinking of the ship at Cape Dorset on its 1947 voyage [see Figures 35 and 36].¹²⁴ His pictures featured the familiar personalities aboard ship (especially ship captain T.F. Smellie and government expedition leader Major McKeand) and those encountered at the company's posts, with a large supporting cast of Natives. Captions identified, by name, the Anglo-Canadians pictured, while the Inuit were only rarely named, categorized instead by the names of the Hudson's Bay Company posts where they were encountered. The accompanying text set out the annual voyage to Hudson Bay and the eastern arctic as a continuation of the "Company spirit of expansion and progress."¹²⁵ Highlighting the events surrounding "shiptime" and the Nascopie as the annual link with "civilization" in the far north, these images of the ship's voyage served as symbols of the progressive influence of the spread of commerce. According to Anderson himself, this was the lesson of "Trading NORTH of Hudson's Bay":

[Ralph Parson's] vision, "Trading north of Hudson's Bay," has become a reality, and now we have the famous HBC flag dotted all over the Eastern Arctic right through to the connecting link [between east and west], Fort Ross.... As a result of the realization of this vision, new wealth has been created and the Eskimo has benefitted from the use of the white man's products brought to him in exchange for his furs.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ See C.P. Wilson, "Nascopie - The Story of a Ship," The Beaver (September 1947), 3-11.

¹²⁵ This quote is from "Two-Sixty-Eight," The Beaver (September 1937), 50-51.

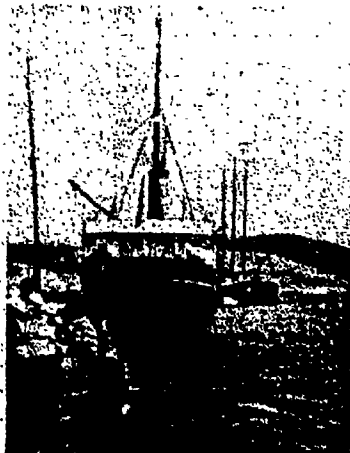
¹²⁶ J.W. Anderson, "Trading NORTH of Hudson's Bay," The Beaver (December 1939), 43.

Sailing With the Nascopie

Pictures by J. W. Anderson.



M.T. "Therese," northern Roman Catholic mission supply ship, going down the St. Lawrence with the "Nascopie."



The "Nascopie" transshipping supplies to the "Fort Garry" at Hebron.

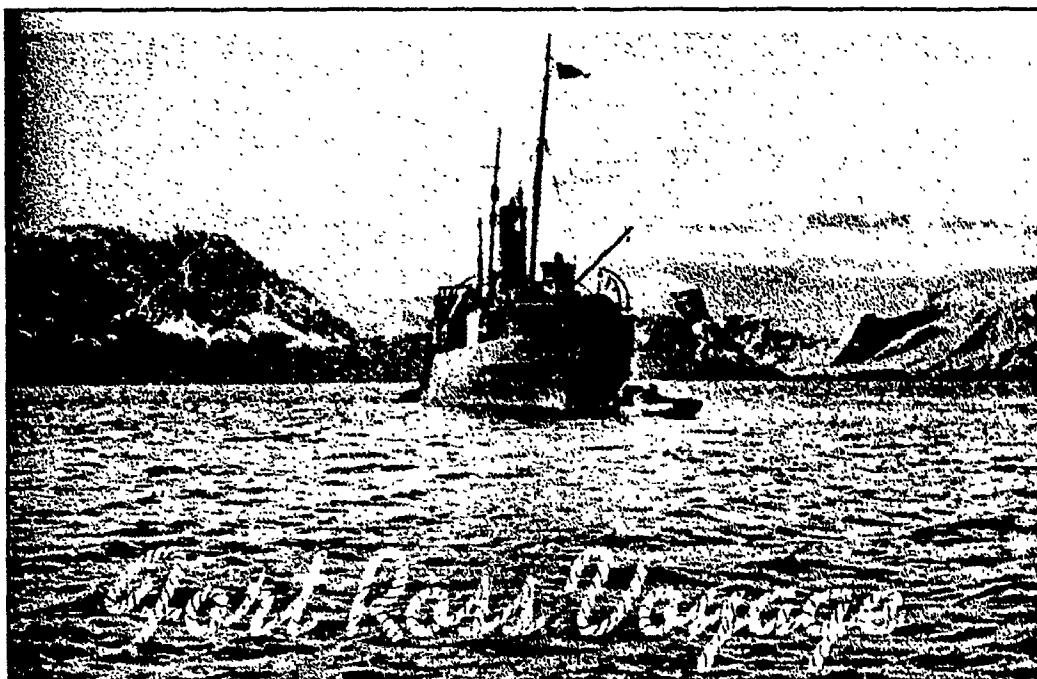


Supplies for Hebron.



Ship's Carpenter Clem James, erecting a wind mill to charge the batteries of the radio station at Hebron.

Figure 35: "Sailing With the Nascopie."
Photographer J.W. Anderson.
Source: The Beaver (September 1938), 50.



R.M.S. "Nascopic" at anchor in beautiful Fingriktung fiord.

Story and Photos
by J. W. Anderson



raising the H.B.C. flag again at Fort Ross. L. to R., Ken Hunt, clerk; J. W. Anderson, Ungava District manager; J. M. Stammers, post manager.

THE highlight of the 1944 voyage of the *Nascopic* was the visit to Fort Ross, where she had not called since 1941. Heavy ice was again encountered in Prince Regent Inlet, but the sturdy vessel was equal to the task and finally steamed in and dropped anchor off Fort Ross post on the first day of September. There was considerable ice in the harbour, so that part of the cargo had to be landed on the beach about a mile below the post in Depot Bay. On the second day, however, the ice opened up sufficiently to allow the remainder of the cargo to be landed at the post.

As was to be expected, the Eskimos were on hand to give us a great welcome, for the supply ship means much to them—boats, rifles, ammunition, tea and the beloved tobacco, not to mention the tools and the stores of "white man's goods" to which they have become accustomed and which help make life easier for these primitive people of the far Arctic. Everything about the post was spick and span, and so orderly and tidy was the dwelling that one would hardly thank Mrs. He-lop had left hurriedly for that epic airplane flight in November 1943.

Post Manager J. M. Stammers, with assistant Ken Hunt, set about re-opening the post. The very first thing, of course, was to start a coal fire in the stove so that all could see smoke from the chimney of the post house at Fort Ross. Next the H.B.C. flag was raised on the flag-staff, the lower mast of which used to be one of the yard-arms of another veteran H.B.C. ship, the *Bellevue*.

The next step was to put Fort Ross "on the air." This was done when the transmitter was assembled

Figure 36: "Fort Ross Voyage."

Photographer: J. W. Anderson.

Source: The Beaver (December 1944), 45.

In later life Anderson was more ambivalent about the material and social effects of the fur trade on Aboriginal people.¹²⁷ In The Beaver, however, the company's northern expansion was viewed unambiguously, a progressive force in developing the north for Native as well as white.

The True North in Pictures?

Spurred on by wartime developments, including the building of the CANOL pipeline and the Alaska Highway, the period after 1945 witnessed many changes in northern Canada. With the beginning of cold war tensions, the arctic's strategic position played a part in generating public interest in the area; others conceived of a new northern frontier of agricultural and industrial potential. As J.P. de Wet, Secretary of the Manitoba Chamber of Mines exuberantly exclaimed within the pages of The Beaver: "Who knows, today the Northwest Territories may be at the threshold of destiny!"¹²⁸

For the HBC, these post-war developments seemed to compound the changes taking place in the interwar years. As A.J. Ray has noted, "the older paternalistic fur trade... was crumbling by 1945," the relationships between Native and non-Native in the north redefined by the extension of the liberal welfare

¹²⁷ The interviews Anderson conducted with former HBC employees in 1958 and 1959 document his preoccupation with (and lament over) the transformations in Native lifestyles as a result of the fur trade. See HBCA, J.W. Anderson Papers, E.93, files 9 to 27 (transcripts).

¹²⁸ J.P. de Wet, "Mining in the North," The Beaver (December 1945), 20-25; see also Charles Camsell, "Opening the Northwest," (June 1944), 4-7; and C.A. Dawson, editor, The New North-West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947) for a further example of this discourse. On post-war perceptions of the North see Shelagh Grant, Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 148-49 and J. Wreford Watson, "The Role of Illusion in North American Geography: A Note on the Geography of North American Settlement," Canadian Geographer XIII, No. 1 (1969), 22-25.

state.¹²⁹ In this scenario, HBC-sponsored imagery took on new meanings, "The Beaver file" becoming a repository of northern "history" in the face of altered conditions. Fittingly, editor Clifford Wilson sifted through the accumulated collection of photographs, offering them up for re-publication in book form. As Wilson asserted in the introduction to this retrospective of Beaver imagery from 1933 to 1946:

Here in pictorial form is the true North - not the North of the romantic novel or the sensational newspaper story, but the real thing seen through the camera's accurate eye. The people who appear on these pages are genuine northerners, pictured as they went about their daily tasks. In this way the book becomes a record of the North today. But more than that it also becomes an historical record; for the North is changing fast, and in a few years many of the subjects photographed here will no longer be found anywhere.¹³⁰

Wilson makes a claim for the value and unique nature of photographic communication as presenting "the real thing," unadorned by subjective interpretation. Doubly valuable, the photograph not only captures the truth of the moment, but in its making creates a historical document, preserving the essence of the North on film. Accordingly, Wilson originally suggested the title True North, as "it sums up the theme of the book, which is the pictorial representation of the truth about the North."¹³¹

¹²⁹ Ray, Fur Trade in the Industrial Age, 221; see also Frank James Tester and Peter Kulchyski, Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994).

¹³⁰ Clifford Wilson, ed., The New North in Pictures (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), 4. This portion of the introduction, and many of the photographs, were reprinted in the follow-up to this volume, Clifford Wilson, ed., Pageant of the North (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1957).

¹³¹ HBCA, RG 2, series 7, file 93, Wilson to Lorne Pierce (Ryerson Press), 12 December 1946. As it was previously used as a book title, Wilson and his publishers, after considerable discussion, settled on another title.

An examination of Wilson's imaginative reconstruction of the best of The Beaver, however, pierces through the assumed transparency of the photographic image as "true" and "accurate," revealing the constructed nature of these photographic representations of the Canadian north. As Wilson arranged and re-arranged the photographs, subject headings seemingly presented themselves, the North neatly packaged into discrete units of cultural knowledge: "Indians, Eskimos, White Man, Dogs, Natural History, Posts, Scenery, Travel, Ships, Fishing, the Nascopie." In this ordering of The Beaver archive, Aboriginal peoples occupied a different social category - and photographic space - than White Man; company Posts stood apart from Natural History and Scenery, signs of civilization among northern nature.¹³² But from an aesthetic point of view, as Wilson recognized, "grouped like this, they did not present a very attractive whole. I think that after six pages of Eskimos, one gets a little tired of seeing them and the same might be said of scenery." So he re-shuffled the file: Arctic Summer, Winter Woodlands, Summer Woods and Waters, Northern Man, Nascopie Voyage. Wilson constructed a new thematic arrangement that built on these "natural" subject divisions, but provided him with the ability to contrast images of people with scenes of northern nature, and perhaps more importantly, to organize the pictures as a series of narrative possibilities.¹³³

¹³² See also Wilson's later query to the president of the company's fur sales in New York, on which pictures he wanted for his office: "You can specify...whether you prefer landscapes, people, natives, modern development, or what." Ibid., RG 2, series 8, file 879, Wilson to B.G. Coward, 9 January 1957.

¹³³ Ibid., RG 2, series 7, file 93, Wilson to Lorne Pierce (Ryerson Press), 12 December 1946.

Tying it all together, furthermore, were the captions and other explanatory remarks. As Lorne Pierce of Ryerson Press recognized, "Text is essential. It is a relief from the pictures and helps bind the pictures together and explain them where necessary."¹³⁴ The reader-viewer was guided through the book, provided with signposts for assigning meaning to the faces and bodies displayed on the page:

Cheerfulness is one of the most outstanding traits of the Eskimo character... the Indians, as a race, have produced many fine men and women, and given a chance by the white man, will find a worthy place in our civilization... Your true northern man knows how to live in the wilderness, is cool and untroubled in an emergency, speaks little of his adventures except among his fellows, scorns heroics, and though loving the companionship of friends, yet is able to live contentedly in solitude.

The section on Hudson's Bay Company posts was prefaced with the explanation that "these lonely outposts have been looked upon by whitemen as oases in the northern wilderness, and by red men as their chief sources of supply."¹³⁵ Each picture embodied both the general and the particular, standing for a greater whole that could then be reduced to readily understandable categories of social analysis. Far from an unmediated document, The New North in Pictures, like The Beaver itself, told a highly selective story, working words and image into an interpretative frame, organizing the multiple possibilities of North into a coherent account.

While The Beaver file continued to grow with the contributions of fur trade personnel and professional photographers, The New North in Pictures

¹³⁴ Ibid., Pierce to Wilson, 27 December 1946.

¹³⁵ Wilson, The New North in Pictures, 35; 86; 142; 183.

offered a comprehensive tour of past images. Despite continued claims of limited involvement ("Apparently there has been a little misunderstanding here, because this is not my book...")¹³⁶, Wilson chose and arranged the photographs, provided captions, and framed the collection with his introductory remarks, stamping his own authorial presence on the finished volume. Yet in a certain sense, Wilson was correct in distancing himself from The New North in Pictures. In presenting these photographs of the north, Wilson was building on the image-making practices of his predecessor, Douglas MacKay, persuasively reproducing the Hudson's Bay Company's interpretation of the North in pictorial form. Promising the "true" and the "real," this book of Beaver photographs delivered yet another northern tale; perhaps not told in the fashion of the "romantic novel or the sensational newspaper story," The New North in Pictures, like the larger public relations project of which it was a part, nonetheless fashioned its own version of the North, gathering, organizing and presenting its photographic evidence for specific goals and purposes.

¹³⁶ HBCA, RG 2, series 7, file 93, Wilson to Frank Flemington (Assistant Editor, Ryerson Press) 18 November 1946.

CHAPTER IV
FROM BACK TO BAFFIN TO CANADA MOVES NORTH:
RICHARD FINNIE'S NORTHERN VISIONS

During the interwar years the image of the Canadian north was represented in many forms; as the discussion of government image-making has demonstrated, the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch employed photography and film to convey an official view of the territories and to disseminate a positive picture of the influence of northern administration. The Anglican Church's Arctic Missions, under the energetic leadership of Bishop Archibald Lang Fleming, and the Hudson's Bay Company, especially through the public relations activities initiated by Douglas MacKay, also relied on photographic material in their constructions of the North. Having examined the ways in which representatives of government, business, and religion produced and employed visual imagery, it is instructive to examine the prolific career of an image-maker who both mirrored and criticized the values and concerns of these Euro-Canadian interests in his own promotion of the North. Fellow of the Canadian Geographical Society and the Arctic Institute of North America, member of the Explorers Club of New York and the American Polar Society, Richard Finnie established his professional career as a filmmaker, photographer, lecturer and author through his presentations of northern Canada, his status as an "authority" on the subject lasting throughout his lifetime.

In the course of a long and varied life, Richard Finnie created a rich legacy - both pictorial and written - covering a wide variety of subjects, places, and time periods. From 1928 to 1940 he filmed and wrote about the Canadian north, travelling to the eastern and western arctic and throughout the Mackenzie River area, mostly under the sponsorship of the federal government. With the onset of World War II, Finnie acted as an observer, liaison and documenter for the civilian contractors and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for the building of the Alaska Highway and the related CANOL refinery and pipeline. This led to a lengthy career, from 1947 until 1968, as official historian and film producer with the Bechtel Corporation, the United States-based engineering and construction firm that had undertaken much of the work for the CANOL project. After his retirement, from his home in Belvedere, California, Finnie remained an active writer, lecturer and traveller, concentrating much of his energy on northern themes.

Some of Finnie's early northern material resurfaced in the National Film Board documentary Coppermine in 1992, serving as a visual backdrop for the film's argument about government neglect in the face of the devastating effects of imported disease on the Inuit in the 1920s.¹ The focus in this chapter is on

¹ Coppermine (National Film Board of Canada, 1992). In addition to Finnie's footage, Hubert Wilkins (associated with the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18) is also credited for "archival cinematography." While a detailed critique of the film is not called for here, it is worth noting that the Finnie material is often used "cross-scriptically;" that is, the voice-over narration accompanying the archival footage implies a correspondence between the spoken descriptions and the visual image (or further, serve as evidence for the narrative), yet the film footage was actually taken of a different event at a different time. For a positive review, which takes Coppermine's presentation of historical footage at face value ("The camera can show us Coppermine in 1929") see Christopher Moore, "Making the Past Move Again," The Beaver (August-September 1995), 53-4.

placing Finnie's visual representations, and his films in particular, in the foreground: to ask questions about the way in which they contributed to understandings and perceptions of the Canadian north; and to explore how Richard Finnie became a "northern authority," drawing out the varied ways in which he presented himself and his northern knowledge to the public.²

"A Clean-Cut Young Canadian" in the North

Finnie's later construction of his life emphasized his northern heritage - he was born in Dawson city, Yukon in 1906 - as the beginning of an inevitable preoccupation with the Canadian north.³ Yet Finnie's life path was not so narrowly marked. While only three years old, his family moved to Ottawa, after his father, Oswald Sterling Finnie, was transferred from the Yukon Gold Commissioner's Office to act as an inspecting engineer for the Department of the Interior. The young Finnie spent his childhood and adolescence in the nation's

² Finnie's status as a "northern authority" is clearly announced by the keepers of his records. The Finding Aid to Finnie's manuscript collection at the National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), MG 31, C 6, credits Finnie "as an authority on the geography and history of the Arctic and Northern Canada." Jim Kidd, "Richard Sterling Finnie," Finding Aid No. 1891 (Ottawa: NAC Manuscript Division, 1992, revised 1993); see also Leslie Mobbs, "The Richard Sterling Finnie Collection," *The Archivist*, 15, No. 5 (September-October 1988), 6-7.

³ See for example the promotional brochure advertising Richard Finnie's Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Co., 1940) which notes: "Richard Finnie has a perfect background for the writing of a book about the Far North. He was born in Dawson, Yukon Territory...."(in NAC, Records of the Public Service Commission, RG 32, vol. 1128). See also NAC, Documentary Art and Photography Division (hereafter DAPD), R.S. Finnie Collection, 1987-154, Accession file, "Richard Sterling Finnie / Biographical note with emphasis on northern background," by Richard Finnie, October 1974. Finnie's mother, Nelly Louise Roediger (1877-1967), travelled north at the end of the Klondike gold rush with her mother, Phoebe H. Roediger, and father, Richard Roediger, founder and publisher of the Dawson Daily News; his father, O.S. Finnie (1876-1948), was in the Yukon in the employ of the federal government as chief clerk and recorder of mining claims in the Gold Commissioner's Office. See NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 6, file 12, "Nelly Louise Finnie" and "Oswald Sterling Finnie."

capital. As the son of a career civil servant and "old Ottawa boy," and grandson of a prominent businessman, "Dick" Finnie grew up in a household that was well connected to the social life and events of the city.⁴

One might point to his winning entry in a school story competition, "An Episode in the Wilds, depicting animal life and conditions in the north land," illustrated by lantern slides drawn by the then fourteen year old, as early evidence of a career in northern representations. Yet the young Finnie pursued a number of interests with youthful enthusiasm, including magic, art and acting.⁵ His actual northern experience was a result of his father's renewed involvement in the northern bureaucracy. When the federal government turned attention towards restructuring the administration of its northern territories in 1920, O.S. Finnie was selected as the director of the new Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch (NWTYB). In 1924, the seventeen year old Finnie's application to accompany the NWTYB directed Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP) as assistant wireless radio operator was, not surprisingly, accepted. The following summer found Finnie celebrating his eighteenth birthday on his second trip aboard the C.G.S. Arctic.

The NWTY Branch had already established a practice of extensive visual documentation of its field investigations and expeditions. As a member of the

⁴ "O.S. Finnie Heads Ottawa Branch of Engineering Institute," Ottawa Citizen (December 1926), clipping in NAC, MG 31, C6, vol. 17, file 1. Finnie's paternal grandfather, D.M. Finnie, was general manager of the Bank of Ottawa. Present at his funeral in October of 1931 were a number of Members of Parliament, including the Prime Minister; federal government officials and city councillors; and representatives of Ottawa's financial and social welfare institutions. Ottawa Journal (8 October 1931), clipping in NAC, MG 31, C 6, vol. 16, file 1.

⁵ Ottawa Citizen (22 December 1920), clipping in NAC, MG 31, C 6, vol. 16, file 2; for accounts of his youthful activities see also vol. 16, file 1 and vol. 17, file 1, Scrapbooks (1924-31).

EAP, Richard Finnie was immersed in the photographic and filmic perception of the North. Like his fellow travellers, his Kodak was kept busy photographing shipboard activities and the northern scenes and people encountered in the course of the three month journey. Back in Ottawa, his pictures were duly preserved in the departmental albums, alongside those of the other government officials.⁶

In addition to participating in this photographic record, the young Finnie became interested in the work of professional newsreel cinematographers Roy Tash and George Valiquette, who documented the EAP in 1924 and 1925 respectively. After observing these men in the field, Finnie assisted in the editing of their eastern arctic footage in the cutting room at the Ottawa facilities of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau (CGMPB). Finnie later credited Tash and Valiquette for their part in his first exposure to the techniques of motion picture production.⁷

After the making of a film record of the EAP was temporarily suspended in 1926, Richard Finnie was appointed as official historian and cinematographer for the 1928 and 1929 voyages. Prior to heading north he received some training in operating motion picture camera equipment from staff at the CGMPB, notably

⁶ NAC, DAPD, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, 1974/366, Album 8, "Arctic," which includes photographs by R.S. Finnie as well as R. Tash, O.S. Finnie, L.D. Livingstone, and G.H. Valiquette.

⁷ NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 10, file 18, Richard Finnie, "The Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau and the National Film Board As I Knew and Was Associated with Them (1924-1940)," June 1974; Northwest Territories Archives (hereafter NWTAA), G92-030, Richard S. Finnie interview by David Leonard, 6 November 1980; David Zimmerly, Museocinematography: Ethnographic Film Programs of the National Museum of Man, 1913-73 Mercury Series, No. 11 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974), 6.

with an Eyemo camera. As Finnie was an inexperienced filmmaker, it was suggested by CGMPB staff that he use this easier-to-operate technology; Finnie later remembered that he found it superior, but recalled how newsreel cameramen at the time disdained these types of cameras as "unprofessional." In any case, this adoption of the compact, motor-driven Bell and Howell Eyemo 35 mm camera was an important innovation that influenced Finnie's approach to filmmaking.⁸ Previous Arctic Expedition cinematographers Valiquette and Tash laboured with bulky hand-cranked movie cameras, which needed to be mounted on massive tripods to be effectively operated. With the Eyemo in hand (or placed on a light tripod for scenic or telephoto work), Finnie was better able to capture "any unanticipated, sudden happening." Finnie's subsequent film work was to employ this lightweight technology, providing his work with a measure of spontaneity previously unseen in northern filmmaking.⁹

This included some remarkable footage of musk ox. As O.S. Finnie was particularly desirous of obtaining images of northern wildlife in its natural state, the Beothic visited Cape Sparbo, Devon Island in both 1928 and 1929. Finnie's footage included close-ups of the animals, their heavy breath palpably visible. Medium shots pictured the herd moving into its characteristic defensive posture,

⁸ NAC, Records of the Northern Affairs Program, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], G.P. Mackenzie to O.S. Finnie, 23 March 1927; vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], F.C. Badgely (Director, CGMPB), 25 April 1930; Cartographic and Audiovisual Archives Division (hereafter CAVA), ISN 211538, Richard Finnie interview by Claude Minotto, 7 April 1975.

⁹ NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 6, file 7, Richard Finnie, "Northern Photography" (unpublished manuscript for "Encyclopedia Arctica"), August 1947, 6. Finnie later half-seriously claimed his approach to arctic filmmaking was a forerunner of cinema verite, an important mode of documentary filmmaking dating from the 1960s. See vol. 10, file 18, Richard Finnie, "The Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau and the National Film Board As I Knew and Was Associated with Them (1924-1940)," June 1974 and CAVA, Richard Finnie interview by Claude Minotto.

then stampeding after a member of the government party fires a gun into the air. Other than these intrusions for the purpose of filmmaking, the musk ox were left unmolested, in keeping with the federal government's policy of protecting these once-plentiful creatures. Given the link between the NWTYB's preoccupation with musk ox conservation and attempts at asserting Canadian control over the arctic islands,¹⁰ even these pictures of wildlife carried their own political sub-text. In a reel featuring Finnie's musk ox sequences from the 1928 and 1929 expeditions, one of the captions noted:

Some of the early explorers took heavy toll of these remarkable animals and in order that the species might not be wiped out the Government prohibited the killing of them under all circumstances and at all times of the year.¹¹

Through Finnie's film work the Canadian government could be seen to be demonstrating its benevolent influence in the northern territories, the very image of living musk ox testifying to their successful "protection."

In contrast to the untitled "record" films of previous Eastern Arctic Patrols, then, Richard Finnie used intertitles to advance his films' arguments and to propel the narrative action. In addition, he employed other cinematic elements to add dramatic appeal to the EAP pictures. The Arctic Patrol, for example,

¹⁰ See William Barr, Back from the Brink: The Road to Musk Ox Conservation in the Northwest Territories (Calgary: Arctic Institute of North America, 1991) for a full discussion of this issue, and of the government's concern with and attempts to halt the hunting of musk oxen by Greenland Natives on "Canadian" territory. As Barr notes: "musk ox may almost be looked upon as a symbol of Canadian arctic sovereignty" (99). In fact, the NWTY Branch's logo, which figured prominently on all publications and films, was a graphic illustration of a musk ox. See also the departmental publication by W.H.B. Hoare, Conserving Canada's Musk-oxen (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1930).

¹¹ Arctic Expedition 1929: Musk-ox on Devon's Island (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1929). This one-reel film was likely made for screening at the Victoria Museum, Ottawa.

used shots of radio messages and newspaper headlines to move the plot forward.¹² At the same time, these devices added a further sense of immediacy to the arctic images projected on screen, as a shot of a tapping finger preceded the pictures of the telegraphic messages. The newspaper headlines, on the other hand, worked towards aggrandizing the trip as a notable and newsworthy event. Although only 23 years of age in 1929, Finnie had worked as a reporter for the Ottawa Citizen since 1926, and was well attuned to the ways in which the media told stories and the methods employed to gain the public's attention.

More specifically, Finnie was aware of how the North was presented visually, having covered slide and film lectures given by representatives of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. His 1927 report of biologist J. Dewey Soper's lecture at Ottawa's Victoria Memorial Museum emphasized how, contrary to popular conceptions, the arctic was not a land of snow and ice. In Soper's lantern slides of Baffin Island, Finnie reported, numerous pictures of beautiful summer flowers and vegetation demonstrated the vitality of arctic life. Soper also screened the film of the 1924 Canadian government expedition. According to Finnie's written account, the motion pictures provided a graphic indication of the execution of the government's task of supplying and relieving the RCMP in their performance of the important duty of occupation and the carrying out of law and order in the region.¹³ By virtue of this newspaper experience and his family

¹² The Arctic Patrol (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1929); see also In the Shadow of the Pole (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928).

¹³ "Shows Arctic is Not Land of Eternal Ice and Snow," Ottawa Citizen (16 March 1927), clipping in NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 17, file I; see also "Planting Gospel on Arctic Coast," Ottawa Citizen (9 April 1927) on the illustrated lecture given by W.H.B. Hoare, former missionary worker who was at this time a field investigator for the NWTYB; and Ottawa Citizen (13 May 1927),

connections, Finnie was well acquainted with the official government position on northern administration and the means used to present this message.

While Finnie edited and titled the footage of the 1928 Eastern Arctic Patrol, the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch received a request for an "Eskimo film" to accompany singer Juliette Gauthier's popular recitals. Given that this request was endorsed by the Prime Minister's office, and as the Branch had no readily available film of this sort, the need to produce such a moving picture was apparent. Richard Finnie, given his familiarity with the Arctic Expedition pictures and with the techniques of filmmaking, was recommended (by his father) to produce this picture from the material on hand.¹⁴

Although then living in New York city, the forty year-old Gauthier maintained her Canadian connections, and had recently performed at the 1927 and 1928 Canadian Pacific Railway-sponsored Canadian Folk Song and Handicraft Festival in Quebec.¹⁵ Her repertoire included French-Canadian, Indian and Eskimo "folk-songs," in a recital that combined both educational and artistic elements.¹⁶ Gauthier's interest in collecting, arranging and presenting

interview with Mackenzie District administrator J.A. McDougal.

¹⁴ NAC, RG 85, vol. 792, file 6297, O.S. Finnie to W.W. Cory, 24 September 1928. J. Gauthier to O.S. Finnie, 23 October 1928 mentions a telegram from Mackenzie King's secretary authorizing her use of an Eskimo film. Gauthier was well-connected: her older sister, Eva, was an internationally renowned Canadian mezzo-soprano and teacher, who counted among her patrons Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier. See Gilles Potvin and Nadia Turbide, "Gauthier, Eva" in Helmut Kallman, Gilles Potvin and Kenneth Winters, eds., Encyclopedia of Music in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, second edition), 517-18.

¹⁵ James B. McPherson, "Gauthier de la Verendrye (b Gauthier), Juliette," in Kallman, Potvin and Winters, eds., Encyclopedia of Music in Canada, 516.

¹⁶ Juliette Gauthier's performances at this time included appearances in Kansas City (at the Missouri State Teacher's Association convention); Chicago University; Columbia University; Denver, Colorado; Yale University; Teacher's College, N.Y.; the Museum of Natural History, N.Y.; and a

"Eskimo music" had put her in contact with the noted National Museum anthropologist Diamond Jenness, and she had previously appeared with another prominent northern expert, Vilhjalmur Stefansson.¹⁷

Gauthier presented herself as having "the interest of my country so much at heart and hav[ing] sacrificed a great deal to bring forth this gigantic program...." NWTY Branch director O.S. Finnie reiterated this aspect of her work in order to justify the making of a motion picture for her use. Loaning a film to be shown at the intermission and costume changes of her well-received recitals (most of them presented in the United States), would, O.S. Finnie suggested, "do considerable favourable advertising of Canada and the Eskimo people."¹⁸ Although unable to view the films herself (she was backstage during their screening), Gauthier reported on their reception:

Just to let you know that the moving picture was a huge success. It was said to be one of the most interesting and beautiful picture [sic] ever seen in Boston. I could [tell?] the audience were having a delightful time.... Dick's captions must be alright by the great amusement people seemed to be enjoying and the clapping of hands.¹⁹

Back to Baffin, a one reel picture, compiled mostly from the 1925 Eastern Arctic Patrol footage of George Valiquette, was, in part, an attempt to portray the folkways of the Inuit. To this end, the film presented the Native encampment (or "summer cottages" as the intertitle put it) at an unnamed Baffin Island

tour of British Columbia.

¹⁷ NAC, RG 85, vol. 792, file 6297, J. Gauthier to O.S. Finnie, 21 November 1928.

¹⁸ Ibid., J. Gauthier to O.S. Finnie, 23 October 1928; Finnie to Gauthier, 27 October 1928.

¹⁹ Ibid., J. Gauthier to O.S. Finnie, 15 December 1928.

settlement, and highlighted aspects of "Eskimo life": children playing, dogs being fed, the manufacture of sealskin boots. But in addition to this ethnographic rendering of Inuit experience, Richard Finnie wove the material into a romantic and amusing tale (according to the sensibilities of the period) of the returned husband: "Mr. Nookudlah, home again after a visit of many moons in the strange country of the white man, far to the southward."²⁰

Another aspect of Back to Baffin involved the heartening depiction of its subjects, and the implication of Canadian government involvement in this scenario. From the numerous images of smiling and laughing Inuit, to the "suitable and pithy"²¹ captions by Richard Finnie - "Hundreds of miles north of the Arctic Circle, in a Baffin Island settlement, it is 'ship-time' and everybody is happy" - a positive image of these Baffin Island Natives was presented. The very arrival of Nookudlah by the government ship (and along with him, the viewer) implicated the active agency of government administration in this happy reunion of the model Eskimo family.

What was left unsaid, however, either by the explanatory captions or by the visual imagery, was the story behind Nookudlah's departure and the events following his return. He was not back from a pleasure trip but from a confinement in Manitoba's Stony Mountain Penitentiary. Having served two of his ten year sentence for the manslaughter of trader Robert S. Janes, meted out at the trial held at Pond Inlet during the 1923 stopover of the C.G.S. Arctic,

²⁰ Back to Baffin (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928).

²¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 792, file 6297, O.S. Finnie to J. Gauthier, 27 October 1928.

Nookudlah was being returned home on parole. For the Inuit of southern Baffin Island, one imagines, Nookudlah's absence (and return) was about more than the benevolent extension of white man's justice; it signified the attempted imposition of a Euro-Canadian legal apparatus over community sanctioned methods of social control.²² Behind the smiles and laughter of the Inuit lay more serious concerns, masked by Richard Finnie's lighthearted presentation of a family re-united.

Also unacknowledged was Nookudlah's death from tuberculosis in December of 1925, just months after Valiquette shot the footage that would become Back to Baffin.²³ There is a sad irony in the knowledge that Gauthier's audiences derived pleasure from this film, amused by the depiction of the strange ways and different appearance of the Inuit and the attempt to make their Otherness understandable to a middle class, urban North American audience. Indeed, despite the facts of Nookudlah's return, Finnie's rendering of Back to Baffin conformed to cinematic expectations of the happy ending. The final title, "Together again." faded into a shot of Nookudlah and Eetootsia walking arm in arm into the distance landscape, suggesting not only a harmony between "man" and "wife" but also of Native with nature.

²² For a revealing description of the trial and its hoped-for effects in impressing the benefits of "white man's justice" on the Inuit see Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Canada's Arctic Islands: Canadian Expeditions, 1922 and 1923, J.D. Craig; 1924, F.D. Henderson; 1925 and 1926, G.P. Mackenzie (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1927), 22-25. For a discussion of government attitudes toward "crime" among the Inuit at this period see Richard Diubaldo, The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967 (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985), 18-27.

²³ NAC, RG 85, vol. 68, file 201-1 [1], O.S. Finnie to Duncan Campbell Scott (Superintendent of Indian Affairs), 28 July 1926. See also R. Finnie's thoughts on meeting Nookudlah in CAVA, R. Finnie interview by C. Minotto.

In arranging Valiquette's Eastern Arctic Expedition material into Back to Baffin, Richard Finnie gained first-hand experience of the way in which visual documents of northern life could be edited into pleasing picture stories, despite later distancing himself from the film.²⁴ Like Gauthier's performance of Indian and Eskimo "folk songs" which the film was made to accompany, Back to Baffin was about the presentation of one culture for the edification of another. Collecting and presenting Aboriginal songs, like capturing and projecting their images on screen, were activities that demonstrated a fascination with these other cultures, but that often contributed little to an understanding of the perspectives and lived experiences of the people themselves.²⁵

In addition to his work for the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch in the late 1920s, Richard Finnie was also engaged as a free-lance reporter for the Ottawa Citizen from 1926 until 1930. He contributed his writings to the Toronto Star and the New York Herald-Tribune and other newspapers as a correspondent, and published articles in popular magazines, including the Canadian Forest and Outdoors Magazine. While the latter piece recounted his travels aboard the Beothic in 1929, he pursued other than arctic interests,

²⁴ Finnie makes no mention of Back to Baffin or his role in its production in his history of northern photography in the 1940s, or in his voluminous correspondence from the 1970s, which otherwise take great pains to point out his accomplishments as a northern filmmaker. See NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 6, file 7, Richard Finnie, "Northern Photography" (unpublished manuscript for "Encyclopedia Arctica"), August 1947 and vol. 10, file 19, correspondence with David Zimmerly of the National Museum of Man (Ottawa), 1972-80.

²⁵ Of relevance to this argument is Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). Examining a range of cultural productions, from the collection and presentation of folklore to the handicraft industry to state-sponsored tourism, McKay's study is concerned with the way in which elements of Nova Scotia's culture and history were appropriated and simplified through the imposition of the idea of the Folk onto the province.

including a trip to study art and literature at the Sorbonne and Academie Colarossi in Paris in the winter of 1928-29.²⁶

Finnie's experiences on the Eastern Arctic Patrol and his time as a newspaper correspondent, coupled with being the son of the NWTY Branch's director, placed him in a favourable position to carry on further work for the northern administration. When a need was identified for a Publicity Assistant, the younger Finnie appeared a natural and logical choice. According to one of his references, Richard Finnie was "all that can be desired; a clean-cut young Canadian - what can one say more than that."²⁷

Richard Finnie's opportunity came in 1930, when his father turned his attention towards publicizing conditions in the western arctic. O.S. Finnie noted in a memo to Deputy Minister of the Interior W.W. Cory in the spring of 1930 that, despite the coverage given to the eastern arctic, "It seems rather strange but we have no pictures of the Mackenzie river or of that portion of the western Arctic from the mouth of the Mackenzie to King William Island." As O.S. Finnie saw it, it was a matter of some urgency, given his reading of the pace of change sweeping the north:

The time is fast approaching when pictures of the Eskimo in their original dress and using their primitive cooking and hunting equipment will no longer be available. This might very well be done this year and an officer

²⁶ NAC, RG 32, vol. 1128, Richard Finnie's Civil Service of Canada application, 20 May 1930, and attached materials; Richard S. Finnie, "Beyond the Arctic Circle," Canadian Forest and Outdoors (November 1929), 649-52 and (December 1929), 720-23.

²⁷ NAC, RG 32, vol. 1128, letter of reference by Thomas Wayling (Parliamentary Staff Correspondent, Toronto Star), 25 April 1930.

sent... to secure what pictures he can, especially of the natives in their original environment.²⁸

The idea of the vanishing "primitive Eskimo" was repeatedly cited as the main rationale for sending out a motion picture operator to the western arctic. Writing to a publicist at Bell and Howell, the company which provided the Branch with motion picture camera equipment, Finnie senior noted that pictures of Eskimos wearing the clothes and using the technology of their "forefathers... will soon be impossible to secure and we wished to get them before the white man had completely altered the mode of living of the Eskimo as he has with the Indian."²⁹

This belief in the devastating effects of culture contact on Aboriginal peoples was part of a long standing and commonly held set of attitudes toward Native people. Contemporary scientific thought, which was echoed in popular belief, tended to view the Native past as a time of stable cultures that contrasted with "a culturally disintegrated present... [that resulted from] the consequences of contact with and domination by Europeans...."³⁰ Significantly, Richard Finnie's northern sojourn of 1930-31 had, as one of its starting points, this quest to depict the Copper Eskimo - previously "discovered" and popularized as the "Blonde

²⁸ Ibid., O.S. Finnie to W.W. Cory, 16 April 1930.

²⁹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 817, file 6982 [1], O.S. Finnie to F. Hicks (Bell and Howell Company), 20 October 1930. See also O.S. Finnie to W.W. Cory, 29 August 1930 and RG 32, vol. 1128, Cory to W. Foran (Secretary, Civil Service Commission), 25 April 1930.

³⁰ James A. Clifton, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers," in James A. Clifton, ed., Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), 3. This volume attempts to counter this history of popular and scholarly beliefs regarding North American Native peoples by presenting biographical studies of individuals whose life histories challenge the overly simplistic notions of "acculturation" and "assimilation."

Eskimos" by Vilhjalmur Stefansson and further studied by anthropologist Diamond Jenness - in their still pristine state.³¹

At the same time, however, Richard Finnie was also instructed to gather information on the "developing" north of the Mackenzie River district, with the intended purpose of writing a descriptive pamphlet of the area. And so in June of 1930 Richard Finnie set off via Edmonton and Waterways, Alberta. He travelled down the Mackenzie aboard the NWTY Branch's recently completed motor boat, the Medico, where he was to take still and moving pictures of the settlements, people and resources along the river.³²

Perhaps anticipating glimpses of the more exotic to come, Finnie found the northward journey along the Mackenzie relatively uninteresting for filming. At Norman in the second week of July, having already made stops at Fort Resolution, Fort Providence and Fort Simpson, he unsuccessfully made inquiries through the RCMP "about having the Indians do a drum dance for the movies, but a contribution of supplies was demanded in return." While Finnie's camera kept cranking, he found the settlements along the river all "pretty much alike and there's been scarcely any action around them, beyond the movements of the planes."³³ In fact, in Finnie's journalistic retrospective of his northern year, Lure

³¹ See Richard J. Diubaldo, Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 49-54; and David Morrison, Arctic Hunters: The Inuit and Diamond Jenness (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1992), 7-25.

³² NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], "Publicity Assistant," 19 June 1930.

³³ *Ibid.*, vol. 817, file 6982 [1], R. Finnie to O.S. Finnie, 11 July 1930; R. Finnie (Coppermine) to O.S. Finnie, 18 August 1930 also notes: "I have been taking movies right along, but there isn't a great deal of interesting material available at this time."

of the North, his narrative commences at Herschel Island, on the arctic coast, which he reached at the end of July. While he would later turn his talents toward representing industrial developments along the Mackenzie river, Finnie's interests at this point lay in recording the scenes encountered in the more isolated regions of the Northwest Territories.³⁴

Finnie continued filming as he sailed eastward along the arctic coast. Travelling aboard the Hudson's Bay Company's Baychimo as far as Cambridge Bay on Victoria Island, he then secured passage on the company's auxiliary schooner, the MacPherson, to Gjoa Haven, King William Island. Following an exploratory flight over the North Magnetic Pole and to King William Island in search of Franklin relics in the company of Major L.T. Burwash, Finnie made his way back westward to the small settlement of Coppermine, which served as his base until the following spring.³⁵

As fall turned into the long northern winter, Finnie settled into the routine of arctic settlement life. The community at Coppermine consisted of a trading post, Anglican and Oblate missions, government medical and wireless stations, and visiting Inuit families. While much of his time was preoccupied with the

³⁴ Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940).

³⁵ Finnie's summer and fall experiences were documented in Down the Mackenzie River (Department of the Interior, 1932), Over the North Magnetic Pole (Department of the Interior, 1932) and Cruising Among Arctic Islands (Department of the Interior, 1932), part of a series of six silent films that Finnie edited and titled after his return south to Ottawa. See NAC, RG 85, vol. 817, file 6982 [1], Finnie to Hume, 29 January 1932. The National Film Board Stock Shot Library holds some footage from these films. On the North Magnetic Pole flight and Franklin Expedition search see NAC, RG 85, vol. 808, file 6772; and L.T. Burwash, Canada's Western Arctic: Report of Investigations in 1925-26, 1928-29 and 1930 (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1931).

tasks of daily living, and assisting the department's medical doctor,³⁶ Finnie considered his primary goal that of making a motion picture of "primitive Eskimo life."³⁷ Given his initial instructions to secure pictures of "Eskimo who have not come so much under the influence of white men" Finnie later wrote:

I was quickly disillusioned with a realization that while the Copper Eskimos until a few short years ago had been among the most primitive of all the... Eskimos left in the world, now they had already aped so many of the white man's customs, taken to using so many of his implements, donned so much of his clothing, that it was no longer possible to film them as primordial, untouched people - except by the device of re-enactment, which I was reluctant to resort to....³⁸

Unlike Edward Curtis and Robert Flaherty, who had earlier relied on re-enactments in their depictions of North American Native cultures in In the Land of the Headhunters (1914) and Nanook of the North (1922), Finnie "undertook to record such of the folkways as had not been sullied or blotted out, soft-pedaling though not attempting to conceal the ever-present white influence." Yet, like Flaherty and Curtis, Finnie's filmic depiction of the Inuit emphasized the "primitive" aspects of Aboriginal life.³⁹

³⁶ When Dr. Martin left Coppermine at the beginning of March, Finnie assumed his duties, dispensing medicines for the sick and rations for the "destitute." See Finnie, Lure of the North, 171-85 for his critical assessment of his role.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

³⁸ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], "Publicity Assistant," 19 June 1930; Finnie, Lure of the North, 193.

³⁹ Finnie, Lure of the North, 193; for a visual example of this see the photograph published in Lure of the North, 196. On Curtis see Bill Holm and George I. Quimby, Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1980); for an introduction to Flaherty scholarship see Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Robert Flaherty, Photographer/Filmmaker: The Inuit, 1910-22 (Vancouver: The Vancouver Art Gallery, 1979).



Figure 37: "Ikpuckhuak sings."

Photographer: Richard Finnie.

Source: Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940), 196.



Figure 38: "Finnie Films a Copper Eskimo dance-song recital."
Photographer: Richard Finnie.
Source: Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940), 196.



Figure 39: Richard Finnie, Kila Arnaugak and Bill Storr on the trail.

Source: Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940), 202.



Figure 40: "Kila Arnaugak, known also as Lucy. From an igloo to a metropolitan hotel and back."

Photographer: Richard Finnie.

Source: Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940), 87.

While he photographed the life in and around Coppermine, including footage shot in October of Inuit fishing through the ice at a camp several kilometres from the settlement, Finnie was desirous of capturing more exotic images of Native life.⁴⁰ Yet the lack of light during the dark arctic winter hampered his efforts. Responding to his father's message to make a picture of igloo building Finnie wired back on the first of December:

SUN NOW GONE UNTIL MIDDLE JANUARY SIX HUNDRED FEET
MOVIES IGLOO BUILDING TAKEN UNDER EXTREMELY
DOUBTFUL LIGHT CONDITIONS ALTHOUGH TEST NEGATIVES
ENCOURAGING HOPE FOR MORE FAVORABLE
OPPORTUNITIES FOLLOWING SUNS RETURN

Finnie's opportunity finally came in April. Accompanying a white trapper and his Copper Eskimo wife, Finnie set out by dog team for the sealing camp of Tikerak, across the Coronation Gulf from Coppermine.⁴¹

There Finnie shot the material that would become Among the Igloo Dwellers, a four reel film that featured "Ikpuck, patriarch of the community" building a snowhouse, participating with his fellow Copper Eskimos in "a sing-song and dance," and then packing up and setting out inland in search of caribou. As the film's final intertitle concluded: "So off toward the land they go. On the morrow perhaps they will be feasting. Perhaps fasting. But the Eskimos are cheerful. It is their life..."⁴² This emphasis on the contented lot of the "Eskimo"

⁴⁰ This material was featured in the film Winter in An Arctic Village (Department of the Interior, 1932).

⁴¹ Finnie, Lure of the North, 194; NAC, RG 85, vol. 817, file 6982 [1], O.S. Finnie to R. Finnie, 22 November 1930; R. Finnie to O.S. Finnie, 1 December 1930.

⁴² Among the Igloo Dwellers (Department of the Interior, 1932); NAC, RG 85, vol. 817, file 6982 [1], Title List, enclosed in R. Finnie to H.E. Hume, 29 January 1932. Finnie credits the assistance of Diamond Jenness for checking "that all historical and ethnographical statements were

in the face of impending hardship remained a hallmark of Finnie's presentation of northern Native life. His voice-over narration for the educational short that he produced from this material in 1934, Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller, made use of many of the phrases from the intertitles of the original Among the Igloo Dwellers.⁴³ Finnie must have found that his depiction of the Copper Eskimo as contented children of nature resonated with his audience, and was thus worthy of inclusion in the sound version. Into the 1940s, a re-edited version of the film remained on Finnie's program of lectures that he presented on his popular tours throughout Canada, the United States and England. In the promotional material advertising Among the Igloo Dwellers, the film and its subjects were presented in the following terms:

An absolutely unique film of the winter life of the Copper Eskimos of Coronation Gulf in the heart of Arctic America. It shows their normal day-to-day routine: fishing through the ice, building their ingenious snowhouses, performing traditional dance-songs, breaking camp and trekking with their dog-teams; and it is delightfully rich in incidental humour. Photographed only a few years ago, it could no longer be duplicated, so quickly and inexorably has invading civilization swept away the picturesque dress and Stone-Age culture of these lovable folk who never knew a white man until after the turn of this century.⁴⁴

Two photographs served to illustrate this film-lecture. In the first, a medium shot from the "traditional dance-songs" sequence, focused attention on the presentation

correct."

⁴³ Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller (Richard Finnie, 1934) was distributed to schools in the United States and Canada by Bell and Howell Filmsound Library, and later by United World Pictures. The Canadian Museum of Civilization (formerly National Museum of Man) also has a silent titled version of Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller, apparently titled by Diamond Jenness for museum use. See Zimmerly, Museocinematography, 6; and 89-92 for a shot by shot description of this version.

⁴⁴ "Richard Finnie," promotional brochure [1940] in NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1]. Among the Igloo Dwellers was one of "four contrasting but uniformly absorbing lectures, each fully illustrated with one his own remarkable motion pictures" that Finnie presented at the time.

of Copper Eskimo culture [see **Figure 37**]. The second photograph is a long shot of the "dance-song" in the half-igloo that was especially built to accommodate its filming, with Finnie and camera placed prominently in the foreground [see **Figure 38**]. Here the emphasis is on the making of the film, on the capturing of inaccessible, "unusual" scenes of a "picturesque" and "Stone-Age culture" by the intrepid documentary motion picture producer.⁴⁵

This sequence of photographs, like the promotional brochure in which it appeared, draws attention to the role of Richard Finnie as the "creator" of "his" Eskimo films. Yet it also reveals the underlying, and usually unacknowledged, circumstances surrounding the making of these filmed versions of Copper Eskimo life. What was the nature of the negotiations and exchanges that made up the filmic encounter between Finnie and the people in front of - as well as out of view of - his camera?

Having spent the fall and winter of 1931-32 at Coppermine, Finnie set out that spring with Bill Storr and Kila Arnaugak for the sealing camp of Tikerak, across Coronation Gulf [see **Figure 39**]. Here he hoped to obtain his goal of securing footage of the Copper Eskimo in their "original environment." Finnie had previously travelled with the former prospector and his Copper Eskimo wife earlier that winter. In Lure of the North, Finnie devoted an entire chapter to Kila (also known as Lucy) the "Arctic Adventuress" [see **Figure 40**] and the story of her numerous unsuccessful marriages, several to non-Natives. In Finnie's

⁴⁵ See NAC, DAPD, 1974-366, Album 23, "N.W.T.- R.S. Finnie" and Richard S. Finnie Photograph Collection, 1987-154, Album 11 for a series of photographs detailing the shooting of "The Dance of the Copper Eskimos" sequence; and Finnie, Lure of the North, 200-204.

telling, as Kila has been "Outside," she becomes a living example of the effects of Civilization on the Eskimo. After her return to her people she is ostracized because of her strange tales of the city and its bright lights. But finally, with the right man, Bill Storr, Lucy "at long last had found peace and security. Eight years have passed and they are still up in the Arctic, living happily ever after." This was not only a question of Finnie's assessment of female fulfilment as linked to her role as wife and mother. According to Finnie, when asked if she wished to visit the land of the white man again, Lucy shrugged; as Finnie interpreted it: "To be content with one's lot is an Eskimo characteristic." For it is in the arctic she must remain, as the "Eskimo" can only find happiness within the northern environment.⁴⁶

Finnie's reading of Kila Arnaugak's life story was clearly enmeshed in his own culturally specific values, interpreted through his understandings of the interplay between race and gender. From this perspective Finnie is unable to grasp fully Kila's role as a cultural broker or mediator; this role is viewed only negatively, as somehow degrading the purity of "race" through contact with outsiders. But as a "woman-in-between," Kila Arnaugak mediated between cultures.⁴⁷ Displaying a command of English as well as the Inuit dialect, she not only acted as Finnie's interpreter, but played an essential part in the filming process. As Finnie himself later acknowledged, she was his "assistant director,"

⁴⁶ Finnie, Lure of the North, 85-93.

⁴⁷ Sylvia Van Kirk, "'Women in Between': Indian Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada," C.H.A. Historical Papers (1977), 30-46 discusses the need to acknowledge the active and important role of Native women in such inter-cultural contexts.

guiding, from behind the scenes, the rehearsal and shooting of the action that was played out for his camera.⁴⁸

The camp of Tikerak consisted of a score of snowhouses, several times as many Eskimos, and around a hundred dogs. As Finnie later noted, "Bill and Kila were of the opinion that this would be the ideal place to round out my film record."⁴⁹ Finnie had previously met many of these people before during their visits to Coppermine, and considered several of them good friends. They included Ikpuckhuak, Diamond Jenness's chief informant during his ethnographic work for the Canadian Arctic Expedition from 1913 to 1916. Ikpuckhuak, now an elderly man, had spent considerable time at the Coppermine post that winter, as the government doctor tended to his step-daughter "Jennie" Kanneyuk, who was dying a lingering death from spinal tuberculosis.⁵⁰

While at Coppermine, Finnie arranged with Ikpuckhuak to take a leading part in the film he wished to make.⁵¹ At Tikerak, Ikpuckhuak welcomed Finnie, Kila and Storr by building a snowhouse for them (which Finnie dutifully recorded). In the completed films, "Ikpuck" became the "star." Once-mighty hunter, igloo-builder extraordinaire, and artistic interpreter of his culture through

⁴⁸ Finnie, Lure of the North, 92.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁵⁰ See Coppermine (National Film Board, 1992) for a dramatic re-telling of some of these events; interestingly, although Finnie's footage is extensively used, his presence at Coppermine is minimally treated.

⁵¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 817, file 6982, R. Finnie to O.S. Finnie, 23 March 1931.

song and dance, "Ikpuck" was presented as the individual cultural type who embodied the skill, knowledge and qualities of his "race."

For Finnie, Ikpuck was the consummate Eskimo, forever immortalized on celluloid. In summing up his experiences filming the Copper Eskimo, Finnie described his feelings as the people broke camp and prepared to head inland. He poignantly recalled his leave-taking with Ikpuckhuak, who died the following year:

I bade a wistful farewell to the old gentleman, whom I liked and admired and would never see again in the flesh.... [He was] one of the last of the generation that received Klengenber and Stefansson and Jenness, the generation that in its youth had never know a white man and then had to bear the brunt of civilization's restless advance. But Ikpuckhuak still lives on through the magic of cinema.⁵²

Like an act of salvage ethnography, it was as if in recording the soon-to-be "lost ways" of the vanishing primitive Finnie would forever capture their essence on film. More "real" than a museum display, these pictures of Eskimos commemorated a way of life that Finnie viewed as forever passing. In this interpretation, Ikpuck, as representative of his generation, was one of the last to hold the knowledge of traditional times, and one of the first to live through the changes of the modern north. Clearly, Ikpuckhuak did live through a pivotal point in his people's history. Yet in presenting this material to the public, Finnie's apparent concern with preserving a historical moment of Inuit society became subordinated to the demands of offering up a one-dimensional image of "Stone-Age" primitives as educational entertainment.

⁵² Finnie, Lure of the North, 205.

If the making of the film was a negotiation, and involved the active participation of individuals like Ikpuckhuak and Kila Arnaugak as presenters and teachers of their culture, once returned from the North it was Richard Finnie who became the mediator of this experience and an expert on the Eskimo. In the recorded voice-over and in his film lectures, Finnie as narrator left the interaction of the film making to preside over a knowledgeable portrait of Eskimo "reality," interpreted in terms easily understandable to school classes and lecture audiences. Natives and their culture became objects of display, their differences highlighted as at once admirable, artistic, humorous, and repulsive. As in his published memoirs, Finnie's Copper Eskimo films waver between an honest admiration of Inuit ways and an exaggerated emphasis on its exotic aspects; between sharing what he has learned of their culture and providing his audience with a simplified and stereotyped view of Inuit life.

"Unpaid Propagandist for the Canadian North"

Following the completion of his government contract in the spring of 1932, Richard Finnie embarked on a career as an independent filmmaker and lecturer, capitalizing on his previous northern motion picture experience. Shortly after the termination of his employment, Finnie requested that he be given exclusive use of copies of the films he had recently completed. As he presented his case:

A great deal of painstaking care and effort have gone into the making of these films, and consequently they mean more to me personally than they possibly could to others: wrapped around each of the hundreds of scenes is a story - a recollection of hardship or adventure. Inasmuch as the films are my own creation, there will be an incentive for me to use them on many occasions in lecturing, for educational purposes, helping audiences everywhere to get "Arctic-minded" and to achieve a more graphic

understanding of our greatest frontier.... As an unpaid propagandist for the Canadian North, I feel that I shall be performing a service for the Government....⁵³

Realizing that the department might not be willing to bear the cost of new prints (around four hundred dollars), Finnie suggested, as an alternative, that he be given the test print of the films (the first print struck off from the raw negative and used for editing). After some discussion, Finnie's request was approved, based on the principle that "the lecture... in which the exhibition of films would form a part, would be a means of securing favourable publicity of sufficient value to warrant the loan...."⁵⁴ And so Richard Finnie launched upon a new phase of his career, as an "unpaid propagandist for the Canadian North."

Dependent on favourable public reaction to his film lectures, however, Finnie took as a major objective to present northern material that would be well-received. Evaluating the reaction to the first screening of his western arctic films, under the auspices of the Canadian Geographical Society, Finnie commented on the relative unpopularity of Cruising Among Arctic Islands, which documented his trip along the arctic coast:

[it] does not carry with it very much of an "arctic atmosphere," - in keeping with popular conception: it does not show a lot of Eskimos and snow and ice. Hence it probably will not be in great demand.⁵⁵

⁵³ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], R.S. Finnie to H.H. Rowatt (Deputy Minister, Department of the Interior), 7 April 1932.

⁵⁴ Ibid., F.C. Badgley (CGMPB) to H.E. Hume (Chairman, Dominion Lands Board), 2 May 1932.

⁵⁵ Ibid., R. Finnie to H.E. Hume, 22 March 1932.

It was the more "authentic" northern footage, complete with igloos, sled dogs, caribou skin clad Eskimos, and lots of snow and ice which served as the core of material for Finnie's film lectures based on his year in the western arctic.

Finnie also began to develop another theme in his presentation of the Canadian North. If Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller represented the last gasp of a proud and independent primitive society in the north, what of "civilization's restless advance" which was responsible for these devastating changes?⁵⁶ Finnie returned to the Northwest Territories in the summer of 1934 to privately produce a lecture subject, The Last Frontier.⁵⁷ He presented the film to Canadian Clubs throughout Canada, followed by a tour to the United States; a copy of the film was purchased by the National Museum of Canada. This motion picture traced the establishment of a freighting route on the Mackenzie River system from the "end of steel" at Waterways, Alberta to the new sub-arctic mining properties at Great Bear Lake.⁵⁸ Here Finnie turned his attention to "civilization" as a grand and glorious march of modernization. As described by one Winnipeg viewer, "by means of moving pictures Richard Finnie, F.R.G.S., astonished the Canadian Club at its luncheon Monday, not only at the size of the great empire stretching for over a thousand miles north of Edmonton, but at the heroic quality of those

⁵⁶ Finnie, Lure of the North, 205.

⁵⁷ The Last Frontier (Richard Finnie, 1934).

⁵⁸ The most notable property was the radium mine developed by Gilbert Labine; see Richard Finnie, "Battling the Great Bear River," The Beaver (March 1935), 32-37 and "Modern Pioneering in Canada's Western Sub-Arctic," Canadian Geographical Journal, XIII, No. 5 (September 1936), 240-55.

engaged in the development of its vast wealth."⁵⁹ This was Canada's northern empire, a frontier ripe for development by a new generation of pioneers.

And where was the Native in this scenario? In contrast to Finnie's western arctic material, here it is civilization that holds centre stage. Finnie's modern North relegated the Native to the sidelines, minor bit players in the unfolding drama of development. As one of the intertitles of The Last Frontier succinctly phrased it: "The Indians look on with mild interest. Few of them take part in such work...."⁶⁰

While Finnie continued to lecture on the north throughout North America and Great Britain, he undertook several projects in the mid-1930s which expanded the subject matter and geographic base of his expertise. He produced several studies of rural life in Quebec in co-operation with anthropologist Marius Barbeau of the National Museum in 1935, and produced a documentary film depicting life in Paris during a trip to France the following year.⁶¹ Despite the bureaucratic shake-ups which included the removal of his father as head of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch at the end of 1931, Finnie maintained his relationship with the northern administration in Ottawa (now a branch of the

⁵⁹ "Richard Finnie Tells Story of North Empire," Winnipeg Tribune (16 October 1934).

⁶⁰ NAC, Records of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, RG 22, volume 141, file MF 4-1-2, Richard Finnie, script of Canada's Last Frontier, prepared for the National Museum of Canada, 1936.

⁶¹ Seventeenth Century France in Twentieth Century Canada (Richard Finnie, 1935); Rural Quebec Folkways (Richard Finnie, 1935) and Anticosti Island (Richard Finnie, 1935), both released as ten minute sound features, with Finnie's narration, by Bell and Howell Film Library; and A Day in Paris (Richard Finnie, 1936). See Richard Finnie, "Filming Rural French Canada," Canadian Geographical Journal XIV; No. 4 (April 1937), 182-97; 35,000 reprints of this article were purchased by the Quebec government as tourist publicity.

new Department of Mines and Resources), and succeeded in obtaining government sponsorship for another northern filmmaking venture. According to Major D.L. McKeand, Superintendent of the Eastern Arctic, Finnie was uniquely qualified to again undertake the filming of the Eastern Arctic Patrol: "In my opinion he knows the Arctic better than any other Canadian. He also knows the public taste in motion pictures because he is a successful writer and lecturer both on this continent and abroad."⁶² Despite these initial high hopes for an updated feature on the work of administration in the eastern arctic, Finnie's footage became caught up in bureaucratic indecision. Never released by the government, a version of Patrol to the Northwest Passage was, however, widely shown by Finnie as a lecture subject.⁶³

Patrol to the Northwest Passage was billed in Finnie's promotional material as "a dramatic story of an ice-breaker's three-months' voyage to one of the remotest and least-known regions of the globe, bringing to its scattered, isolated inhabitants their sole annual contact with civilization."⁶⁴ No longer travelling on its own vessel, the northern administration's official party was

⁶² NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], D.L. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, 23 April 1937.

⁶³ Patrol to the Northwest Passage (Department of Mines and Resources and Richard Finnie, 1937). See NAC, RG 85, vol 60, file 160-9 [2], R. Finnie to R. Gibson, 12 April 1938; RG 22, vol. 48, file 282, R. Finnie to Dr. Camsell (Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources), 12 April 1938 on "this irksome motion picture business." Part of the difficulty stemmed from Finnie's exhaustive coverage of the voyage. While Finnie felt his approach was justified in order "to grasp the whole story in perspective" (RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], Finnie to D.L. McKeand, 22 December 1937), John Grierson, soon to be first Commissioner of the National Film Board, roundly criticized the film in his 1938 Report on Canadian Government Film Activities: "the incidental happenings of the voyage seemed to have been gathered up in promiscuous handfuls along the way." Cited in Charles F. Backhouse, Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1917-41 (Ottawa: Canadian Film Institute, 1974), 27.

⁶⁴ "Richard Finnie," promotional brochure [1940] in NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2].

transported by the Nascopie, the Hudson's Bay Company's eastern arctic supply ship. Business and government enterprise were seen to be operating in tandem, working together to complete the first commercial linking of the Northwest Passage in the interests of Canada and the Empire. This last point was graphically presented by the stop at Craig Harbour, the "most northerly post office in the British Empire," a point that was featured in the publicity material and picked up in the newspaper accounts of Finnie's film-lectures.⁶⁵

Another aspect of the film focused on life on the ship itself, highlighting the social activities on board. In contrast to the earlier Arctic Patrol films, white women were notably present, on-screen as well as off, as Alyce Finnie accompanied her husband on the Nascopie as motion picture co-producer.⁶⁶ Finnie's capture of this aspect of the voyage, including scenes of a shipboard wedding, women knitting and rocking a baby carriage, and the nurses and wives of missionaries and HBC employees at the various ports of call suggested that the Far North was becoming increasingly domesticated.⁶⁷ Yet by interspersing these images with close-ups of white fox and musk ox and shots of "primitive Eskimos at work and play," Patrol to the Northwest Passage portrayed the North as a still-

⁶⁵ See, for example, "Lecturer Tells of Canadian North," Halifax Chronicle, clipping in NAC, RG 32, vol. 1128.

⁶⁶ NAC, RG 32, vol. 1128, R. Finnie to J. Lorne Turner, (Director, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch), 15 May 1936.

⁶⁷ For an extended discussion of the experiences of white women in the arctic see Barbara Kelcey, "Jingo Belles, Jingo Belles, Dashing Through the Snow: White Women and Empire on the Arctic Frontier," (University of Manitoba: Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, 1994).

wild place, where vestiges of untamed Nature continued to exert their presence in the face of the northward thrust of Civilization.⁶⁸

In 1939 Finnie again travelled to the Mackenzie District to film and gather material on the past, present and future development of the north, this time jointly sponsored by the Department of Mines and Resources and the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau.⁶⁹ As in The Last Frontier, Finnie turned his camera on the machines and technology that brought forth the New North of economic development: the sternwheelers that travelled the Mackenzie River; the float planes that delivered mail and men and supplies to the remote mining camps; the headframe and blast furnace at the new sub-arctic gold mine near the booming frontier town of Yellowknife [see Figures 41 to 43]. According to an outline Finnie prepared, "The leit-motif running through the picture is the inexorability of civilization's penetration - affecting the life of every man, woman and child in the land."⁷⁰ Finnie's perspective on this development was summed up by the title of the film he lectured with, Canada Moves North - the same title he later used for his 1942 book.⁷¹

⁶⁸ See also Richard Finnie, "Trading into the North-west Passage," The Beaver (December 1937), 46-52; and "To the Northwest Passage: A Summer Tour," Filmo Topics 14, No. 3 (Vacation 1938), 6-7, 11 for further elaboration of these themes.

⁶⁹ See NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2] for detailed correspondence on the negotiations between Finnie and the government regarding the shooting and completion of the film.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Richard Finnie, "The Theme" [1939].

⁷¹ Canada Moves North (Richard Finnie, 1939) and Richard Finnie, Canada Moves North (Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1942).

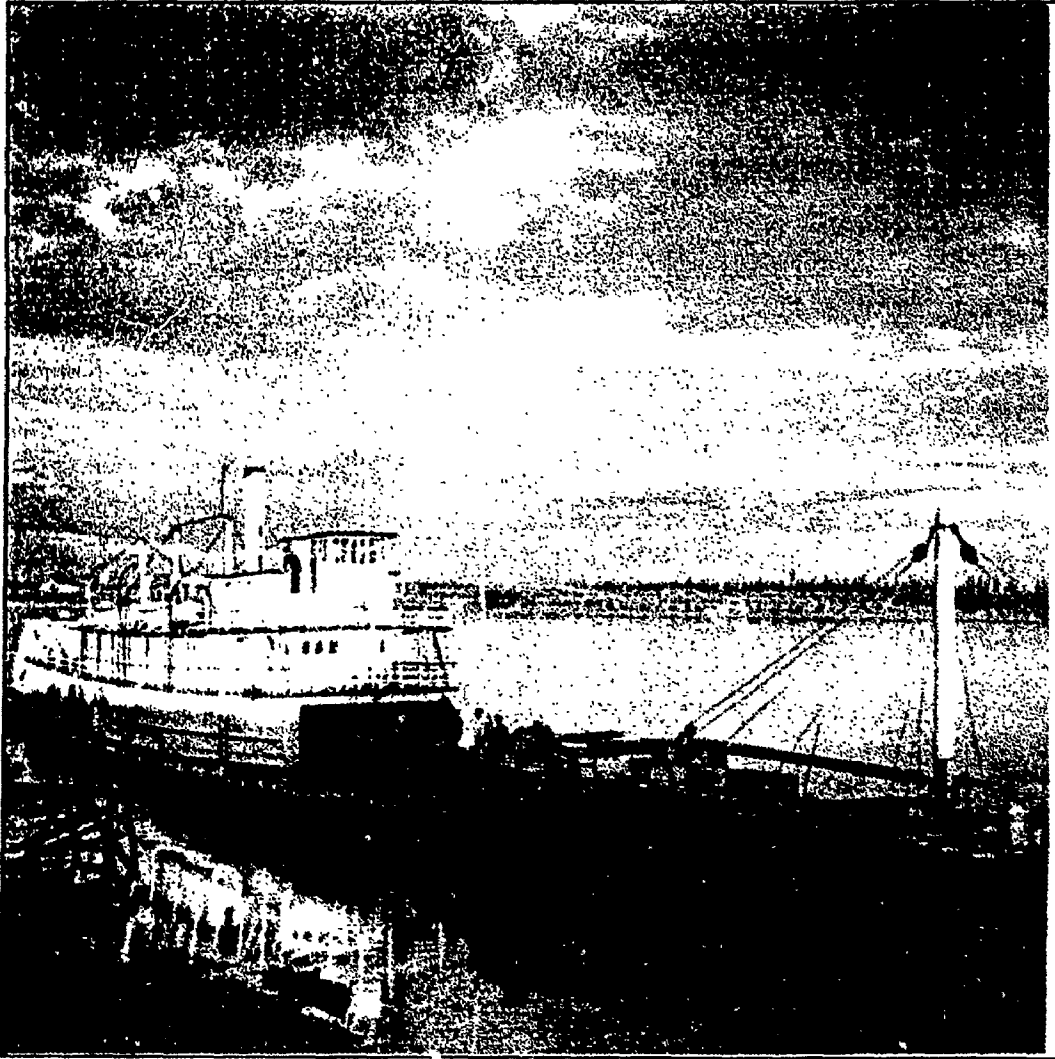


Figure 41: "The First Sternwheeler on the Mackenzie."

Photographer: Richard Finnie.

Source: Richard Finnie, Canada Moves North (Toronto: MacMillan, 1942), between 84 and 85.



Figure 42: "Radium Camp," Eldorado, Great Bear Lake, 1939.
Photographer: Richard Finnie.
Source: Richard Finnie, Canada Moves North (Toronto: MacMillan, 1942), between 148 and 149.

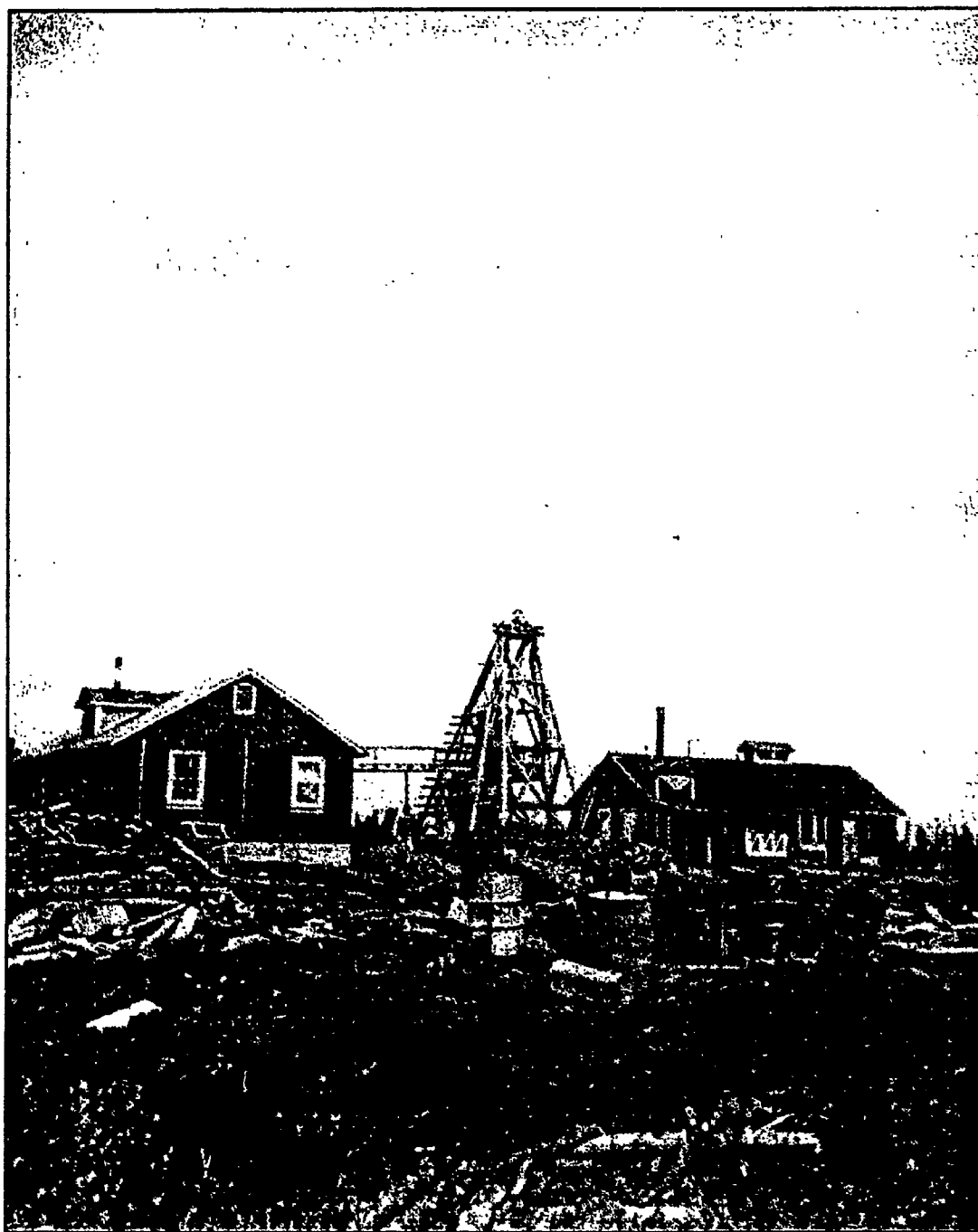


Figure 43: "A New Gold Mine in the Sub-Arctic," Yellowknife, 1939.
Photographer: Richard Finnie.
Source: Richard Finnie, Canada Moves North (Toronto: MacMillan, 1942), between 148 and 149.

As Finnie knew from personal experience, the "North" that he depicted was a vast and varied place. It consisted of the Far North of the arctic archipelago and the eastern arctic as pictured in the Arctic Patrol films; the western arctic, exemplified in its remoter aspects in his portrayals of the Copper Eskimo; and the developing north, the economic and resource-driven views of the Mackenzie River district as seen in The Last Frontier and Canada Moves North. Yet at the same time that Finnie offered up these various components of the north to his audiences, he also presented the North as a unified entity, imagined as an extension of the Canadian South.

In this respect, the north as a region could be categorized thematically. In Finnie's 1942 book, Canada Moves North, the text and accompanying photo-essay envisioned the North as being acted upon by a series of agents of development, the photo-sections and chapter divisions corresponding, in a roughly chronological fashion, to the expanding frontier of northward movement. On the base of Geography came Exploration, the Fur Trade, Missions and Administration, followed by Transportation and Communication, Oil, Gold and Radium (with a stop at the frontier town of Yellowknife), Farming and Stock, and Tourist Traffic. Often striking a sceptical note on the policies and practices of these agents of change, Finnie, although certain of the northward march of destiny, spoke critically of what had occurred. Before a final chapter on northern Literature and the Arts (which is treated almost as an afterthought), Finnie discussed a crucial point in this schema, Civilization, illustrating its benefits but mostly its drawbacks. A photograph of an arctic graveyard (complete with Inuktitut syllabics on the

wooden crosses) and its caption, although not appearing in the published book, summarized Finnie's critique:

The Price of Civilization: Pagan Eskimos sewed their dead in skins and let them rest on the land, protected by stones against evil spirits. Christianized Eskimos must bury their dead in the frozen soil; and the cemeteries around the missions are full, thanks to tuberculosis, epidemics of influenza, and other diseases of civilization.⁷²

In another unused photograph, a child of three or four looks out at the camera. For the purposes of Finnie's argument, she is on the "Threshold of Civilization: A little girl of Baffin Island, clad in sealskin jacket and imported rags, faces an uncertain future."⁷³

Not completely caught up in the promotion of northern development, Finnie maintained an interest in documenting Native cultures. As part of his 1939 tour of the Mackenzie valley, he spent a fortnight at Fort Rae, on Marian Lake at the tip of the north arm of Great Slave Lake. There he filmed the activities associated with "Treaty Time," concentrating his camera not only on the official ceremony of taking treaty, but also on the social and ritual aspects attending the gathering of over seven hundred Dene. His still photographs, with a brief explanatory text, appeared in The Beaver magazine,⁷⁴ but what Finnie envisioned as a separate film fell by the wayside. Select scenes were edited into

⁷² NwTA, Richard Finnie Collection, N88-009, Album 2, item 0145. For a similar use of the cemetery as a visual marker and metaphor for civilization's destructive impulses see Coppermine (National Film Board, 1992), in which Aime Ahagona, the son of Jennie Kanneyuk speaks of his dead mother in the Coppermine graveyard.

⁷³ NwTA, N88-009, Album 2, item 0146.

⁷⁴ Richard Finnie, "Treaty Time at Fort Rae," The Beaver (March 1940), 10-13; see also "Treaty Time at Fort Rae, 1939 and 1974," The Beaver (Summer 1975), 24-31.

the National Film Board-produced feature, Northwest Frontier (finally released in 1943),⁷⁵ but the full length, twenty minute Finnie version was not publicly screened until the 1970s.⁷⁶ In the portrayal of the rapidly modernizing north, Native cultures were seen as increasingly irrelevant. Dene men in manufactured suits, even if participating in drum songs and hand games, did not hold the appeal of the caribou-clad Eskimo of the frozen north. Yet both shared, in Finnie's eyes, the role of victims of the northward march of civilization.

Like his friend and fellow northern expert Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Richard Finnie's writings and films evoked a "Friendly Arctic" that beckoned the daring and courageous with its promises of wealth and adventure.⁷⁷ Finnie's interest in the north as a livable place also included a fascination with the region's original inhabitants, and gave rise to what can be termed the "northern problem." According to this interpretation, the North, contrary to its popular image of a barren wasteland, was a resource-rich frontier that should rightfully be developed as part of a vital Canadian nation. Yet the North included Native people, who, though worthy of admiration and study, were not "civilized" and, furthermore,

⁷⁵ Northwest Frontier (National Film Board, 1943). By the time Finnie had returned to Ottawa, the newly constituted National Film Board, with John Grierson as Commissioner, was in the process of centralizing government film production. Finnie was kept on as a consultant, but lost creative control over editing and production; he did retain a version of the film (Canada Moves North, [Richard Finnie, 1939]) which he presented on his lecture tours.

⁷⁶ When Finnie was contacted by the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (now called the Dene Nation) regarding his interpretation of Treaty Eleven in his 1940 Beaver article, Finnie informed them of his film, Treaty Time at Fort Rae (Richard Finnie, 1939). It was then screened in Yellowknife and Fort Rae, thirty-three years after its filming (see NAC, MG 31, C 6, vol. 10, file 10).

⁷⁷ Stefansson was frequently evoked as a northern authority in Finnie's book Canada Moves North; the two men kept up a steady correspondence beginning in the 1940s until Stefansson's death (see NAC, MG 31, C 6, vols. 7 and 8).

were becoming degraded through their contact with whites. In developing these arguments, Finnie became an ethnographic authority alongside his role as promoter of northern development.

In what ways did Finnie work out a solution to this "northern problem?" The closing shot of Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller, and Finnie's commentary on it, is telling. As a woman pauses from cleaning freshly caught salmon to sample some of the catch, Finnie's voice-over declares: "And even the primitive Eskimo enjoys a fresh snack of caviar. And so we leave the happy, loveable Copper Eskimos." In presenting the Inuit as eaters of raw fish, Finnie revealed a preoccupation with their otherness, and positioned them within a racial hierarchy in which the viewer affirmed his or her sense of cultural superiority. Finnie, furthermore, was all too conscious of this effect. The final paragraph of Lure of the North ends with Finnie's comment on the reception of such images, revealing his own ambivalent attitudes towards the "Eskimo race":

These new White Eskimos should be able to work for and with us in the Arctic. Even their table manners may be so improved as to win the commendation of dear old ladies such as the one who, at a showing of a movie close-up of an Eskimo friend of mine enjoying a snack of raw fish, exclaimed pityingly: "How disgusting! But of course the poor creature doesn't know any better!"⁷⁸

These "new White Eskimos" - as opposed to the "true Eskimos" depicted in Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller - were, to Finnie, the hybrid race that would evolve to meet the challenges of advancing civilization and its devastating physical and

⁷⁸ Finnie, Lure of the North, 222.



Figure 44: "Grandmother Kumuktahk deftly split and cleaned the freshly caught fish."

Photographer: Richard Finnie.

Source: Richard Finnie, Lure of the North (Philadelphia: David McKay Company, 1940), 211.

psychological effects.⁷⁹ In this conviction of the inevitable disappearance of the Eskimo, Finnie found an assimilationist solution in the mixing of blood and culture. Combining contemporary scientific theories with folk traditions about race, the "White Eskimo" resolved the tension between his ethnographic project and his promotion of the north as a modern industrial frontier.

Looking at Finnie's subsequent career, which saw him spending much of his life working for an international engineering concern, devoting over twenty years to the documentation and celebration of its ventures in various African, Asian and Middle Eastern countries, one might conclude that the "development" aspect won out over more humanistic concerns. Yet, following his retirement in 1968, Finnie was to return to the north, travelling to his birthplace in Dawson and throughout the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (NWT), and revisiting the themes that preoccupied him in the 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁰ Partly through self-promotion, partly through circumstance, his earlier northern work came to the attention of the Public Archives of Canada, the National Museum of Man, and the territorial archives of the Yukon and NWT. The Beaver and North published Finnie's articles on J.E. Bernier, Stefansson, and other northern travellers and experts he had known; he attempted, unsuccessfully, to interest the National Film

⁷⁹ This argument, while less developed, was also the closing commentary for Patrol to the Northwest Passage (Department of Mines and Resources and Richard Finnie, 1937): "It has been estimated that perhaps more than seventy-five percent of these Eastern Arctic Eskimos have white blood in their veins and perhaps this blood will help to fortify them against the changes which civilization has wrought and so eventually will spring up a new hybrid race able to work for and with us in the Arctic...." NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], typescript of R. Finnie's commentary on The Patrol to the Northwest Passage, recorded 26 January 1939.

⁸⁰ NAC, DAPD, 1987-154, Albums 32-38 for visual documentation of Finnie's tours of the Yukon (1973, 1975); his trip as part of the NWT Commissioner's tour of the central arctic (1976); a tour of the Yukon and NWT (1977); and his arctic cruise aboard the M.V. Arctic (1978).

Board in sponsoring a documentary on Bernier and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in undertaking a project on his own life's work.⁸¹ He spoke of the North, past and present, at various universities across Canada, and narrated his old films on the CBC North and to a gathering of the Royal Society of Canada held at Yellowknife in 1980.⁸² In the years before his death in 1987, Richard Sterling Finnie's personal archive began to move into the public realm.⁸³

These various projects from the 1970s retained the tension between northern development along industrial lines, and an interest and fascination with Aboriginal peoples and cultures, mingled with a lament for the loss of old ways. They are also a testament to the way in which Finnie remained committed to ideas formulated through his earlier experiences.⁸⁴ From his father, O.S. Finnie, the director of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, he learned to think of the north in terms of its resources and development potential. Yet this

⁸¹ As he wrote to Harry Hackney, Planning and Production Director of the CBC: "At this point I am not eager for kudos or financial reward, being comfortably situated, but I think it would be fun to work up an audio-visual series of programs reflecting my career. Whether anything comes of it or not, this letter will at least preclude your ever remarking 'What a pity we didn't know about Finnie.'" NAC, MG 31 C 6, vol. 10, file 19, Finnie to Hackney, 16 October 1970.

⁸² On the CBC show see Our Ways (CBC North, 1980), in which Finnie narrated excerpts from Among the Igloo Dwellers, Treaty Time at Fort Rae, and Canada Moves North.

⁸³ NAC, MG 31, C 6, tells much of this story; see vols. 10, 11, and 12 (including correspondence with the CBC, the NFB, and the National Museum); 18 (travel diaries and notebooks); and 19 (correspondence regarding films and photographs). For a sample of published material from this period see Richard Finnie, "Farewell Voyages: Bernier and the Arctic," The Beaver (Summer 1974), 44-54; "Stefansson As I Knew Him," North (May-June 1978), 36-40 and (July-August 1978), 12-19; "Stefansson's Mystery," North (November-December, 1978), 2-7 (on Stefansson's unacknowledged northern family); and "The Polar Porsilds," North (Summer 1981), 50-55.

⁸⁴ As he wrote to Gerald Sutton, legal consultant for the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories: "I wonder whether you are familiar with my Canada Moves North.... I set forth in that book my ideas about the North, which haven't changed substantially since." (NAC, MG 31 C6, vol. 10, file 10, Finnie to Sutton, 17 July 1972).

perspective was tempered with an interest in the natural and human history of the region, and a feeling for the effects of development on the life of the Native inhabitants. Finnie's perspectives on the Canadian north were filtered through the lens of official views, while his work for the Branch initiated him into the ways of presenting these ideas in a visual format.

Richard Finnie also found himself, literally and figuratively, following in the footsteps of the NWTY Branch's principal investigator, Major Lachlin T. Burwash. Burwash displayed both an admiration and disdain for the differing culture of the Inuit, criticizing the practices of the white traders at the same time as he himself acted as an agent of change. Like Burwash, Finnie struggled with the issue of the nature of "primitivism" and "civilization," at various times aligning himself with one or the other of these forces. Throughout his life, and in the record he left behind, Finnie's northern visions remained layered and complex. Not merely a matter of portraying a simplistically romantic view of northern Native culture or advocating a capitalist and colonial ethic for the North, Finnie's films and writings point out the way in which elements of each could combine and contradict each other within one person's understandings of the North, an understanding that was then widely disseminated.

As much as Finnie's visual representations record past views of the Canadian north, they also document an approach to understanding the region and its people. In his films, much of the intended meaning - the suggested interpretation of the images - derived from the intertitles, the dialogue of the live lecture, or the taped voice-over narration. In the case of his photographs, the

multiplicity of possible meanings is countered by the attached captions. In both the still and moving images, Finnie acts as creator and interpreter, bringing back his northern knowledge and then communicating it to his audience. As suggested by the opening to Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller, in which a man's hand (Finnie's?) with pointer outlines the pertinent geography on a map, the authority of the image's authenticity was carried not just in the "realism" of the photographic image projected on screen, but also in the presence of Finnie as the conveyor of the film's visual and auditory messages.

In his publicity material and writings, Finnie emphasized how his unseen camera captured northern life as it was, suggesting that his films provided the viewer with a glimpse of lived experience. As he wrote about filming the Copper Eskimo:

[they] knew me well enough now to have no fear or distrust of my photographic paraphernalia. I was able to film them at work or at play without fuss or embarrassment. They had learned that I was among them neither to sell them trade goods nor religion, and that I demanded nothing more of them than that they just be themselves when I was with them and take no notice of the whirring of my cameras.⁸⁵

Distancing himself from the agents of "civilization," Finnie portrayed his filmic project as an objective observational record of unfolding reality. A promotional pamphlet from 1940 summarized this approach, highlighting it as a unique and captivating feature of the Finnie style: "To avoid any suggestion of artificiality he has always painstakingly contrived to keep his subjects blissfully unaware of his camera.... Thus each of his motion pictures is a genuine cross-section of REAL

⁸⁵ Finnie, Lure of the North, 197-98.

LIFE."⁸⁶ Yet, whether as a government "Publicity Assistant" aligned with the initiatives of the state, or as an "independent" investigator recording and arranging northern views for the consumption of non-northern audiences, Finnie and his camera were implicated in relationships of power.

Controlling the means of representation, Finnie retained "ownership" over the images he captured, from the choice of material to shoot to the imposition of meaning through selective editing and the construction of readable narratives. In Finnie's representations of the north, people and events became components of an argument and an entertainment, constituting an evocative example of the relative powerlessness of Aboriginal people in formulating the contours of a public discourse on the North. As Finnie's film lectures make clear, Native people remained the subjects of these northern stories, their power and knowledge as storytellers relegated to that of a picturesque sidelight. silent bystanders to the unfolding story of the ever-advancing frontier.

⁸⁶ "Richard Finnie," promotional brochure, [1940] in NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2].

CONCLUSION

"RE-MAKING IT INTO HERE":

REPRESENTATION AND POWER IN NORTHERN IMAGERY

In examining the photographic practice of state, corporate and religious interests in northern Canada, the preceding chapters analyzed a number of overlapping themes central to an understanding of the place of the North in the Canadian imagination, and in a larger sense, its role in the North Atlantic community. In the first place, this recounting of the multiple versions of the desire - indeed at times perceived as the need - to capture the North on film was part of a set of cultural attitudes encompassing the relationship between photographic seeing and the acquisition of knowledge. Elizabeth Edwards places photography in the context of colonial expansion and consolidation in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and the accompanying attempts to justify and make sense of the power relations entailed in the meeting of cultures. As she notes, photography, as a model for structuring reality

represented technological superiority harnessed to the delineation and control of the physical world, whether it be boundary surveys, engineering schemes to exploit natural resources, or the description and classification of the population.¹

The agencies involved in the Canadian north in the 1920s and 1930s, in their attempts to comprehend and assert control over the region, turned to

¹ Elizabeth Edwards, "Introduction" in Elizabeth Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 6.

photographic representation as a potent tool for accomplishing this task. As seen through the camera lens, the North became an ordered environment, often defined in reference to a marker of southern "civilization": the HBC post, the mission station, the RCMP detachment. A common vantage point was the view from above, looking down on the scene from a position of dominance, surveying and claiming all that fell within this field of vision.²

Photographs and films were employed for the purposes of internal knowledge-gathering as well as presented for external audiences, in the process creating extensive archives of visual information. The very act of collecting the North in photographs suggests several levels of significance. In examining a range of perceptions of the north, collections of photographs and films were viewed as artifacts themselves, representing the collectors and the contexts in which they were created. While the collections examined contain a wealth of information about what they picture, the focus has been on the equally crucial questions concerning the nature of the collections as cultural and historical evidence. What images were collected and why? What does the collection reveal about the collectors, and about the interaction between them and the people pictured? And, finally, how were these collections drawn upon and subsequently used in a variety of settings?³

² Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, Reading National Geographic (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 113-115 on the position of the colonial observer as viewing from above; see also James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 68-9 for an example of the photographic overview as a mode of observational power.

³ For a selection of wide-ranging essays which consider these questions about collecting see Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail, eds., "Special Issue: Art and Material Culture of the North American Subarctic and Adjacent Regions," Arctic Anthropology 28; 1 (1991), especially the section

The departmental albums created by the northern administration in Ottawa, the files amassed in the course of producing The Beaver magazine at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, and the boxes stuffed full of photographs in the Toronto offices of the Diocese of the Arctic (many still awaiting cataloguing by archivists on a visit to the General Synod Archives in the spring of 1993) served important organizational needs. Providing a visual record was particularly important for these institutions, as they attempted to administer a vast and remote area from their headquarters in the urban south. Once collected, photographs and films also functioned in the preservation of institutional memory, forming a visual history of political, economic and evangelical work in the region.

Sharing the imperatives of other forms of collection and display in the West (especially reflected in, but not confined to, the museum), these representations of the north created "illusions of possession" which could then be systematically ordered and organized according to the criteria of the collectors.⁴ James Clifford's argument about ethnography, as part of a wide-ranging analysis of "culture collecting," opens up important questions regarding the production and display of northern representations:

To see ethnography as a form of culture collecting (not, of course, the only way to see it) highlights the ways that diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement.⁵

on "Collecting the North," 6-55.

⁴ Lutz and Collins, Reading National Geographic, 23-24.

⁵ Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, 231; emphasis in original. See also Ian Mackay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) for an analysis of the attempts to impose fixed categories on the fluid, living cultures of Nova Scotia.

Clifford's concern here is with the ways in which anthropological collectors create "traditional" culture, in the process codifying standards of authenticity. In terms of the photographic collection of the North, a parallel process of appropriation occurred. Northern culture and nature were bounded by the photographic frame, organized according to the institutional (and individual) imperatives of administration, mission, and commerce, and then presented to various audiences.

The all-seeing camera, travelling through arctic waters in its search to record and bring back visual documentation of the north, stands as a vivid metaphor for the extension of Canadian government authority in its northern territories. In this sense the images produced by the camera, both still and moving, were meant to serve as proof of an active government presence; the ability to collect and classify the subject of these images (as unnamed Native types and re-named geographic spaces) demonstrated the impulse to make the North knowable and thus under the measured control of bureaucratic imperatives and initiatives.

The production of a visible North in the interests of Anglican mission can also be interpreted in terms of representation and power. Here some of the central issues revolved around the picturing of northern Native bodies as sites of transformation, imagined as moving from a state of primitive paganism to that of Christian civilization. Offering up images of the unevangelized beside the converted held practical as well as moral meanings, the former intended for the potential and on-going contributors to the Fellowship of the Arctic. The Pagan

represented the work still left to be done, while the Christian held out the visible example of missionary success.

In terms of commercial interests in the north, the public relations initiatives of the Hudson's Bay Company also demonstrate the role of photographic and filmic imagery, both in its production and dissemination, in reflecting and attempting to shape attitudes towards the North. Part of an effort to extend and maintain HBC interests in the region, Northern photographs projected an image of a benevolent company responsibly developing the economic resources of the region, benefitting the northern Native inhabitants as well as southern capital. In this HBC version of imposing order on the arctic and sub-arctic, "Trading North" was visualized in terms of a narrative of the advance of British-Canadian commercial civilization.

The interlocking nature of these three varieties of the Northern vision were aptly presented in a photograph which appeared in the pages of The Beaver magazine in December 1935 [see **Figure 45**]. In this picture, taken aboard the Nascope, three men, standing shoulder to shoulder, pose for HBC fur trader Chesley Russeil's camera. Beside the published photograph, the accompanying caption proclaimed:

This issue our news pictures lead off with "The Crown, the Company and the Church," the three great powers in the Northwest Territories. On the left is Major D.L. McKeand, of the Lands and Northwest Territories Branch of the Department of the Interior, who for several years has been in charge of the Government's Eastern Arctic patrol on the Nascope. In the centre is George Watson, manager of the late St. Lawrence-Ungava



Figure 45: "‘The Crown, the Company and the Church,’ the three great powers in the Northwest Territories." Major D.L. McKeand (officer-in-charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol), George Watson (HBC district manager) and Bishop A.L. Fleming aboard the Nascopie, 1935.

Photographer: Chesley Russell.

Source: The Beaver, December 1935, 50.

district for the Company and now manager of St. Lawrence district. On the right is Bishop A.L. Fleming, Anglican Bishop of the Arctic.⁶

Returning the viewer's look, these three men project an air of confidence and authority. Taken together with its written description, this image presented a harmonious account of northern administration through the figures of McKeand, Watson and Fleming, visible personifications of the institutions which they served.⁷

As discussed in Chapter III, the Hudson's Bay Company had a vested interest in projecting a positive and cooperative corporate presence in the north, which was institutionalized in the revamped Beaver magazine from 1933. Against this background of the circulation of a public veneer of unified northern activity, the "Crown, the Company and the Church" engaged in a complex set of negotiations over their respective roles in the northern reaches of the nation, at times threatening the degree of apparent co-operation. Government officials in Ottawa expressed concern over the effects of this consolidated approach towards the administration of the Inuit, particularly as it evolved in the eastern arctic during the 1930s. As senior northern bureaucrat R.A. Gibson worried in 1934, prompted by the report of HBC Governor P.A. Cooper's relaying of royal messages during a northern trip aboard the Nascopie:

⁶ The Beaver (December 1935), 50. This photograph was also reproduced as "The Church, the State and Commerce," in A.L. Fleming, Nearest the North Pole (N.p., 1935), 11. There the Church was foregrounded by the caption, which read right to left, against the usual practice of identifying individuals from left to right.

⁷ See also the dinner speech by HBC Governor Cooper prior to the Nascopie's 1934 departure, reported in "To The Labrador, Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," The Beaver (September 1934), 12: "In the Canadian North the Church, the Flag and Trade have set a notable example to the Empire of cooperation and harmony."

You will remember that at the time [1932] it was decided to enter into an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transportation of men and supplies to the Eastern Arctic the one difficulty foreseen was that the natives might begin to think that the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company were one and the same organization....⁸

Both at home and in the field, spheres of influence were staked out and defended. Photographic practice provided an important arena for publicly proclaiming control over the North, defining and delineating the boundaries of Canada's Arctic Islands, the Diocese of the Arctic, and the Far Fur Country.

Returning again to the image of "the Crown, the Company and the Church," another element is evident in this visual presentation of northern authority. McKeand, Watson and Fleming stand for (and in) the North as the domain of Anglo-Canadian men, embodiments of the formal and informal male-dominated authority structures which attempted to project their visions on the region.⁹ On the other side of the camera, northern photographic practice reproduced, with very few exceptions, a masculine gaze. The camera-man was a heroic witness to and maker of northern history. A.M. Wyckoff risking life and limb to return with his northern pictures of the Hudson's Bay Company's "Far Fur Country"; Bishop Fleming taking pictures in the mode of a muscular Christian of the Kodak era; "Exploratory Engineer" L.T. Burwash engaging in photographic surveys of Native types on his extensive arctic travels: these and

⁸ National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Records of the Northern Affairs Program (RG 85), volume 71, file 201-1 [9], R.A. Gibson to J.L. Turner, 23 July 1934; see also *ibid.*, volume 73, file 201 [13], R. A. Gibson to D.L. McKeand, 21 October 1937.

⁹ See Barbara Kelcey, "Jingo Belles, Jingo Belles, Dashing Through the Snow: White Women and Empire on Canada's Arctic Frontier" (University of Manitoba: Ph.D. Thesis, 1994), 161-80 on the nature of this "informal Northern Compact" and the experiences of several women travellers who challenged these male-dominated authority structures in the 1930s.

other photographers and cinematographers contributed to a male-centred vision of northern Canada.¹⁰

In this sense, the northern environment was constructed as passive, ripe for development and resource exploitation. Attempting to gain government backing for a northern trip in 1938, Richard Finnie described the opening images of his project in the following terms:

Tentative outline: A finger points to the Mackenzie District on a map of Canada, and then a canoe is seen wending its way along a northern waterway. The paddler is a prospector. He beaches the canoe and begins a reconnaissance. He stakes claims, and the scene of his stakings dissolves into a general view of a mining settlement.¹¹

Finnie's imagined film of northern development focused on the alteration of the landscape, and on the active presence of the prospector and miner as progressive agents of change. From the pointing finger to the lone Euro-Canadian male paddling and staking claims the frame gradually opens up, until it settles on the view of a mining settlement, itself a predominantly white male enclave in the sub-arctic.

Another aspect of the male gaze was the depiction of northern Natives in specified gender roles. Romanticized images of the Aboriginal mother and child (both Indian and Eskimo) provide striking examples of the transference of "southern" ways of looking onto northern peoples. The effects of culture contact were also pictured according to conventionatized expectations. The image of

¹⁰ See Lutz and Collins, Reading National Geographic, 166-85 for a perceptive discussion of gendered imagery in the photographs of National Geographic and 188-92 on gender and the gaze.

¹¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], R.S. Finnie to R.A. Gibson (Director, Lands, Parks and Forests, Department of Mines and Resources), 23 November 1938.

Lucy Nerysoo clothed as a nurse symbolized Bishop Fleming's vision of the "Arctic Advance" in gender terms, Native women re-imagined within the paradigm of female as nurturer. Native men, on the other hand, were hunters and providers, occasionally (as in the case of James Sittichinli) becoming indigenous bearers of Christian ways.¹²

The incorporation of the north into the Canadian nation was not only man's work, however, as a significant number of white women ventured into the arctic and sub-arctic.¹³ Euro-Canadian and British women also employed the medium of photography, projecting their own bodies and perceptions onto the northern landscape. Florence (Flossie) Hirst's diary of her sojourn as a nurse at St. Luke's Hospital, Pangnirtung in the 1930s featured photographs that she developed herself, constructing a multi-layered view of her life and experiences at this Baffin Island settlement. Yet unlike the wide distribution of Bishop Fleming's images, Hirst's pictures (and writings) found only a small audience of friends in the south.¹⁴

Several of Florence Hirst's captioned photographs, which did not find their way into her photo-diaries, vividly render the north as the domain of white women. Taken on a "holiday" in late May of 1936, Miss Hirst and Mrs. McKinnon (the resident doctor's wife), travelled by dog team with Vievee, their

¹² A.L. Fleming, *Arctic Advance* (N.p., 1943), cover and 3.

¹³ See Kelcey, "Jingo Belles, Jingo Belles" and Myra Rutherford, "Revisiting Colonization Through Gender: Anglican Missionary Women in the Pacific Northwest and the Arctic, 1860-1945," *BC Studies* 104 (Winter 1994), 3-23.

¹⁴ Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, Diocese of the Arctic Collection, M71-4, Florence Hirst Journals, II-6-A, Volumes 1 to 4 (1935-1938).

Inuk guide, to the end of Pagnirtung fjord, "from which place we walked endeavouring to reach the Pagnirtung falls." Dressed in Native clothing, Florence Hirst poses with Vievec, holding his rifle in her lap; in another image, she stands with one foot atop a seal she shot, holding a whip in her hand. One of the snapshots from this trip portrays a small standing figure, dwarfed by the immensity of the mountain which fills the frame. The description on the back of this photograph offers an insightful glimpse of one way in which these women reacted to the awe-inspiring scenery of Baffin Island:

We named the mountains en route after the white women in Baffin Land. Here we see Mt. Prudence [Hockin, first nurse at St. Luke's Hospital] with Mrs. Mck. in the foreground - note the glacier on the right.¹⁵

Subverting the naming of geographical features after men, these women honoured the place and exploits of women, inscribing their names on the mental map, and situating themselves in the foreground of the northern landscape. While part of the re-imagining of the North, and allied in the cause of Civilization with their male counterparts, these women set themselves apart from the white men of the arctic, creating their own photographic tradition.¹⁶ Going beyond the typical portraits of uniformed women as missionary nurses and teachers (as they appeared in The Arctic News), women were pictured as explorers and adventurers in the north.

¹⁵ Ibid., Diocese of the Arctic Photograph Collection, P7563, Florence Hirst Photographs, items 86 to 106. The quoted caption is from item 93.

¹⁶ See Rutherford, "Revisiting Colonization Through Gender," for a complementary analysis of the imperialisms of women missionaries based on written sources.

Yet white women in the north, missionary and otherwise, tended to share certain assumptions common to their male counterparts. In Flossie Hirst's world, communicated in both visual and written form, Native and White were discrete racial and social categories. One of the prevalent uses of photographic imagery was to categorize the Native as Other, marking the Aboriginal inhabitants of the north through their difference. On the occasions when Native subjects were identified by name it was usually in relation to the values of the observers: Nookapiungwah, pictured in In the Shadow of the Pole as intrepid Eskimo hunter of the eastern arctic, owed his recognition to his feats as guide for RCMP Inspector Joy.¹⁷ More commonly, the Native Other was denied individuality and history, subsumed to the categorical imperatives of the visual construction of cultural difference. As Lutz and Collins observe in their study of photographs of non-Western peoples in the National Geographic, contrasts usually imply a hierarchy: "one term is generally dominant and prior, the other secondary and defined antithetically to the first."¹⁸

Of the various image-makers examined, Richard Finnie was the most attuned to the contradictory nature of his photographic practice, of the ways in which it simultaneously celebrated and looked down upon the "primitive" qualities of the Native. Finnie, furthermore, recognized that the camera was implicated in a complex history of culture change. While he claimed that his ability to

¹⁷ In the Shadow of the Pole (Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928).

¹⁸ Lutz and Collins, Reading National Geographic, 276.

unobtrusively film his subjects resulted in a record of "REAL LIFE,"¹⁹ at other times he acknowledged the deeper meanings of his representational practice.

Writing of his 1937 Nascopie experience in The Beaver, Finnie described a side trip taken during the stopover at Fort Ross:

Early the next morning the little schooner Seal, which had been brought from Hudson Bay to serve at Fort Ross, started off on a jaunt of inspection to Nadluktak, twelve or fifteen miles southward.... Some members of the Government party on board had a notion that they were about to see a band of primitive Eskimos untouched by civilization, never even photographed. They encountered instead six or eight families who were living in canvas as well as skin tents, using Peterborough canoes, modern rifles and utensils: whose parka covers were of calico - some opening up with zippers - and who well knew what a camera was for. Accustomed to trade either at Gjoa Haven or at Repulse Bay, they were all professed Christians and in every tent was a prayer book.

Where does the camera fit in this scenario? Finnie appears to be groping with the problematic nature of fixed categories, such as "primitive" and "civilized," in the face of living cultures which borrow, meld and make anew the "traditional" and the "modern." Canvas and skin tents; locally designed clothing made from imported materials; a prayer book in every tent. Standards of "authenticity" break down in the face of creative adaptations: "strictly speaking," Finnie noted, "it is unlikely that there is a really primitive Eskimo left in the world." Yet for all this apparent doubt over the "the questionable 'benefits' of civilization" Richard Finnie retreated behind his camera, spending a "delightful, unforgettable visit" taking motion pictures of his "cheery hosts."²⁰

¹⁹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [2], "Richard Finnie," promotional brochure, [1940].

²⁰ Richard Finnie, "Trading Into the North-west Passage," The Beaver (December 1937), 53.

Aboriginal people were not only placed in front of the camera, their images captured for the consumption of viewers far removed from their taking, but were also constructed as audiences. Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming incorporated lantern slide shows as part of his missionary efforts on Baffin Island before launching his successful illustrated lecture tours throughout North America and Britain. HBC publicist Clifton Thomas imagined Eskimo picture shows projected to enthusiastic Eskimo audiences.

In the case of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, where the motion picture camera went the projector was soon to follow; by the second "annual" Eastern Arctic Patrol, the previous year's pictures were shown aboard the Arctic. A tarpaulin rigged up on the deck provided a temporary moving picture theatre for the audience of Danish and Greenlandic inhabitants at Godhavn, and for the RCMP and their Native companions at Smith Sound. At Pond Inlet and Pangnirtung segregated showings were presented, first to the Mounties and Hudson's Bay Company employees, and then to the Inuit several days later.²¹ Interestingly, these "Arctic Trip" films were accompanied by scenics from the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau and several comedies on loan from Toronto's Regal Films "to show our Eskimo friends and the Mounties who have been in the North for the last year."²²

²¹ NAC, RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], List of footage projected by George Valiquette [1923].

²² RG 85, vol. 60, file 160-9 [1], J.D. Craig to Ben Norrish (Associated Screen News), 11 June 1923; and J.D. Craig to R.S. Peck, 11 June 1923. The program included Norway of America, Down North, Jasper of the Lakes and Editorial Pilgrimage as well as five reels of test prints of cities and industries as per Craig's instructions (F. Badgley to Craig, 29 June 1923).

Despite the change of personnel, cinematographers and ships, the showing of films became a regular feature of the Eastern Arctic Patrol. As the official publication of the EAP noted: "The annual moving picture show on the Government ship is eagerly looked forward to at each of the posts and is considered one of the big events of the year."²³ Yet what did this ritual of cinematic exchange signify?

In the report of the 1923 Eastern Arctic Patrol the viewing experience at Pond Inlet was recounted. Placed alongside the summary of a murder trial according to the precepts of "British justice" and the medical examination of the Native population, this description of Inuit viewing practices - as seen by the non-Native observer - is worth recounting at length:

Some slight diversion was provided for the natives by a moving picture show on the deck of the Arctic one evening, about ninety natives accepting the invitation to come out to the ship. It was very interesting to note the Eskimos' comments and exclamations when the pictures taken at Pond Inlet in 1922 were shown on the screen. They are much more demonstrative than a civilized audience, and talked audibly to each other about the pictures. In fact, they often addressed remarks to pictures of friends when thrown on the screen. When shown pictures of southern scenes, such as "skyscrapers," railroad trains, flying machines, growing timber, which they, of course, had never seen, crowds of people and animals, such as horses and cows, to which they were entirely unaccustomed, they listened in absolute silence and with the utmost attention to the running explanations of the interpreter. There is no doubt that here, as elsewhere, the moving picture will be of very great educational value.²⁴

²³ Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Canada's Arctic Islands (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1927), 26.

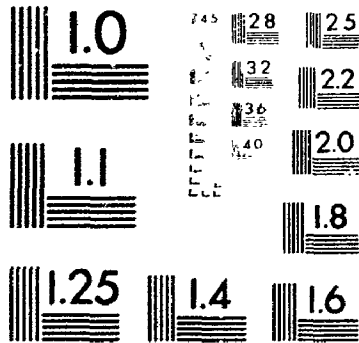
²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24-5.

4

OF/DE

4

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1910a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

This passage is enlightening on several points. On the one hand it indicates the overt rationale for screening motion pictures on the northern frontier: films were not only entertainment but were part of an effort to "educate" and familiarize Aboriginal people to the ways of "civilization" by projecting images of southern scenes.²⁵ The "civilizing" of the Native included not only importing concepts of law and justice and medicine and their institutional structures and embodiments - courts with judges and lawyers and medical examinations by doctors. In addition, the showing of images of the Inuit alongside commercial and government produced features visually demonstrated the "proper" ways of seeing and being seen, providing a model for disciplining one's image to the demands of the camera's gaze.²⁶

The presence of an interpreter to explain the unfamiliar images likewise was an attempt to reproduce the "civilized" way of watching a film as the passive reception of information. Yet the above passage also suggests that the Inuit viewed these films in their own way. For the inhabitants of Pond Inlet the picture show was an interactive experience, as they talked with each other and the images on the screen. Dorothy Eber's work on the whaling era in the eastern arctic suggests that the photographic image held a special status for the Inuit in

²⁵ And given the lack of any formal educational initiatives by the state in the eastern arctic at this time, this is a particularly telling comment.

²⁶ See Bill Nichols, Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 51-53 for a discussion of one aspect of the way in which documentary film techniques require subjects to "generally discipline their bodies to oblige the camera's requirements regarding depth of field and angle of view."

the early part of this century, as George Comer, a prominent whaling captain, was referred to by the Inuit as a shaman, in part due to his interest in photography.²⁷

The experiences of the New Zealand Film Archives and its attempts to "return" ethnographic films back to the Maori suggests the need to be sensitive to the differing cultural contexts of film viewing. Merata Mita, herself a filmmaker, describes her peoples' reactions to viewing images from their past:

[I]t is a fact that most indigenous cultures, even under the impact of Western civilization, still acknowledge the unfolding reality that exists between all matter and all things. According to Maori cosmology, it is implicit in the true nature of our being. Sometimes the force is harmonious, at other times antagonistic, but whatever, emanating from the centre of this is our spiritual energy. In Maori, we call it wairua. This spiritual energy is evident on the screen to any indigenous person watching his past; it is real as the image being projected. Maori people have a name for that which is old and valued by the tribe. The word is taonga, and is loosely translated into English as "treasure." The name applies to animate or inanimate objects or beings. Hence the enormous respect and outpourings that accompany screenings in tribal areas to which the film material is especially relevant. To them, their treasures are being handled and exposed and revealed and put on display. It is not uncommon for archival screenings of silent film in Aotearoa [New Zealand] to be complemented by a sound track of excited talk, laughter, cries, weeping and calls and greetings of recognition. Needless to say, this response has made the screenings more valuable, more profound, more thought-provoking, more educational, more entertaining and a richer experience for all those who have the courage to participate.²⁸

In the Canadian context, filmmaker Loretta Todd offers a First Nations' response to the history of being 'named by absence or by the names that are given to us by

²⁷ Dorothy Harley Eber, When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 111-114; see also Carolyn J. Marr, "Photographers and Their Subjects on the Southern Northwest Coast: Motivations and Responses," Arctic Anthropology, 27, No. 2 (1990), 13-26.

²⁸ Merata Mita, "The Preserved Image Speaks Out: Objectification and Reification of Living Images in Archiving and Preservation," in National Archives of Canada, Documents That Move and Speak: Audiovisual Archives in the New Information Age (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1992), 74-5; see also Jonathan Dennis, "Uncovering and Releasing the Images," in the same volume, 60-66.

the outsider." Reflecting on past representational practices within the framework of her own involvement within First Nations communities "about how to preserve, how to record," Todd proposes the following challenge:

Strategies to name ourselves, not from an idealized past, or from a relationship as "other" to the outsider, but from our original jurisdictions and territories must be realized as a practice of self-determination.²⁹

While this proposition is addressed to the question of Aboriginal filmmaking and its relationship to the political and social position of Aboriginal peoples in the present, it clearly has implications for the status of images from the past.

Situated in an evolving (and often heated) dialogue between Native peoples and mainstream cultural institutions in Canada regarding the collection, preservation and interpretation of Aboriginal cultural heritage, efforts are under way to re-contextualize historical photographic and filmic images of the north.³⁰ The Holman Photohistorical Project provides an example of a small scale approach to the "repatriation" of historical photographs and archival documents previously unavailable to community residents. According to the project coordinators, "By returning such photographic material to the location where it was originally taken, it becomes possible to re-embed it into its appropriate cultural context through ethnographic interviews with knowledgeable elders."³¹ While this

²⁹ Ibid., Loretta Todd, "Naming Ourselves," 77-8.

³⁰ See Betty Issenman, "Inuit Power and Museums," in Papers from the Seventh Inuit Studies Conference (Fairbanks, Alaska): Looking to the Future Inuit Studies Occasional Paper No. 4 (Ste. Foy, Quebec: Association Inuksiutiit Katimajit, Inc., 1992), 253-63; Gillian Conliffe, "The Development of Museums in the NWT," Muse 8, No. 1 (Spring 1990), 9-12.

³¹ Richard G. Condon and Julia Ogina, "The Holman Photohistorical Project: The Methodology of Community Based Oral History Research," Papers from the Seventh Inuit Studies Conference, 248.

study argues that the history of the production and circulation of northern representations by their makers is a crucial (even appropriate) approach to understanding the significance of these northern photographs, initiatives like the Holman Photohistorical Project continue the production of meaning through the re-circulating of these images.

On a larger scale, the Avataq Cultural Institute (ACI) is engaged in the process of re-defining the northern past in the context of Aboriginal concerns over cultural continuity. Incorporated in 1981 as "an independent, non-political Inuit cultural organization, serving the Inuit of Nunavik (Northern Quebec)," Avataq is directed by annual Elder's assemblies, attended by representatives from each of the thirteen communities of Nunavik and the village of Sanikiuaq (Northwest Territories). Funded by the Quebec provincial government, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and the Inuit-run Makivik Corporation, the ACI is a creation of the changed relationships between the Aboriginal peoples of northern Quebec and the state which has evolved in the wake of the comprehensive land claims settled in 1975 (the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement).³²

Avataq carries on a number of on-going projects, including genealogical documentation and the Inuit Place Names Project. The latter has collected and mapped almost 8,000 Inuit place names; one result of this work has been the legal approval and general acceptance of the name Nunavik for the Inuit homeland in northern Quebec. As one of those involved in the project notes, the

³² Barrie Gunn. "Avataq Cultural Institute." *Muse* 8, No. 1 (Spring 1990), 38-9.

documentation of Inuit place names is "a valuable resource in the preservation and development of their [Inuit] cultural heritage and knowledge in the areas of history, language, and land use and occupancy."³³

The Inuttigut Pirrusiit Documentation Centre of the ACI (Montreal) brings together present concerns over the preservation and development of "culture" and representations of the past. Re-collecting images of Nunavik from a number of archival repositories (including the National Archives of Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada) and private collections, the Documentation Centre is actively engaged in the re-appropriation of historical photographs and films. An accompanying card catalogue organizes the assembled images according to the Inuit toponymy of Nunavik. Describing the photograph of an "HBC Governor" (no name given) visiting Killiniq in the summer of 1934, the accompanying card presents the following information: "Picture of the Hudson's Bay Company Building in summer. In front of it, three Qallunat [white] men and a Qallunaq woman facing a group of Inuit."³⁴ Taking the pictures to local communities for identification, the Aboriginal subjects of these images are re-inscribed with named

³³ Ludger Muller-White, "Nunavik: Land and People, Places and Names," in Moira T. McCaffrey, ed., Wrapped in the Colours of the Earth: Cultural Heritage of the First Nations (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), 103.

³⁴ Inuttigut Pirrusiit Documentation Centre, Charles McClean Collection, MCL 128. Killiniq is also known as Port Burwell. This is the photograph by Harvey Basset reproduced in The Beaver (December 1934), 10; see **Figure 34**.

identities. These historical photographs are then published as community photo-albums in the trilingual (Inuktitut, English and French) Tumivut: Our Footsteps.³⁵

While these efforts from within Aboriginal communities and organizations in the north redefine the meaning of historical representations according to contemporary political and cultural imperatives, other means of re-circulating past image-making practices continue. Film footage from the 1920s makes an appearance in a video production sponsored by Indian and Northern Affairs, on the comprehensive claims agreement between the Inuit of the eastern arctic and the government of Canada. Scenes from Back to Baffin, the film Richard Finnie made from previous Eastern Arctic Patrol material for Juliette Gauthier's musical recitals of "Eskimo folk songs" in 1928 resurfaces in 1992's Nunavut: Changing the Map of Canada.³⁶

After an initial segment laying out the issues and the key players involved in this "resolution" of Native land claims in the far north, the history of the region is illustrated by archival film footage. According to the voice-over narration, this "whimsical" story of the Eskimo people - as the Inuit were once called, notes the narrator - gave Canadians one of their first glimpses of a life they had only read about. Following Finnie's re-editing of the original film version, which erased the imprisonment and death by tuberculosis of the male protagonist, Nookudlah in

³⁵ See, for example, "Kangirsujuaq Photo Album," Tumivut: The Cultural Magazine of the Nunavik Inuit 3 (Winter 1992), 29-36; see also Willie Cooper, Memories of Kuujjuamiuq (Inukjuak, Nunavik: Avataq Cultural Institute, 1989), an oral history interview illustrated with historical photographs.

³⁶ Nunavut: Changing the Map of Canada (Image Projection for Indian and Northern Affairs, 1992).

favour of its fairy tale narrative of the happily re-united Eskimo couple, Nunavut uncritically reproduces these images of smiling and contented people, visual proof, once again, of the positive effects of the incorporation of the Inuit and the North into the Canadian nation.

From their home in an urban centre in southern Canada, a four year old boy and his father watch this recycling of northern imagery on television. Old black and white photographs and films are interspersed with contemporary colour footage, woven into a story of the creation of a new territory, Nunavut. Yet what does it mean, this re-drawing of the map of Canada? Who is drawing, and who is erasing? The opening images of the show flicker on the TV screen, beckoning the viewer into a constructed world of the North, a land of still imagined possibilities in which the Natives now speak the language of the negotiating table and joint ventures. Sweeping panoramas of a vast and changing expanse succeed one another, aerial views of lakes and fjords and mountains and tundra, finally coming to rest on a scene of bulldozers digging their way into the soft earth. The boy turns to his father and says, matter of factly: "That's the arctic - and they're re-making it into here."

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C. FILMOGRAPHY

Films are listed in alphabetical order by title, followed by the producer or production company, date of release, and length indicated in reels (a one reel film is approximately 10 minutes long; five reels is about one hour) or time if known. All films are silent and black and white, unless otherwise noted. Where surviving prints are known to exist, this information is listed by repository.

For the 1922-1925 Eastern Arctic Patrol films available at the National Archives of Canada, only fragments of the originals exist, which are usually out of sequence. Furthermore, except for the 1925 footage, they have been misidentified. For this reason the titles as assigned by the NAC are noted with the source.

A Day in Paris (or Life in Paris). Richard Finnie, 1936. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 60 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Among the Igloo Dwellers. Department of the Interior, 1932. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 4 reels (55 minutes).
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives.
Note: This is Finnie's lecture version of the film, incorporating footage from his Patrol to the Northwest Passage, 1937.

Anticosti Island (or Feudal Anticosti). Richard Finnie, 1935. Sound.
Photographer, editor and narrator: Richard Finnie. 1 reel. Distributed by Bell and Howell Film Library.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Arctic Expedition 1929: Musk-ox on Devon's Island. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1929. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 1 reel.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

The Arctic Patrol. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1929.
Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 4 reels.
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives.

- Back to Baffin. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928. Photographers: George Valiquette and Roy Tash. Editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 1 reel.
Source: National Archives of Canada.
- Bloody Fall. Department of the Interior, 1932. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 1 reel.
- Canada Moves North (see also Northwest Frontier). Richard Finnie, 1939.
Photographer and editor: Richard Finnie. One hour.
- Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1922. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1922. Photographer: George Valiquette. 6 reels. Untitled.
Source: National Archives of Canada (see Bernier Expedition 1924).
- Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1923. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923. Photographer: George Valiquette. 5 reels. Untitled.
Source: National Archives of Canada (see Arctic Expedition 1924).
- Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1924. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1924. Photographer: Roy Tash. 6 reels. Untitled.
Source: National Archives of Canada (see Arctic Expedition).
- Canadian Government Arctic Expedition, 1925. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1925. Photographer: George Valiquette. 4 reels. Untitled.
Source: National Archives of Canada (see 1925 Arctic Expedition).
- Coppermine. National Film Board of Canada, 1992. Sound and colour.
Director: Ray Harper; producer: Jerry D. Krepakevich. 55 min. 58 seconds. Includes archival cinematography by Hubert Wilkins and Richard Finnie.
- Cruising Among Arctic Islands. Department of the Interior, 1932. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 1 reel.
Source: National Film Board Stock Shot Library.
- Dogrib Treaty (or Treaty Time at Fort Rae). Richard Finnie, 1939.
Photographer and editor: Richard Finnie. 21 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives.
- Down the Mackenzie to the Arctic Ocean. Department of the Interior, 1932.
Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 3 reels.
Source: National Archives of Canada and National Film Board Stock Shot Library.

From Quebec to Baffinland (Frontiers of the North series, Part I). Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1923. Photographer: George Valiquette. Editor: Ray Peck. 1 reel.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Glimpses of Greenland (Frontiers of the North series, Part III). Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1925. Photographers: George Valiquette and Roy Tash. Editor: Frank Badgely. 1 reel.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

"Governor's Trip to Eastern Canadian Arctic." Hudson's Bay Company, 1934. Photographer: [Harvey Bassett, Associated Screen News]. 7 reels (2 hours).
Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
Note: This is the title assigned by the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, as the opening title sequence of the film is missing.

Hudson's Bay Company Celebrates Its Birth. Canadian National Pictorial, 1920. Photographer: A.M. Wykcoff.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller (short version of Among the Igloo Dwellers). Richard Finnie, 1934. Sound. Photographer, editor and narrator: Richard Finnie. Distributed by Bell and Howell Film Library. 10 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives. The Canadian Museum of Civilization also has a silent, titled version of Ikpuck the Igloo Dweller.

In the Shadow of the Pole. Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1928. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 5 reels.
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives.

The Last Frontier. Richard Finnie, 1934. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 5 reels.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Nanook of the North. Robert Flaherty, sponsored by Revillon Freres, 1922. 55 minutes.

Northwest Frontier. National Film Board, 1943. Sound. Photographer: Richard Finnie. Editors: Stanley Hawes and James Beveridge.
Source: National Archives of Canada.

Nunavut: Changing the Map of Canada. Image Projection, for Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1992. Sound and colour. Director and writer: Ian Parker. 24 minutes 30 minutes.

- Our Ways. CBC North, Yellowknife, aired 8 November 1980. Sound and colour.
Producers: Robin Barker, Rory Macvicar; executive producer: George Frodanou. Host: Fibbie Tatti. 30 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada.
- Over the Magnetic North Pole. Department of the Interior, 1932. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 1 reel.
Source: National Film Board Stock Shot Library.
- Patrol to the Northwest Passage. Department of Mines and Resources and Richard Finnie, 1937. Photographer and editor: Richard Finnie. 1 hour, 7 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada; Northwest Territories Archives.
- Policing the North (Frontiers of the North series, Part II). Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1923. Photographer: G.H. Valiquette. Editor: Ray Peck. 1 reel.
Source: National Archives of Canada.
- The Romance of the Far Fur Country. Educational Films, 1920. Photographers: A.M. Wykoff, M. Derr. 8 reels.
- Rural Quebec Folkways (short version of Wandering Through French Canada). Richard Finnie, 1935. Sound. Photographer, editor and narrator: Richard Finnie. 1 reel. Distributed by Bell and Howell Film Library.
Source: National Archives of Canada.
- Sunset or Sunrise. A.L. Fleming, with the cooperation of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1927. Photographer and editor: A.L. Fleming. 5 reels.
- Trading Into Hudson's Bay. Hudson's Bay Company, 1936. 3 reels.
Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
- To the Arctic by Aeroplane. A.L. Fleming, with the cooperation of the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, 1932. Photographer and editor: A.L. Fleming.
- Wandering Through French Canada (or Seventeenth Century France in Twentieth Century Canada or Where the Old World Meets the New). Richard Finnie, in cooperation with Marius Barbeau of the National Museum of Canada, 1935. 60 minutes.
Source: National Archives of Canada.
- Winter in An Arctic Village. Department of the Interior, 1932. Photographer, editor and titles: Richard Finnie. 3 reels.
Source: National Film Board Stock Shot Library.

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