

## *Studies in Documents*

### ***The “True North” in Pictures? Photographic Representation in the Hudson’s Bay Company’s The Beaver Magazine, 1920-1945***

by PETER GELLER\*

The photograph as historical source presents a number of issues to those interested in the analysis of archival records. Just as the photographic print fades with time, the image’s meanings become altered, changing their shades and hues. This article attempts to restore some of the original texture to these faded images, viewing them in the light of their production and subsequent circulation. Focusing on the processes involved in the creation and methods of display of photographs can sharpen our sense of historical understanding.

Yet, far from a transparent account of some past “reality,” photographic images convey constructed truths. As Richard Bolton argues, meaning is

established through interpretative conventions that exist outside the image—conventions that are socially and institutionally constructed and that serve an ideological function. These conventions are often self-effacing, helping to naturalize a system of beliefs. To understand the workings of ideology, these claims to nature must be taken apart, their historical and social dimensions revealed.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, John Tagg, in his examination of photographic practice and its relationship to “history,” contends that photographic truth is a myth; there is no guarantee of a “pre-photographic existent.”<sup>2</sup> The following case study of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s (HBC) representation of northern Canada, through an examination of the photographic content of its magazine, *The Beaver*, examines the ways in which photographs conformed and contributed to communicating perceptions of the north within specific institutional contexts. For both the keeper and the user of the visual record, this argument serves as an important reminder of the contingency of photographic meaning, and of the problems involved in its interpretation.

This critical approach, then, serves as a useful counterpoint to the prevailing notion of the photograph as an unmediated form of information that realistically reproduces an image of the world on film. The realist mode of photography (and the problems inherent in such an approach) were neatly summarized by long-time *Beaver* editor Clifford Wilson, who held the position from 1939 until 1957. In preparing *The New North in Pictures*, a book of previously published photographs that appeared in 1946, Wilson expressed his claims for the value and validity of photographic communication. Remarking on his initial suggestion of the title “True North,” Wilson stated, “it sums up the theme of the book, which is the pictorial representation of the truth about the North.”<sup>3</sup> In his introduction Wilson elaborated on this concept:

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.<sup>4</sup>

Yet these photographs were representations of the "real," and as "historical records" represent a complexity of meaning. The photographers' choice of point of view, lighting, exposure, and type of lens and film imposed one level of interpretation on the subject.<sup>5</sup> As published pictures their placement within the book's structure and mediation by the accompanying captions and text further contextualized these images. Moreover, as Wilson's statement makes clear, these photographs were also caught up in preconceived notions of what was being pictured.<sup>6</sup>

The multidimensional aspects of photographic meaning can be seen by closely examining single images, such as "A Pair of Happy Huskies," the two portraits of an Inuk man and a panting dog that appeared in the June 1931 issue of *The Beaver* (see **Figure 1**).<sup>7</sup> This ethnocentric equation of "primitive man" with domesticated animal, playing on the colloquialism for Inuit and the stereotypical view of them as inherently cheerful people, points to the manipulative possibilities of combining word and picture.<sup>8</sup> The interaction of image and accompanying text can express a particular interpretation, removed from the intention of the subject (and often, the photographer as well): an open-mouthed dog, captured by the camera's eye, at an unknown moment, is elevated to a state of "happiness"—a plane of emotion usually reserved for human consciousness. This simultaneous dehumanizing of the human subject and anthropomorphizing of the animal subject suggests the complex interplay of meaning that accompanies the juxtaposition of one image with another, and of images with a written text.

**Figure 1**



"A Pair of Happy Huskies." *The Beaver* (June 1931), p. 231

This appreciation of the complexity of meaning of the photograph poses a dilemma for the historian wanting to use it as "evidence." An awareness of the uncertainty involved in establishing the sense of a given image competes with the recognition that it depicts a particular moment in time and space. One way out of this apparent paradox is to consider the photograph in relation to the conditions surrounding its creation and subsequent use. Thus the close read-

ing of specific photographs, in the manner of textual analysis, can be accompanied by a broader contextual analysis. In my discussion of northern images, this context includes the intentions and purposes of *The Beaver* magazine. More particularly, *The Beaver* was the product of specific editorial policies and strategies. Yet as a public relations journal representing the Hudson's Bay Company's interests, *The Beaver's* message must be placed within the history of the HBC and its activities in the Canadian north. As a representation of history, photographs in *The Beaver*, in turn, provide a graphic measure of the way in which these representations were constructed—how the “North” was conceived in imaginative and practical terms.

As one of the key institutions operating in the Canadian north in the twentieth century, the Hudson's Bay Company was intimately involved in representing this region to a southern audience. *The Beaver* magazine, the most visible and ambitious of the company's public relations enterprises, and the records generated in the course of its publication, provide a rich source for studying the way in which photographic images contributed to a growing body of knowledge about the “North.” From its beginnings in 1920 as a staff journal, *The Beaver* incorporated a northern vision that relied on photographs to communicate part of the message. With the expansion of the role of *The Beaver* editor to include that of publicity director in 1933, the look and content of the company's magazine changed significantly. Directed to an outside audience, visual images of the “North” occupied a central place in this new public relations strategy. Presented as part of a greater whole, photographs in *The Beaver* were involved in an ongoing project of illustrating, exemplifying, and at the same time defining the north and the Hudson's Bay Company's role in the region.

The use of visual material initially tended to reinforce *The Beaver's* primary objective—as a house organ devoted solely to staff interests—of furthering staff unity.<sup>9</sup> Several factors, however, contributed to an early appearance of the “North” as a continuing, if minor, theme in its pages. Produced out of the HBC's Canadian head office in Winnipeg, *The Beaver* was conceived by founding editor Clifton Thomas as a major part of the attempt to build up an *esprit de corps* amongst an occupationally diverse and geographically dispersed staff.<sup>10</sup> This was to be achieved by opening up *The Beaver* to the contributions of company members; submitting material to the magazine became a tangible way of expressing loyalty to the company. Thomas and his successor Robert Watson (who edited the journal from 1923 to 1933), solicited writings and photographs by the company's fur-traders, many of whom toiled on the northern frontiers of the HBC enterprise.

While HBC personnel tended to romanticize the northern land and its people in the company journal, these modern day fur-traders were themselves the focus of celebration and myth-making. Portraying the fur-trader as hero, in fact, became one of the magazine's key strategies in its pursuit of creating and maintaining a company identity.<sup>11</sup> While the trading of furs remained an interest of the HBC throughout the first half of twentieth century, its place in the overall scheme of the corporation had greatly shifted.<sup>12</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s the fur-trade itself was undergoing significant change, its arena pushing steadily northward as the advent of the airplane and the radio altered transportation and communication systems. *The Beaver* began to reflect the new-found possibilities of building up the fur-trade's northern setting as a popular image.<sup>13</sup>

This focus on the fur-trade gained expression within *The Beaver* in other, more political, ways. Throughout the 1920s, the HBC found its own expanding activities in the region challenged. The Department of the Interior's Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, headed by O.S. Finnie from 1922 to 1931, directed an active policy that contrasted with the lack of earlier government initiatives (and comparable inactivity in the 1930s and 1940s). The setting up of RCMP posts, the establishment of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, and the creation of game preserves asserted Ottawa's presence in a region that had been dominated by British and other foreign-based companies since 1820.<sup>14</sup>

One result of this increased government presence was the subjection of the Hudson's Bay Company to outright criticism. In a 1924 letter to Hudson's Bay Company Secretary Edward FitzGerald, Finnie's Deputy Minister, William Wallace Cory, accused HBC post managers of exploiting the Inuit, and cast doubt on whether the company could reform its trading system to prevent such abuses. The counter-argument of senior British and Canadian company officials was that reports of exploitation were untrue or exaggerated. Furthermore, they argued, HBC officials knew the Inuit and their needs better than did the government.<sup>15</sup> In light of this conflict with federal policy-makers, the transmission of a positive view of the Inuit, as a healthy and happy people, took on an added importance.

Fur Trade Commissioner Ralph Parsons summed up the official attitude to the HBC-Eskimo relationship at this time: "keep the Eskimos to their natural mode of life." In this view the trapping economy was portrayed as "traditional" and "natural," the mode of life best suited to the Native.<sup>16</sup> In this scenario the HBC played the role of benevolent provider, bestowing the advantages of Euro-Canadian culture and material goods on the Inuit, while holding off the more corrupting influences of Western civilization.

The explanation of the opening images of the March 1928 issue of *The Beaver* is instructive about this way of envisaging the Native (see **Figures 2 and 3**). After viewing the cover picture—a portrait of an Inuk woman and her baby photographed by fur-trader Gaston Herodier at Port Harrison, Québec—the reader turns the page to find "Types of Port Harrison Eskimo." Introducing, separately, the men, women, and children of Port Harrison through these anonymous "types," the editorial copy provided a telling context:

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 safeguarding of the health of the northern natives, a welfare work which is carried on at the company's expense.<sup>17</sup>

Taken along with this pronouncement on the benevolence of company policies and "Eskimo" loyalty to the company, the subjects of the accompanying photographs were transformed into "good friends of the Company," visual proof of *The Beaver's* assertions. That the story of the woman and child who posed for the fur-trader's camera remained untold was of no concern.

In the pages of *The Beaver*, the humanity of Natives rested on the representations offered by non-Natives. Subject to the interpretative framework of the observers, these visual and verbal texts owed little to the actual concerns or conditions of the observed. Aboriginal northerners were portrayed as cultural "types," their objectification reinforcing stereotypical attitudes about race, behaviour, and appearance.<sup>18</sup>

The defence of the fur-trade, the solicitation of material from HBC fur-trade staff, and the representation of Native peoples combined to evoke the magazine's northern atmosphere. Although the "North" was rarely featured as a subject in its own right in *The Beaver* of the 1920s, editors Clifton Thomas and Robert Watson did recognize something of its attraction. In the 1925 article, "A Summer Trip to the Arctic," Watson guided the reader on a "picturesque" thirty-five-day trip from Edmonton to the Arctic and back: "In commodious and up-to-date steamers we may travel in absolute comfort to the very rim of the world, the home of the Eskimo, to the Land of the Midnight Sun."<sup>19</sup> Watson's prose-picture and the accompanying inset portrait of a tattooed "Eskimo Belle" (see **Figure 4**) beckoned the reader to join in this journey to "an entirely new and different world."

Figure 2



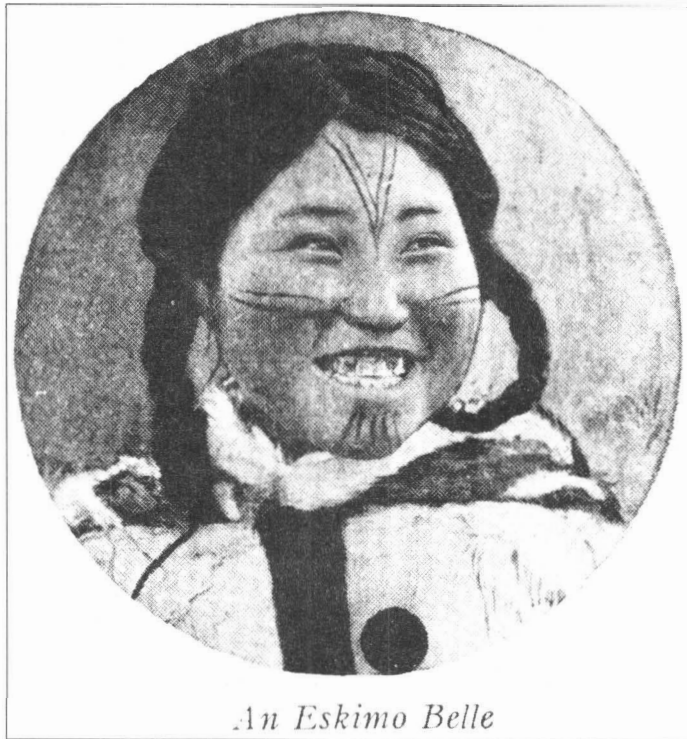
Portrait of an Inuk woman and her baby, by Gaston Herodier, Port Harrison, Québec, *The Beaver* (March 1928), cover.

**Figure 3**



"Types of Port Harrison Eskimos," *The Beaver* (March 1928), p. 152.

**Figure 4**



"An Eskimo Belle," photograph by Robert Watson, *The Beaver* (June 1925), p. 120.

In this article, as on the actual trip, the people and landscape of the north were offered as “sights,” an exotic escape for the world-weary tourist.<sup>20</sup> With the increasing accessibility of the region, due to improved transportation systems, the HBC attempted to take advantage of the growing tourist market. This western Arctic excursion was supplemented in the following decade by the eastern arctic cruises offered by the HBC aboard the *Nascope*.

A component of the “North’s” attraction, however, was its relative inaccessibility. As Watson’s article concluded, “In our trip to the Arctic we have passed through a country which few indeed have had the privilege of seeing.” If a summer cruise to the arctic was restricted to those who could afford to pay, *The Beaver* was to extend this “privilege of seeing” through its representation of the north. Although this representation was produced by a variety of voices and seen through many different eyes (and camera lenses), they tended to conform to a common perspective. Based in southern Canadian realities and practice, *The Beaver’s* discourse on the “North” emphasized the company’s position and policies, reproducing and reinforcing the Hudson’s Bay Company’s power and authority.<sup>21</sup>

In the 1920s and early 1930s, however, the quality of the amateur photographic contributions, combined with the technical constraints of the magazine’s production and the limited pictorial sense of the magazine’s editors, tended to diminish much of the impact of these northern pictures. In several of the pictures in “Dogs of the North” (Figure 5), for example, portraying dog teams against washed out vistas of snow and sky, details were totally obscured. In addition, the positioning of photographs and captions, which required the viewer to match the brief descriptions at the bottom of the page with the correspondingly numbered picture, did not facilitate a ready appreciation of image and text, as a single-line caption underneath each photograph would have done.<sup>22</sup>

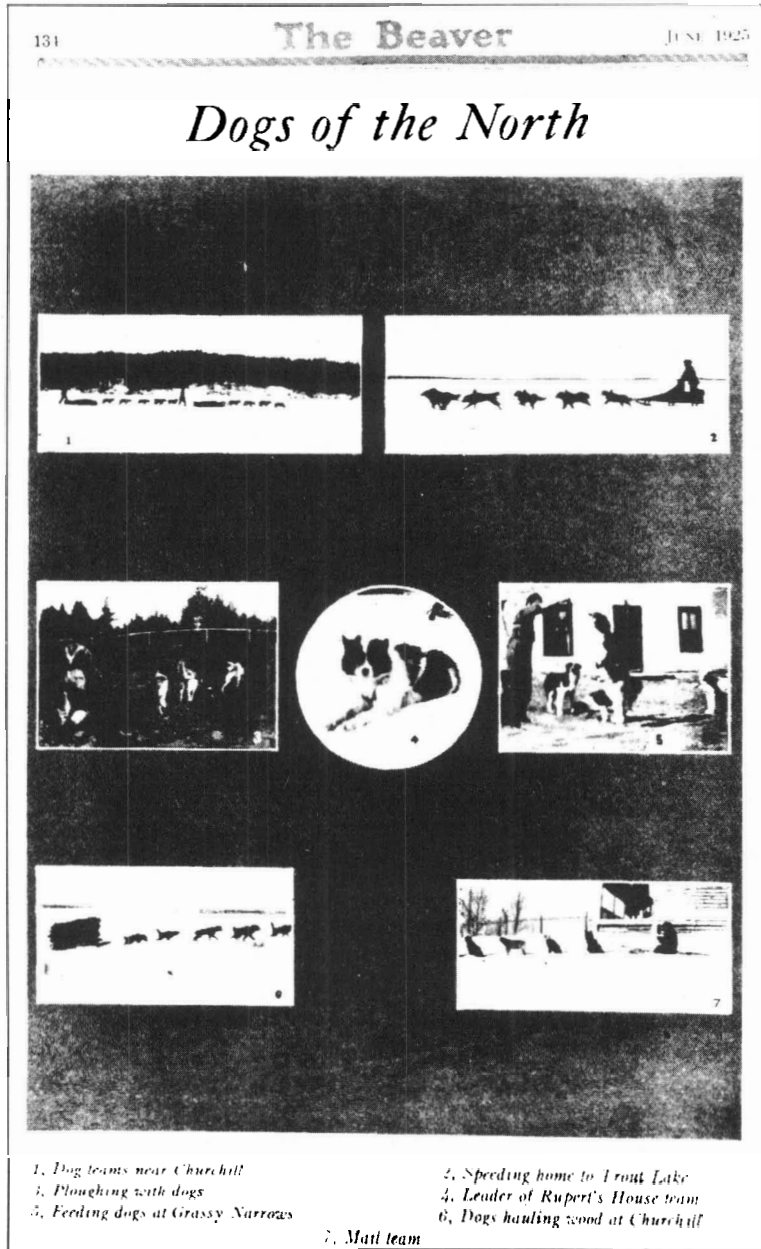
Such examples of whole pages devoted to visual material were the exception, as *Beaver* editors Thomas and Watson subordinated the portrayal of pictorial images to the written word. The hiring of Douglas MacKay as *Beaver* editor and publicity director in 1933, however, signalled a shift in company policy towards a greater commitment to its public image.<sup>23</sup> In keeping with these new initiatives, MacKay revised not only the material printed, but also the manner in which it was presented. In its larger size and radically-altered appearance, *The Beaver*, with an expanded readership that reached beyond company employees, departed from its origins as a cheaply produced in-house publication.<sup>24</sup>

Under MacKay’s editorial direction *The Beaver* entered the mainstream (if not the forefront) of developments in corporate publicity. MacKay, a former journalist, was particularly attuned to developments in the area of popular media, which included a sophisticated use of visual imagery. Warren I. Susman, in his analysis of “The Culture of the Thirties,” noted “the stunning techniques and effects developed” in the realm of radio, moving pictures, and photography in the United States.<sup>25</sup> One result of this emphasis on the media of sight and sound was the appearance of North American photo-magazines, *Life* (introduced in 1937) being one of the most successful and well-known examples.<sup>26</sup>

MacKay recognized the value of the photograph, in particular, as a conveyor of salient images of the company’s presence.<sup>27</sup> This emphasis on the photographic image in *The Beaver*, then, reflected more widespread trends within the world of popular culture. While the promotion of the Hudson’s Bay Company also exploited radio and motion pictures, the still photograph proved to be the most viable and accessible medium.<sup>28</sup> Radio and film required extensive distribution systems, while photographs could be printed in the company’s magazine and in other company publications.<sup>29</sup>

With MacKay as editor of *The Beaver*, the “North” emerged as a significant focus—the cornerstone of Mackay’s representation of the Hudson’s Bay Company as an historic and modern enterprise. The portrayal of the activities and personalities of the Fur Trade Department provided a steady flow of material for the “Magazine of the North,” as the new subtitle pro-

Figure 5



"Dogs of the North," *The Beaver* (June 1925), p. 134.



claimed.<sup>30</sup> The photographs of company employees continued to be solicited, with an added emphasis given to those taken by fur-trade staff. Suggestions on appropriate subjects were supplemented with helpful hints and practical techniques for the snaphooter.<sup>31</sup> Several senior fur-traders became frequent contributors of northern photographs to the company journal, adding a sense of authenticity and immediacy to its northern focus. James Watt Anderson, District Manager for James Bay and then Ungava (Eastern Arctic) from 1931 to 1952, contributed a yearly feature on the annual voyage of the *Nascopie*, the company's eastern arctic supply ship. His personal interest in the medium (as evidenced by the surviving images from his early years as a clerk in the James Bay district) became easily accommodated to his managerial role as official representative of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>32</sup>

Given the standards that MacKay wished to attain for the company magazine, however, the creation of a northern image for the HBC also depended on the technically proficient and aesthetically pleasing work of the professional. Accordingly, part of this public relations campaign involved hiring photographers to traverse the north for *The Beaver*. Inside the magazine itself, these "Arctic photographs" and "northern pictures" became enmeshed in a vision of the purposes and personalities of the HBC's northern presence.

Max Sauer, Jr. was the first professional especially commissioned to take pictures for the company's magazine.<sup>33</sup> From his vantage point as passenger on the *Nascopie*, Sauer recorded the scenes and people encountered *en route*. Four of these photographs, reproduced one image to a page, appeared in 1934 in *The Beaver* (see **Figures 6-10**).<sup>34</sup> In "Four Arctic Photographs," editor MacKay first presented, on a single page, the captions which described the images to follow. Proceeding along, the viewer is confronted by four imposing photographs that bleed off the page, unimpeded by any distracting text. Although these pictures can stand on their own, and be interpreted as single images, they are more fruitfully understood in terms of the implied narrative structure of their placement.<sup>35</sup> They are presented as a group of photographs "authored" by a single creator, given an order (the 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the caption numbers), and—significantly—a context, provided by the preceding captions.

On one level they tell a simple story of commercial achievement. An image of a non-Native is presented as the first of these "Arctic Photographs," perhaps a harbinger of the importation of those southern Canadian material goods pictured in the rest of the series. In the second photograph transportation is highlighted, the crate destined for "Port Harrison" showing in the foreground. Following the unloading operations of the visibly marked Hudson's Bay Company products, a scene of contented Native consumption is featured, a fitting close to this tale of arctic enterprise.

The first photograph (**Figure 7**), however, is not of an anonymous individual, but of "The Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming, D.D., first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic." Shot from a low angle, the intent-looking bishop appears as a dominating figure, befitting his formidable title, and presumably, the equally formidable task that he performs.<sup>36</sup> His angular face, protruding from the hood of his fur jacket, looks down, not at the viewer, but at the scene on the facing page. While not depicted directing the activities of whites and Natives in the following images, his presence tacitly (at least) approves of the Hudson's Bay Company and its role in his northern diocese.<sup>37</sup>

The following three Sauer prints (**Figures 8, 9 and 10**) are explicitly identified with the company through the visible presence of the "R.M.S. *Nascopie*, of the Hudson's Bay Company" and the products of its trade. They illustrate not specific personalities and roles, as does the first photograph of Bishop Fleming, but the work carried out by unnamed labourers, both Native inhabitants and southerners imported by the HBC. In the second and third views the work is palpably presented, the men frozen in motion by the click of the camera's shutter.

Figure 6

THE BEAVER, March 1934

## Four Arctic Photographs

1. The Right Reverend Archibald Lang Fleming, D.D.,  
first Anglican Bishop of the Arctic.
2. R.M.S. "Nascopic," of the Hudson's Bay Company,  
Stands Off Port Burwell, Hudson Straits, During her  
1933 Voyage.
3. Fort Garry Tea for Moose Factory, Ontario, Being  
Unloaded from R.M.S. "Nascopic" at the Charlton  
Island Depot, James Bay.
4. Demi Tasse. Eskimo Longshoremen Enjoy Fort Garry  
Coffee During Unloading Operations at Port Burwell.

By  
MAX SAUER, JR.

Figures 6 - 10, Max Sauer, "Four Arctic Photographs," *The Beaver* (March 1934), pp. 15-19.

**Figure 7**



**Figure 8**



**Figure 9**

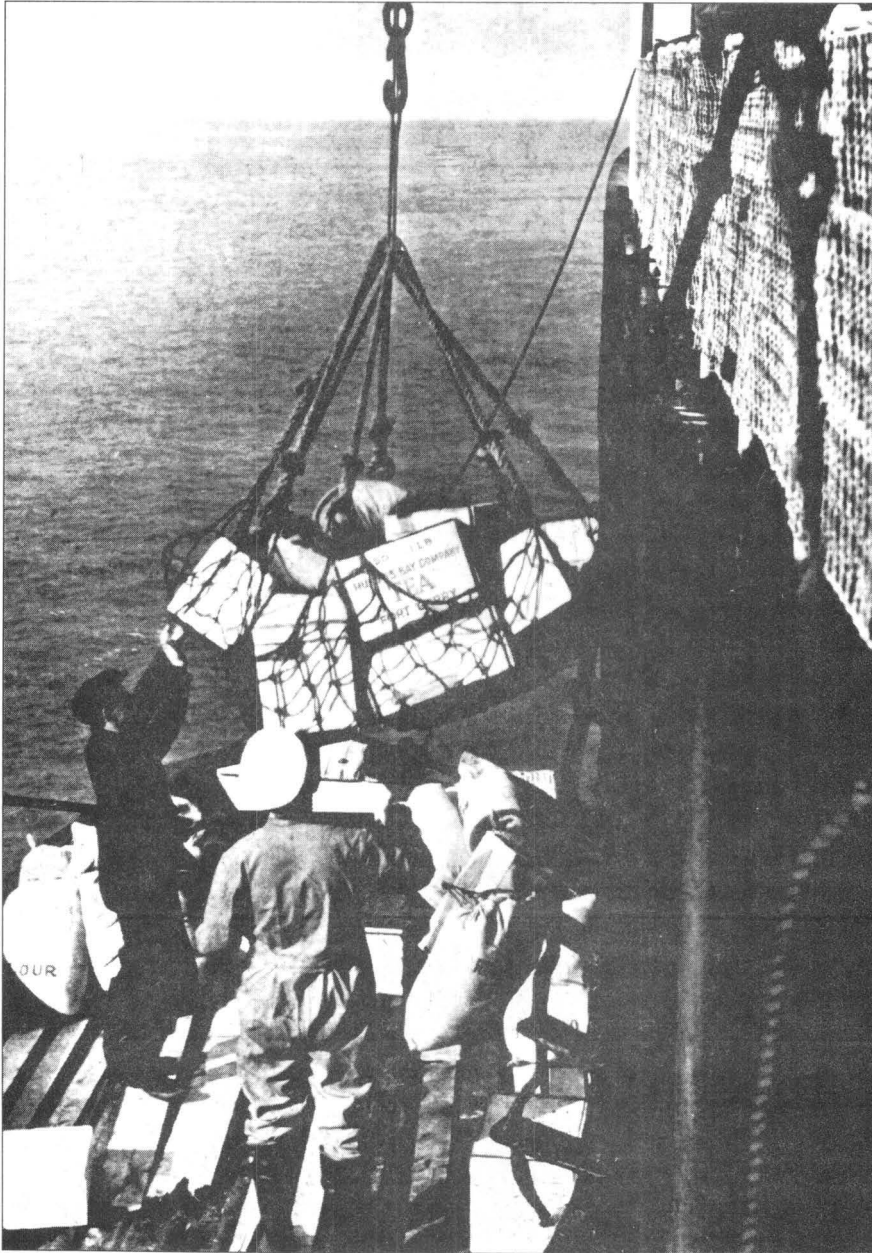


Figure 10



The fourth image (**Figure 10**) depicts a respite from labour, although itself only an interruption of the “unloading operations.” While Bishop Fleming presides in seriousness over the unfolding scenes, this Inuit group “enjoy” their mug of coffee, aware of the camera’s presence. Ironically (and perhaps condescendingly) entitled “Demi Tasse,” the European sound of the word and its connotations of leisure conjure up images divorced from the daily lives of the picture’s subjects. In a similar manner, the small cup known as a demitasse contrasts with the large mugs; one was in fact improvised from an HBC Fort Garry Coffee tin. In this photograph, in particular, the contradictions inherent in fixing meanings on potentially ambiguous images is readily apparent. In naming and making understandable for a non-northern audience the actions and appearances of these “different” people, Mackay was impelled to impose conventions on this scene that distorted and simplified the motivations of the people portrayed.

Although commissioned photographers in the field carried along their own standards and tastes, their pictures took on added meanings through their placement within *The Beaver*. The HBC’s role in representing the north worked in other ways as well. Photographers hired by the company were under obligation to photograph particular subjects, and from particular perspectives. Lorene Squire, like Sauer, was one of several professionals hired to go north aboard the *Nascopie* in the 1930s. She was instructed to photograph, in addition to her own specialty of wildlife, “a more or less routine record of life in the north as you see it, and hitherto unrecorded posts.” In these unfamiliar surroundings, this American from Harper, Kansas, would have to rely on HBC staff for an introduction to her assignment. Squire was instructed to seek out fellow passenger J.W. Anderson, “who literally knows the Arctic like a book, and can advise you on the spot....” Anderson, keenly interested in the representation of the company for which he worked, was to ensure that Squire received an appropriate orientation.<sup>38</sup>

More directly, photographers were dependent on the company to provide transportation and accommodation. Squire’s experience of life in the north (like that of other passenger-photographers aboard the *Nascopie*) was, obviously, a limited one, tied to the movements and circumstances of this yearly excursion into arctic waters. From 1933 until the *Nascopie* sank off Cape Dorset in 1947, the company’s ship, owned and operated by the Fur-Trade Department, also carried the federal government’s Eastern Arctic Patrol (EAP). The party consisted of a variety of federal government personnel, including RCMP, post office representatives, doctors, dentists, research scientists, surveyors, radio engineers, and cinematographers. Various missionaries, including the aforementioned Bishop A.L. Fleming, were also frequent passengers. The company sold berths to paying tourists from 1933 until 1941, when this practice was cancelled due to wartime restrictions. Inuit were also taken aboard, travelling from post to post for medical or employment reasons.<sup>39</sup>

The *Nascopie*’s annual visit was a distinctive occasion in the seasonal round of life for fur-traders, missionaries, government workers, and Inuit in the eastern arctic. It was this annual creation of an orderly and respectable appearance by HBC employees, government representatives, and missionaries that was captured by the cameras of *Nascopie* passengers.<sup>40</sup> The Inuit, too, marked the *Nascopie*’s yearly arrival; the camps and their activities, which were photographed and reproduced in *The Beaver*, were scenes of a particular and unique aspect of life in the arctic.<sup>41</sup>

The *Nascopie*, of course, was involved in expanding the trade of the Hudson’s Bay Company, bringing in goods from the south and taking out furs, whale-oil, and other products. Accordingly, in “The Magazine of the North,” the *Nascopie* held a prominent place in the mythology of the company’s “progress” and development.<sup>42</sup> The *Nascopie* as symbol, however, like the series of Sauer photographs, embraced more than a simple concept of commercial expansion. “Trading North” carried with it a whole set of assumptions regarding the importation of British/Canadian ideology and culture into the eastern Arctic. Eulogizing the ship after its “last tragic voyage of 1947,” Clifford Wilson summed up this aspect of the *Nascopie*’s role:

The old ship, performing her voyage faithfully year after year, through fog and storm and ice, in war as well as in peace, became a national institution - a sturdy symbol of Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic.<sup>43</sup>

Carrying aboard government and church representatives, as well as fur-traders, the *Nascopie* presented a unified approach to the administration of the Canadian north. The editorial commentary accompanying a photograph in *The Beaver's* "The Company News Reel," a feature that echoed the form of the popular news shorts accompanying feature films, made clear this significance of the *Nascopie's* annual voyage (see **Figure 11**). The text beside a photograph of Major David McKeand (officer in charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol), George Watson (HBC Ungava District Manager), and Anglican Bishop Archibald Fleming, declared: "This issue our news pictures lead off with 'The Crown, the Company and the Church,' the three great powers in the Northwest Territories." These three men, posing together, embodied the power of the institutions for which they stood. Significantly, they were framed in a single image, seemingly united in a common enterprise.<sup>44</sup>

The varied uses and meanings of the reproducible visual image were strikingly evident in the portrayal of the *Nascopie's* 1934 northern voyage. Capitalizing on the presence of Patrick Ashley Cooper, the first Governor to visit Hudson Bay, the company employed a variety of media in order to represent and glorify his tour.<sup>45</sup> At the same time that the *Nascopie* was carrying still- and moving-picture cameras to record this event, it also had on board a projector. The showing of a film of the previous voyage was a feature of the *Nascopie's* shipboard activities as it sailed down the St. Lawrence out of Montreal.<sup>46</sup> As well, Governor Cooper brought along a special film to be shown to the Inuit, part of King George V's message to "his Eskimo subjects."<sup>47</sup> Although the Governor and Mrs. Cooper did not bring their own film illustrating their lives in Britain, they did distribute their own, more modest, family pictures. An autographed photograph was included in the souvenirs that Governor Cooper gave to the district and post managers, while his wife distributed folders containing a message and a photograph of herself and her children to the Inuit women gathered at each HBC post visited.<sup>48</sup> As well as taking away images of the north, therefore, the *Nascopie* also left some behind.

In addition to importing material goods and the administrative structures of Canadian society into the north, the *Nascopie* was involved in propagating ways of seeing and being seen that were firmly rooted in Western cultural traditions. The distribution of filmic and photographic images of English scenes and family groups constituted one component of the attempt, on the part of whites, to bridge the cultural differences between themselves and Native peoples. At the same time, the very act of photographing Natives by whites was another form of this cross-cultural contact, communicating the codes and social conventions associated with being photographed. This enforced familiarity with photographic conventions accompanied the extension of other non-Native practices into the north. Not only were Inuit people examined by medical specialists, tried by juries, and awarded medals for bravery, but they were also photographed doing so.<sup>49</sup>

The association between being photographed and being "civilized" was noted by frequent *Beaver* contributor Richard Finnie, son of O.S. Finnie, former head of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch. Finnie was the government cinematographer aboard the *Nascopie* on the occasion of its successful first meeting with the HBC's western Arctic supply ship *Aklavik* at Bellot Strait in 1937, thus completing the opening of the Northwest Passage as a commercial route. In a *Beaver* article, "Trading Into the Northwest Passage," Finnie wrote that he was impressed by this "romantic" and "historic" event, but at the same time questioned this expansion of trade into the Canadian north.<sup>50</sup> Joining a group on an inspection trip to Nadluktuk, located some fifteen miles from the newly-established HBC post of Fort Ross, Finnie noted:



Figure 11

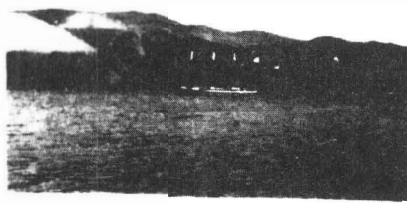
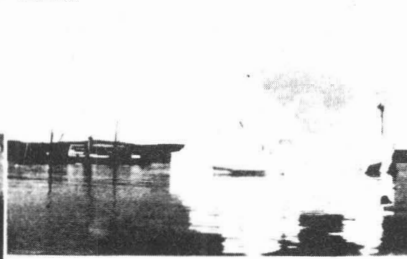
## THE COMPANY NEWS REEL



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. E. McLeod of the Lands and Northwest Territories. Recently of the Department of the Interior, who for several years has been in charge of the Government Eastern Arctic patrol on the "Nascopie." In the centre is George Watson, manager of the late St. Lawrence Line area district for the Company and now manager of St. Lawrence district. On the right is Bishop A. J. Fleming, Anglican Bishop of the Arctic. The photo is by Chesley Russell. Below is an excellent picture of the "Nascopie" taken by the bishop at Clyde River post, Baffin Island.



Captain J. Dawe, master of the Company schooner "Fort Garry," caught by Wireless Operator A. F. Wilson at Fort Chimo in August. Below is Captain I. F. Smellie, of the Company's R.M.S. "Nascopie" at Pangnirtung. In the press the captain is often referred to as the nautical man who shovels prairie snow all winter and navigates Arctic ice all summer.



Above is the schooner "Fort Garry" at Ramah, Labrador, in July. The low clouds are typical of the region, where the schooner was held up by ice and fog. This year, with bowsprit and topmasts gone, the schooner has a greatly changed appearance. Below: Unloading the annual supplies at Pangnirtung.



"The Company News Reel," *The Beaver* (December 1935), p. 50

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... and who well knew what a camera was for.

The knowledge of the camera and its uses were, according to Finnie, a mark of advancing civilization and its attendant "questionable 'benefits'." Despite his doubts, Finnie aligned himself with the "civilizing" forces, spending a "delightful, unforgettable day" making motion pictures of the camp life of this group of Netsilingmiut people.<sup>51</sup>

The making and use of photographs of the "North" allow for an examination of broader issues surrounding the function of visual images in the construction of meaning. On one level, photography contributes to the project of drawing and defining mental maps of an unknown world. As one of the Hudson's Bay Company's advertising managers remarked in 1939,

Letters have been received from many *Beaver* readers throughout the country in which is expressed an appreciation for the colourful, interesting and artistic treatment this periodical now embodies. Many dwell particularly on the reproduction of expertly photographed scenes of the North, relieving they say, the necessity of the reader having to call on his imagination for a picture of that enchanting land when it is described.<sup>52</sup>

Combined with names, photographs transformed northern lakes and mountains into knowable places. In "Business in the Arctic," the captions of the two leading photographs exemplify this process of understanding. "Mount Camsell, between Fort Simpson and Fort Wrigley" and "Bear Rock, with Bear River and Fort Norman just beyond" not only give names to these "natural" objects, but also place them within a world of human habitation. In both photographs, these landmarks of "civilization" are unseen, lying outside the bounds of the picture's frame. Yet their presence, invoked by the captions, remains palpable. The article's subtitle sums up this way of seeing: "Vast areas of land, sharply contrasted types of country, a bewildering number of rivers and lakes and the link of the Company to make a coherent picture..."<sup>53</sup> Similarly, Arctic posts with anglicized names were familiar sights in *The Beaver*. Images of neatly manicured paths leading up to freshly painted post buildings, themselves attempts to make order in the Canadian Arctic, were frequently and faithfully reproduced.

As a result of its public relations activities, the Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian office built up its own massive photographic archive.<sup>54</sup> Yet the organization of this holding, like the use of these images in *The Beaver*, reflected cultural and social values about the things photographed. Alan Trachtenberg, in his discussion of archival method as a way of organizing photo-collections, noted that it reveals "a macro-structure of social meaning, a way of identifying individual pictures even before their use ... Each image belong[s] to a larger picture, and understood that way, by its social identification, could thus evoke the whole for which it stood."<sup>55</sup> In *The Beaver* magazine, as in the HBC's public relations project in general, stereotypical and simplified images of peoples and places served to present a particular vision of the company and its activities.

Photographic images play an important function in ordering and making coherent the world around us. The camera's shutter, freezing time and motion, permits the static contemplation of a confusing world in flux. Related to the tendency to view "others" as types, photography becomes a potent method for making these perceived differences appear "natural" and unproblematic, despite the fluid nature of racial and ethnic boundaries.<sup>56</sup> Pictures of northern Natives, accepted as "real," authenticate cultural constructions of difference, thereby validating notions of cultural superiority.

Other images, however, challenge both the conventions of western photographic practice and the categories imposed in the pages of *The Beaver*. They provide an alternative perspective, suggesting other ways of framing the northern land and its people. In the September 1946 issue

of *The Beaver*, two pages were devoted to the photographs of "Pitsulak... an Eskimo who trades at Cape Dorset," and who was in Winnipeg for medical treatment (Figure 12). These photographs, and the larger body of work that Peter Pitseolak generated over three decades as a chronicler of his own life and those of the families of *Seekooseelak*, question the meanings attached to photographs taken by those passing through an unfamiliar culture and landscape.<sup>57</sup>

Figure 12



[Peter Pitseolak], "Pictures by Pitsulak," *The Beaver* (September 1946), pp. 20-21.

Like other photographers whose work appeared in *The Beaver*, Peter Pitseolak composed his pictures. Yet seated or standing, indoors or outside, the subjects of Pitseolak's images are pictured in full-length views, within the context of their environment. They confront the camera and the viewer, looking back at us, conscious of and participating in this act of representation.<sup>58</sup> These subjects, moreover, once removed from the distorting influence of *The Beaver's* commentary and captions, defy easy categorization into racial "types" and stereotyped behaviours. Instead, they portray a complexity and ambiguity of emotion and response, defying fixed meaning.

Peter Pitseolak's portraits provide a needed commentary on the northern images produced in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company's public image. His views of Inuit family life serve as a reminder of the way in which the photographs published in *The Beaver* were mediated texts: attempts to construct particular meanings. As historical records, these images reveal only particular aspects of the Canadian north. The self-images of Aboriginal people in the Canadian Arctic, and the images of southerners as "others," also require and deserve attention by archivists and historians. In the surviving documents, placed in the context of this alternate discourse, including visual, written and oral traditions, these submerged representations assert their own presence.

### Notes

- \* A version of this paper was presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, Charlottetown, 1992. I wish to thank Jennifer S.H. Brown, Terry Cook, Pam Logan, and the *Archivaria* assessor for helpful comments; Christopher Dafoe (current editor of *The Beaver*) for facilitating the reproduction of early *Beaver* material; and the staff of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, for their time and knowledge. The Hudson's Bay Company kindly granted permission to reproduce material from this collection, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada provided financial support.
- 1 Richard Bolton, "Introduction," in R. Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), xii.
  - 2 John Tagg, "Introduction," in *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London, 1988), p. 3. Other works that consider the nature of photographic meaning and its relation to the interpretation of historical records and "history" include Keith Bell, "Representing the Prairies: Private and Commercial Photography in Western Canada, 1880-1980," in Geoffrey James, et al., *Thirteen Essays on Photography* (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 13-32; Victor Burgin, *Thinking Photography* (London, 1982); 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), pp. 4-9; Allan Sekula, "On The Invention of Photographic Meaning," in his *Photography Against the Grain* (Halifax, 1984); and Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History: Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York, 1989). Elizabeth P. Seaton, in "Delegation and Depiction: The Textual Authorities of Photographic Criticism" (Ph.D. Diss., Concordia University, 1990), pp. 75-78, situates the beginning of this re-examination in the early 1970s and points to the work of Roland Barthes (*Mythologies* [London 1973]) and Susan Sontag (*On Photography* [New York 1977]) in focusing attention on and questioning the relationship between the production of meaning and the medium of photography.
  - 3 Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (hereafter HBCA), RG 2, Canadian Committee Office, vol. 7, file 93, Wilson to Lorne Pierce (of Ryerson Press), 12 December 1946.
  - 4 Clifford Wilson, *The New North in Pictures* (Toronto, 1946), p. 4. This portion of the introduction, and many of the photographs, were reprinted in the sequel to this book, also edited by Wilson, *Pageant of the North* (Toronto, 1957).
  - 5 Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London, 1974), p. 301, notes how these elements should make us recognize that photography does not represent a form of "miraculously pure communication."
  - 6 For a perceptive commentary on the formation of popular concepts of the north in an earlier period, see I.S. MacLaren's "The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845-59," in K.S. Coates and W.R. Morrison, eds., *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 18-51. MacLaren examines the influence of literary and pictorial conventions in structuring perceptions of, and reactions to, the northern environment among mid-nineteenth-century explorers.

- 7 *The Beaver* (June 1931), p. 231. Curiously, the unnamed man looks far from "happy," at least in terms of commonly accepted Western conventions of facial gestures. As for the dog's expression....
- 8 See the author's M.A. Thesis, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company, Public Relations and *The Beaver Magazine*, 1920-45" (University of Winnipeg/ University of Manitoba, 1990), pp. 67-76 and 174-75, on the occurrence of the stereotype of the "happy Eskimo" within *The Beaver*.
- 9 The two pages on "Bonnie Babies," announcing the winners of a baby photograph competition of HBC offspring, displayed the pictures of twenty smiling infants in order to create the effect of one big happy family (*The Beaver*, February 1921, pp. 17-19). Over ten years later, editor Robert Watson was captioning photographs of employees as "Our Family Album" (December 1932, p. 150).
- 10 HBCA, RG2 vol. 3, file 12, Thomas to E. FitzGerald, 22 May 1920.
- 11 See, for example, "New Fur Trade Commissioner Famed as Trader and Organizer," *The Beaver* (November 1920), pp. 2-4; "Promotion," *Ibid.* (April 1921), p. 10; "Gentlemen Adventurers," *Ibid.* (November 1923), p. 71; "Welcome to General Inspector Hugh Conn," *Ibid.* (June 1929), pp. 216-17; and "Two Distinguished Fur Traders," *Ibid.* (December 1930), pp. 99-101.
- 12 A.J. Ray notes in *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto, 1990), p. 99, that by 1914 fur-trading ranked behind land and retail sales in terms of gross income. See also Alex Ross and Anne Morton, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Its Archives," *Business Archives* no. 51 (November 1985), pp. 17-39 for a useful summary of the HBC and its post-1870 history.
- 13 See Peter Geller, "Creating Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company and Public Relations in the 1930s," in J.S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles, and D.P. Heldman, eds., *Selected Proceedings of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1991* (forthcoming, 1993).
- 14 On the administrative history of the Canadian north and the changes and continuities in government policy as reflected in the federal government's record-keeping practices, see Terry Cook, "Paper Trails; A Study in Northern Records and Northern Administration, 1898-1958" in K.S. Coates and W.R. Morrison, eds., *For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow* (North York, Ont., 1989), pp. 13-35. See also Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967* (Ottawa, 1985); Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver, 1988), pp. 3-48; Philip Goldring, "Canadian Problems and Foreign Models: O.S. Finnie's Inuit Policy, 1922-1931" (Ottawa: unpublished paper, 1988), pp. 32 and 44-47; and Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967* (Toronto, 1988), pp. 188-202.
- 15 Cited in Goldring, "Inuit Policy," pp. 35-36; HBCA, Section A, London Headquarters (A) vol. 167, file 211, for FitzGerald's reply of 10 April 1925.
- 16 HBCA, RG 2, vol. 8, file 902, Fur Trade Commissioner to General Manager [P.A. Chester], 28 September 1932. Goldring, "Inuit Policy," pp. 20-22, discusses the "Inuk as trapper" as the dominant paradigm in the 1930s, not only among the HBC, but also "tolerated by the churches and approved by Finnie's successors," notably David McKeand, superintendent of the Eastern Arctic.
- 17 *The Beaver* (March 1928), p. 112.
- 18 See, for example, Labrador District Manager (and later Fur Trade Commissioner) Ralph Parsons's head-and-shoulder portraits, organized as "a galaxy of Baffin Land types," and P.H. Godsell's three pictures entitled "Types of Western Arctic Eskimos": *The Beaver* (June 1921, p. 32 and May 1924, p. 297). On the exoticism of the Native (or what she terms the "genre of curiosities" in the realm of photography), see Margaret B. Blackman, "Visual Ethnohistory: Photographs in the Study of Culture History," in Dennis Weidman, ed., *Ethnohistory: A Researcher's Guide* (Williamsburg, 1986), p. 152.
- 19 *The Beaver* (June 1925), p. 120. See also the advertisement for the trip and accompanying poem by "R.W." on the romantic attraction of northern travel, in the June 1926 issue, p. 123: "Let us forget awhile the city's noise and seethe / Take us where forest sighs and water races; / New scenes, strange sights, the Midnight Sun, where we may breathe. / The Freedom of God's Northern open spaces."
- 20 For a later expression, see *The Beaver* (June 1941), p. 55, advertisement for the western arctic trip: "If you're looking for new travel thrills ... new scenery ... new camera subjects..."
- 21 Michael J. Shapiro, *The Politics of Representation: Writing Practices in Biography, Photography and Policy Analysis* (Madison, 1988), xii, differentiates between "pious" and "impious" modes of representation, as either reinforcing or challenging the prevailing modes of power and authority. Douglas A. West, "The Imagined Reality of the Canadian North," in W.P. Adams and P.G. Johnson, eds., *Student Research in Canada's North/Les recherches des étudiants dans le nord canadien* (Ottawa, 1988), pp. 590-96, discusses the "North" as an "other" to southern Canadian culture.
- 22 *The Beaver* (June 1925), p. 134.

- 23 HBCA, RG 2, vol. 38, file 71, MacKay personnel file. This shift in company policy can be viewed in light of the general trend towards corporate public relations in the 1920s and 1930s; see Alan R. Raucher, *Public Relations and Business, 1900-1929* (Baltimore, 1968), and Richard S. Tedlow, *Keeping the Corporate Image: Public Relations and Business, 1900-1950* (Greenwich, 1979).
- 24 Circulation climbed from 5,000 copies—mostly distributed to employees—to over 10,000 by the time of MacKay's accidental death in 1938 (Geller, "Creating Corporate Images," p. 91).
- 25 In Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), pp. 160-61.
- 26 On *Life* and other illustrated magazines of this period see Tim N. Gidal, *Modern Photojournalism: Origin and Evolution, 1910-1933* (New York, 1973); Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, 1956), pp. 311-20; Sally Stein, "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1919-1939," in R. Bolton, *The Contest of Meaning*, pp. 146-61; and William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York, 1973), p. 129.
- 27 As MacKay stated in his letter to the company's London Secretary, J. Chadwick Brooks, regarding his plans for *The Beaver*: "I am particularly anxious to use photographs wherever possible...." (HBCA, A.102/269, 1 August 1933). See also MacKay's "Report on Trademarks and Labels," 16 June 1933, in *ibid.*, RG 2, vol. 7, file 707.
- 28 MacKay delivered a series of radio broadcasts on the CBC [reprinted in *The Beaver* (June 1938), pp. 7-9, (September 1938), pp. 26-31, (December 1938), pp. 26-28]. A film was made of Governor Cooper's 1934 trip on the *Nascopie* (HBCA, F16).
- 29 Reproductions could also be distributed to individuals and groups outside the HBC. See HBCA, A.102, Box 149a, Photos, Blocks, 1937-1938, for a sense of those (publishers, writers, lecturers) requesting photographs.
- 30 As stated in *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."
- 31 "The HBC Packet," *The Beaver* (September 1934), pp. 5-6; C.P. Dettloff, "Comments on Common Errors in Photography," *Ibid.*, (December 1934), pp. 40-41; and Ormal Sprungman, "Photographing the Northland," *Ibid.*, (March 1942), pp. 34-38.
- 32 See "Two-Sixty-Eight," *The Beaver* (September 1937), pp. 50-51; "Sailing With the *Nascopie*," *Ibid.* (September 1938), pp. 50-52; "Summer Cruise to the Arctic," *Ibid.* (December 1939), pp. 44-45; *Ibid.* (December 1940), pp. 52-55; "The 1941 Voyage of the R.M.S. *Nascopie*," *Ibid.* (December 1941), pp. 7-9; "Wartime Voyage," *Ibid.* (March 1943), pp. 38-41; "Fort Ross Voyage," *Ibid.* (December 1944), pp. 45-47; "*Nascopie*: Veteran of Two World Wars," *Ibid.* (December 1945), pp. 43-45; and "Peacetime Voyage," *Ibid.* (December 1946), pp. 44-47. Anderson was also an enthusiastic contributor to the fur-trade's personnel magazine, *The Moccasin Telegraph* (launched in August 1941), and to *The House Detective*, a modest publication produced by the staff at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, during the 1940s; he was also the author of the autobiographical *Fur Trader's Story* (Toronto, 1961). See HBCA, 1986/45 and 1987/205, J.W. Anderson Photograph Collections, for unpublished material.
- 33 HBCA, RG 2, vol. 8, file 1158, Clifford Wilson to P. Inglis, (editor, *Canadian Photography*), 27 August 1954.
- 34 Max Sauer, Jr., "Four Arctic Photographs," *The Beaver* (March 1934), pp. 15-19.
- 35 See Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, xiv-xv, on reading groups of photographs as "an ensemble of interactive images" which construct and express meaning; and his readings of Civil War albums (pp. 93-111) and Walker Evans's *American Photographs* (pp. 250-85).
- 36 An article in the same issue comments on Fleming's "presence, his stateliness and a manner dignified, courteous and singularly gracious.... The Church of England in Canada is confident that in the Arctic Bishop Fleming will build up a 'strong tower' against the enemy": O.R. Rowley, "The First Anglican Bishop of the Arctic," *The Beaver* (March 1934), p. 66.
- 37 See "From the Western Arctic / A Series of Pictures taken for *The Beaver* by Richard N. Hourde," *The Beaver* (December 1936), pp. 29-35, which begins with a photo of "Hudson's Bay Company Trader" Ernest Riddell, for a similar construction.
- 38 HBCA, RG 2, vol. 7, file 95, Alice MacKay to L. Squire, 26 May 1938. Alice MacKay replaced her husband, Douglas, after his death in 1938, serving as editor until the hiring of Clifford Wilson in 1939.
- 39 HBCA, RG 3, vol. 60, file 1, Bay Voyage Records, 1933-47, for itinerary and passenger lists (the latter up to 1940) and Ships' Histories, *Nascopie*; on the Eastern Arctic Patrol, see National Archives of Canada, Northern Affairs Programme (RG 85, vols. 68-80). See also Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, pp. 198-99 and C.P. Wilson, "*Nascopie*-The Story of a Ship," *The Beaver* (September 1947), pp. 3-11.

- 40 See, for example, EAP medical officer Dennis Jordan's introduction to Roland Wild, *Arctic Command: The Story of Smellie and the "Nascopie"* (Toronto, 1955), ix, for an outsider's view of the *Nascopie's* yearly arrival; on the preparations for "shiptime" from a white resident's perspective, see the recollections of Elsie McCall Gillis, member of the government meteorological service at Arctic Bay in *North Pole Boarding House* (Toronto, 1951), pp. 201-03.
- 41 See David Bellman, ed., *Peter Pitseolak (1902-1973): Inuit Historian of Seekooseelak* (Montreal, 1980), pp. 16 and 47, on the meaning of *umiakjuakkanak* ("big ship time") for the families of Seekooseelak (who later settled at Cape Dorset, Northwest Territories).
- 42 See, for example, the speech of Governor Cooper printed in *The Beaver* (December 1933), pp. 2 and 13; and J.W. Anderson, "Trading NORTH of Hudson's Bay," *Ibid.* (December 1939), p. 43.
- 43 C.P. Wilson, "*Nascopie*," *The Beaver* (September 1947), pp. 7 and 10.
- 44 *The Beaver* (December 1935), p. 50. The verbal equivalent of this photograph appeared earlier in *The Beaver* in Governor Cooper's speech on the occasion of the dinner held in Montreal before the *Nascopie's* 1934 departure: "In the Canadian North the Church, the Flag and Trade have set a notable example to the Empire of cooperation and harmony" ("To The Labrador, Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Ibid.* [September 1934], p. 12).
- 45 "An Illustrated Record of an Unique Voyage," *The Beaver* (December 1934), pp. 9-12; R.H.H. Macaulay, photographs by Harvey 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, 1934); and HBCA, F16, "Trading Into Hudson's Bay," 1936 (seven reels, black-and-white silent film; available on videotape for research use).
- 46 Macaulay, *Trading Into Hudson's Bay*, p. 14. Gillis, *North Pole Boarding House*, p. 9, also mentions shipboard films (by Dennis Jordan) being viewed in 1945.
- 47 Macaulay, *Trading Into Hudson's Bay*, p. 15.
- 48 *Ibid.*, pp. 23 and 38.
- 49 J.W. Anderson, "*Nascopie*: Veteran of Two World Wars," *The Beaver* (December 1945), pp. 43-45, photo of Eskimo Tommy receiving the Royal Humane Society medal for bravery; "*Nascopie*," *The Beaver* (September 1947), pp. 8-9, photographs of "Dr. C.H.M. Williams examining an Eskimo's teeth at Chesterfield [1939]" and "Katchoo, tried for manslaughter in 1939."
- 50 Richard Finnie, "Trading Into the Northwest Passage," *The Beaver* (December 1937), pp. 46-52.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 52 HBCA, RG 2, vol. 8, file 1116, J. Ketter, Advertising Manager, Edmonton, 27 March 1939.
- 53 M.R. Lubbock, "Business in the Arctic," *The Beaver* (December 1936), pp. 18-23.
- 54 Now deposited in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, the Head Office Photograph Collection (1987/363) contains some 100,000 images.
- 55 See Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, p. 200, on the work of American social documentary photographer Lewis Hine.
- 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 55-57, on images of slaves and criminals as a "system of explanation which makes the difference between free citizen and incarcerated criminal or enslaved black seem 'natural' and proper."
- 57 "Pictures by Pitsulak," *The Beaver* (September 1946), pp. 20-21; see also Bellman, *Pitseolak*, and Peter Pitseolak and Dorothy Harley Eber, *People from our Side* (Edmonton, 1975). Over 1,000 of Pitseolak's photographs are held by the McCord Museum's Notman Photographic Archives in Montreal.
- 58 For examples see "Self Portrait" and "Young Family," *The Beaver*, pp. 20 and 21; Bellman, *Pitseolak*, p. 18 (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9), p. 36 (1a, 1b), p. 37 (2a, 2b), and p. 38 (3b, 4).