

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)¹

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* voyage²

On a dull, warm day in July the Hudson's Bay Company's icebreaker the *Nascopie* (see Illustrations 2 and 3) 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. This flurry of photographic activity would continue during the next eighty days as the 16,000-kilometre 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 (see Illustration 4); 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, who was making his first of many round trips as Ungava district manager. His photographs of the *Nascopie* would become a yearly feature in the HBC's *Beaver* magazine.

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



that 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 (originally from Cape Dorset) set up their camp. For the HBC this was an effort to make the North-west Passage a commercial possibility, enabling the bringing in of supplies and the 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, which resulted 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.⁴

- 3 Passengers aboard the 1933 voyage of the *Nascopie* into Hudson Bay. Photographer: Max Sauer, Jr. Source: Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Head Office Photograph Collection, 1987/363-N-8B/6, N13544.





4 Inuit spearing arctic char, Boothia Peninsula, September 1937. Photographer: D.L. McKeand. Source: National Archives of Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Collection, 1974-366, 1937-7523, PA-102196.

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 that 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 voyage on the CGS *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

beginning in 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 coproducer 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 RCMP officers (see Illustration 5).

Incorporated into the rituals of contact between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples, the photographic encounter was an established feature of the *Nascopie's* voyage. Government officials on the yearly Arctic patrol; missionaries ministering to the Aboriginal and white residents; HBC personnel journeying to northern fur trade posts: travelling north for various motivations and reasons, many chose to record on film what they saw. Photography served an important means of shared communication among the passengers as well as allowed 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, lantern slide lectures, and film shows, representatives of the federal government, the Anglican Church, and the HBC 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.⁵

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 HBC – exploring their image-making activities during the first half of the twentieth century. Chapter 5 is devoted to an examination of the work of Richard Finnie, a prolific filmmaker, photographer, and lecturer on northern subjects during this period. Chapter 6 draws together these varied themes of northern image-making, setting forth the features of the dominant view of the

Canadian North, while also considering alternative ways of seeing northern photographs and films in the past and present.

One of my goals throughout these interlocking chapters on northern representations is to highlight the value of visual evidence to those examining aspects of the past and, at the same time, to question the nature and meaning of this evidence. The history of photography and film in the north, in particular, is a field rich with possibilities. Previous scholarly studies tend toward chronological narrative, pausing to highlight outstanding collections of surviving material.⁶ Predictably, perhaps, these histories of northern image-making parallel the historiography of the region, viewing photography as part of the advance of technology into the northern frontier.⁷ The emphasis, secondarily, is on the value of the images as research tools for social scientists.⁸

A notable exception to this tradition is Maria Tippett's introduction to her photographic biography of art dealer Charles Gimpel. In a brief yet insightful analysis of the social and cultural meanings of Arctic photography, Tippett's rendering of the historical context of Gimpel's own image-making from the 1950s and 1960s is highly suggestive, if somewhat selective. Tippett points to the extensive visual record created of the Arctic landscape and peoples, as photography was used to illustrate fact-finding government expeditions, anthropological treatises, and heroic exploration journals. In her view photography served as both a pictorial record of a "changing" way of life and a creative response to the northern environment. More important, she emphasizes the ways in which Gimpel's – and, by extension, all – photographs carry many levels of meaning and interpretation.⁹ Another valuable contribution is Ann Fienup-Riordan's *Freeze Frame*, which considers the power and meanings of the image of the Eskimo on film. Fienup-Riordan examines the disjunction between Yup'ik and Inupiat history and culture and their representation on film, including both the Hollywood image and the documentary tradition. Her work includes a discussion of the relationship between the image-makers and those captured on film as well as the recent movement to community collaboration in the filmmaking process.¹⁰

Imagining the Arctic, a conference sponsored by the British Museum in 1996, brought together Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers, curators, archivists, and contemporary Arctic photographers from Canada, the United States, and Europe to discuss and debate these issues surrounding the making and presentation of northern imagery. As a participant I found that this gathering demonstrated not only the pervasive nature of Arctic photography but also the richness of this source as a window into understanding the history, the imagery, and the reality of northern society (and of the complex interrelationships between them).¹¹ Hugh Brody, in his concluding remarks to the conference, points to the remarkable and extraordinary "power of the



5 *Nascopie* passenger and Inuit family, Craig Harbour, 1937. Photographer: Richard Finnie. Source: National Archives of Canada, Richard Finnie Collection, 1987-154, album 13, item 371, e000945415.

image.” In their visible silence photographs invite us to provide a story, to question, to “experience wonder, enjoy recognition, and also think, ‘Why has that woman got bulging boots?’” Brody also turns our attention to the “unreliability” of photographs, to the way in which image-makers, while relying on captions and narrative constructs, can never be sure of having the effect that they intend. Brody concludes with this observation on the ambiguous nature of photographic meaning: “This unreliability of the image is, of course, a reason for delight, as much as it is a source of power. The human

mind takes advantage of the silence to reach its own thoughts, and to ask its own questions. A power of photographs is that, in their silence and stillness, they propose so much, and reveal nothing.”¹²

Photographs and films, while ambiguous, are undeniably influential in transmitting messages about the external world in the visual culture of twentieth-century Canada. Yet they pose certain difficulties as we attempt to recover and make sense of the past. In physical 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.¹³ While it is possible to reconstruct films from production notes, correspondence, and reviews (as in my discussion of A.L. Fleming’s films in Chapter 3), this is clearly not the same as viewing the film itself. And when film footage survives, it often does so in fragmentary form, sometimes misidentified in the course of archival processing. 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 Brody and others remind us, moving and still images, despite their seeming transparency, carry multiple meanings, convey constructed “truths.”¹⁴ The strategy I follow here involves a contextual approach to “reading” images, which can be divided into three interrelated aspects: production, circulation, and reception.¹⁵ The context of production asks questions not only about the photographer or filmmaker but also about the institutional and social circumstances surrounding the image’s making, including the roles and intentions of sponsors and producers. The context of circulation considers the methods by 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 the most difficult thing for historians to do is to reconstruct the context of reception, how people understood and thought about the images they saw.¹⁶ Sociologists and anthropologists can conduct interviews and devise questionnaires in the attempt to analyze viewers’ responses.¹⁷ Direct evidence of past viewing practices is rare, but it is valuable to consider the active role of the viewer in making meaning from the cultural artifact in question. Given the diversity of audiences, embodying cultural, ethnic, 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 – or, in the case of lantern slide shows, lecture films, and 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.¹⁸

SEEING CANADA: A NORTHERN NATION

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 Diefenbaker'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. The North has also been a source of artistic inspiration (from the visual art tradition spawned by the painters known as the Group of Seven in the 1920s to the continuing fascination with northern themes by Canadian writers, including Margaret Atwood, Aritha Van Herk, Rudy Wiebe, and John Moss); a "frontier" for those from "outside," the explorers, fur traders, whalers, missionaries, and government representatives whose presence created profound impacts on the indigenous peoples of the region; and, more recently recognized by the country at large, a "homeland" for its Aboriginal inhabitants (a concept that leads to a redefinition of the relationship between Aboriginal northerners and the Canadian state, and that finds expression in the creation of the new political entity of Nunavut in the Eastern Arctic).¹⁹

Behind these ideas is the overriding concept of the North as an integral component of Canadians' collective history and national identity.²⁰ While the North is a fluid, shifting, and evolving concept – or "discursive formation," as Sherrill E. Grace's recent wide-ranging survey and analysis of the phenomenon terms it – it is our northern nature, it can be argued, that sets us apart from our southerly neighbour, the United States, and unifies our diverse peoples and landscapes. Yet as Rob Shields points out, "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."²¹ In the world of visual media it is the Southern view of the North that continues to be predominant.²²

Northerners, however, are increasingly telling their own stories on the national and international stage – witness the critical success of *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, awarded a 2001 *Caméra d'or* for best first feature at the Cannes Film Festival and six Genies, followed by its unprecedented release in movie theatres across Canada and around the world.²³ Made by an independent Inuit production company, it is the first Aboriginal-language feature film produced in Canada. *Atanarjuat*, with its stunning visuals and a gripping storyline based on a traditional legend as told by local elders, was produced in Inuktitut and subtitled for non-Inuktitut-speaking audiences. Zacharias Kunuk, producer-director of *Atanarjuat* and president and cofounder of Igloolik Isuma Productions, writes emphatically of the changes the Inuit have experienced and the potential of film and video as new forms of indigenous communication:

4000 years of oral history silenced by fifty years of priests, schools and cable TV? This death of history is happening in my lifetime. How were shamans tied? Where do suicides go? What will I answer when I'm an elder and don't know anything about it? Will I have anything to say? Lately I want to write to the Bishop and say "Let my people go!"

In the 1970s Igloolik voted twice against TV from the south since there was nothing in Inuktitut, nothing in it for us. But I noticed when my father and his friends came back from hunting they would always sit down with tea and tell the story of their hunt. And I thought it would be great to film hunting trips so you wouldn't have to tell it, just show it. In 1981 I sold some carvings and bought a video camera. When I watched my videos I noticed kids gathered outside my window looking in to see the TV. That was how special it was at the beginning.

The making of *Atanarjuat* needs to be seen in the context of the community-based video practice of Kunuk and fellow collective members Paul Apak Angilirq (who died in 1998), Pauloosie Qulitalik (billed as Canada's first unilingual Inuk filmmaker in the company's promotional materials), and Norman Cohn (a non-Inuit artist and video-maker who moved to Igloolik in 1985). Igloolik Isuma Productions (*isuma* means "think" in Inuktitut) has been making videos since 1988, including *Qaggiq (Gathering Place)*, *Nunaqpa (Going Inland)*, and the ambitious thirteen-part television series *Nunavut (Our Land)*, all of which re-create life in the 1930s and 1940s and involve Igloolik community members both in front of and behind the camera. Watching these videos is a unique experience, affording, as it does, an opportunity to see northern views of the past through an indigenous lens. As Kunuk continues: "Can Inuit bring storytelling into the new millennium? Can we listen

to our elders before they all pass away? Can we save our youth from killing themselves at ten times the national rate? Can producing community TV in Igloolik make our community, region and country stronger? Is there room in Canadian filmmaking for our way of seeing ourselves? ... To try to answer these questions we want to show how our ancestors survived by the strength of their community and their wits, and how new ways of storytelling today can help our community survive another thousand years.”²⁴

As the members of the Igloolik Isuma Productions well know, their work in portraying Inuit life in the past and present to local, national, and international audiences is set against a history of representations of the North by “outsiders.” In the following pages I set out to further our understandings of how and why the North was interpreted to those outside of the region. This book, then, as an 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. 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.²⁵

An important aspect of the use of photographic and filmic images of these far-away northern lands and their peoples relates to attempts to incorporate the North into the larger Canadian nation. In her study of the Victorian “inventory sciences” of geology, terrestrial magnetism, meteorology, and botany in nineteenth-century British North America, Suzanne Zeller explores 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.”²⁶ 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 scenic 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.²⁷ 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 that carried this appropriative spirit forward, capturing and making visible the contours of a growing nation.²⁸

VISUAL TECHNOLOGIES: AN OVERVIEW

By the turn of the twentieth century this photographic way of seeing was established as a dominant mode within Western culture. In the words of American cultural 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.”²⁹ This book 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 my examination of this reinvention 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, which is embedded within 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. 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.”³⁰ Northern representations were played out in the context of this faith in the special ability of the reproducible visual image to capture the essences of external reality.³¹

The power and prevalence of photographic imagery were 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.³²

In addition to its commercial uses, photographic imagery was harnessed to covert and overt political ends. John Tagg, for example, traced the ways in which photography served to uphold institutions of power and control within 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 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.³³

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 they did not have to be sensitized before exposure and developed immediately afterward. 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 Pathé 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.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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.

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 worldwide dominance of the Hollywood studios by the 1930s. Yet other methods of filmmaking and systems of presentation existed. In 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, churches, 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.³⁶

The histories of photography and film are linked by these two parallel developments: (1) the increasing accessibility over the creation and display of visual representations for the general populace and (2) the production and distribution of standardized images as mass communication. The following history of image-making pertaining to 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, HBC fur traders, and Anglican bishops wielded their own Kodak and Eyemo still and 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 without these institutional structures.

The dual aspect of northern image-making, encompassing both personal uses and public constructions, has not escaped the object of its gaze. John Amogoalik, former president of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, noted in the 1981 documentary *Magic in the Sky*: "The Inuit are probably the most photographed race of people on earth. The first time I saw a white man, he had a camera and it seems that whenever government officials or tourists came North, they always had cameras and they projected what we considered to be the wrong images of the Inuit – the Hollywood image or the stereotype image."³⁷ This book, like John Amogoalik's observation, focuses on the long-standing fascination with photographing and filming the Inuit and other northern Aboriginal peoples; at the same time, it calls into question the relationship between the image-makers and those pictured in these images, and the impact of these representations of the North and its peoples. Given this history of northern image-making, and the continuing popularity of picturing the North in photography and film, it is important to reconstruct the contexts of the production and display of these images.

When we refer to Canada as a Northern nation, or suggest that the North is an integral part of the Canadian ethos, it is clear that the "North" is a

conceptual category as well as a physical region; furthermore, it is a visual expression. The North was an edifice constructed over the years for specific purposes and ends, produced and reproduced in printed photographs and film showings. To further understand this continuing fascination with the North it is important to peel back and examine the layers and meanings of these previous northern images.