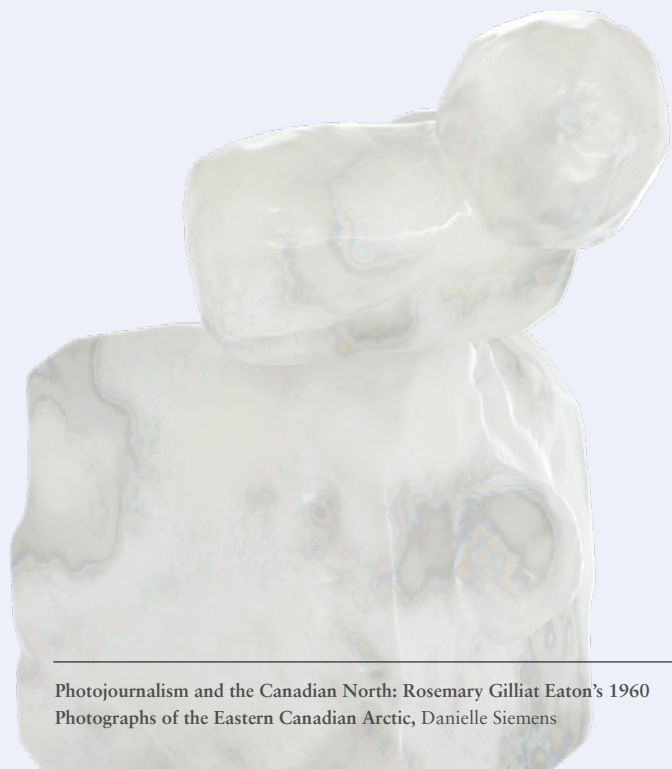


Photojournalism and the Canadian North: Rosemary Gilliat Eaton's 1960 Photographs of the Eastern Canadian Arctic

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A power of photographs is that, in their silence and stillness, they propose so much, and reveal nothing.
– Hugh Brody¹

On 8 June 1963, *The Ottawa Journal* published a story on local photographer Rosemary Gilliat and her travels to the Canadian North.² Gilliat, who had emigrated from England a decade earlier, was a freelance photojournalist whose skills and sense of curiosity took her to parts of Canada that few were then afforded the opportunity to visit. In the span of nine years, she made several trips to Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of the country, taking photographs both “on assignment and on self-appointed expeditions.”³ *The Ottawa Journal* reporter, noting the exceptional nature of Gilliat’s travels, stated that “these jaunts have introduced Miss Gilliat [...] to far more of Canada’s semi-explored territory than the majority of Canadians will ever see.” He continued, “while in the North, she had time to observe and get to know the Eskimos.”⁴ Adopting the rhetoric of anthropology, the article constitutes an “othering” of the North, portraying both the land and its people as fascinating, unfamiliar, and deserving of study. At the same time, it emphasizes the critical role photography has played in bringing the North closer to the rest of Canada.

Since the late nineteenth century, photography has been used by the colonizer as an important documentary and artistic tool for picturing the North. Whether to chronicle expeditions, assert Canadian sovereignty, document indigenous peoples, promote industry, or picture a romanticized landscape, photography has contributed to what Sherrill Grace terms a “discursive formation” of

North.⁵ These visual renderings, which remain the primary means through which Canadians and the rest of the world are acquainted with the North and Inuit, often perpetuate harmful stereotypes and ignore the live realities of northern Canada.⁶ In Grace’s words, the North, as a construction of southerners, is “a constellation of racial stereotypes and seemingly intransigent exclusions.”⁷

This notion of the camera as an extension of the colonizer’s gaze was not lost on photographer Rosemary Gilliat who embarked on her longest and most ambitious trip to the North in 1960, spending four late summer months in the eastern Canadian Arctic. Travelling throughout the Ungava Bay region in parts of what are now Nunavut and Nunavik, Gilliat worked on several assignments for prominent Canadian magazines and commercial and federal agencies.⁸ The archive of this trip is now housed at Library and Archives Canada and includes a journal totalling over 400 pages, a few small notebooks, and several hundred photographs.⁹ For Gilliat this Arctic journey was an opportunity to bolster her career, marking her place as an ambitious and skilled photographer, while also fulfilling a personal desire to see and experience the North. As a professional Gilliat also felt an ethical responsibility to avoid the “usual popular misconceptions about the north.”¹⁰ Evidently, she viewed herself as one who could play a part in rectifying this skewed view and educate her fellow citizens about the North and its peoples.

In her extraordinarily detailed diary of the trip Gilliat often articulated a discomfort with her position as a non-

indigenous visitor in the North. One particularly poignant passage reads:

*I always have this horror – even after 10 years of photography of imposing on other people’s privacy – and especially on native people. Such as the Eskimos who are always being photographed – as curiosities.*¹¹

Gilliat thus understood, at least in part, the potential violence of the camera and the imbalance of power entrenched in the representation of indigenous subjects by white photographers. She also commented on the offensive tactics of other Qallunaat¹² photographers she encountered in the Arctic:

*The Eskimos here are so allergic to being photographed – they have too much of it. Last Saturday at Apex Hill sports, I heard a man from Lower Base, who was photographing an Eskimo shout roughly “Hold still you bastard,” and then told him to dance. The Eskimo just grinned and complied. But he was an older man. I think the younger men are beginning to realize that they don’t have to put up with everything from the white man.*¹³

This troubling passage reveals Gilliat’s disdain for photographers who resorted to violent extremes such as derogatory language and bribery to create images that conformed to a preconceived notion of primitive. At the same time, the photographic encounter she described sheds light on indigenous resistance to the camera as Inuit exerted control over the conditions of their representation, refused to be photographed, or took hold of the camera themselves.

Yet, despite Gilliat’s apprehension about photographing indigenous people, the archive of her 1960 trip is primarily dedicated to the documentation of Inuit. This is in large part because her clients, most of whom were mainstream

publishers, desired “human interest” stories that would appeal to their middle-class readership. At the same time, while Gilliat expressed trepidation over objectifying indigenous peoples she also articulated a genuine interest in their history and culture. In an effort to rectify the inequities in her position she sought to photograph life in the North as she saw and experienced it rather than staging an imagined and pre-conceived construction. She also adopted several empathetic, and in some cases uncommon, practices such as securing permission from most individuals she photographed, offering a good or service in return for someone’s portrait, and recording names and personal stories as best she could. However, as a white professional from the South who was employed by agents of the federal government and popular press, Gilliat was implicated in institutional power structures which her efforts could never fully circumvent. Further, while she may have seen herself as an objective documentarian, the irony of such a position is apparent to us today as writers have long disputed the truth claims of documentary photography. As John Tagg writes, “like the state, the camera is never neutral. The representations it produces are highly coded, and the power it wields is never its own.”¹⁴

In analysing Gilliat’s work in the North it is important to keep in mind the context of increased commercial and political interest in the area. While the earliest European colonization attempts in the Arctic were made in the first millennium, followed by intermittent periods of contact for centuries following, it was not until the mid-twentieth century that a rigorous and totalizing program of colonization took effect. In the late 1950s and 60s the federal administration initiated extensive programs to exploit natural resources and exert sovereignty over a vast Arctic region in this period of Cold War anxiety. A heightened investment in the North also drastically affected the region’s indigenous communities. Within a remarkably short period of time, most Inuit were forced to abandon

their nomadic way of life based on hunting and fishing to assimilate into a settled, wage-based society. As argued by Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, “the state became a critical agent in the struggle to incorporate Inuit into the dominant Canadian society.”¹⁵

While compelled by mythologies of the North that circulated in popular culture, Gilliat’s keen and critical interest in the Canadian mediascape as well as her life-long fascination with indigenous cultures ensured that she approached her northern work with a sense of awareness and empathy at odds with the paternalism of the federal government’s northern policies.¹⁶ Her photographs were published in some of the most influential magazines and newspapers of the day and therefore constitute and were constituted by stereotypical views of the North that reinforced oppressive relations of power. Yet, her archival collections, which include personal writing and unpublished images, often complicate typical narratives and tell us more about her practice, the people she photographed, and the sociopolitical context of the time – revealing, in what Elizabeth Edwards terms, the “hidden histories” of intercultural encounter.¹⁷

Decades of scholarship on colonial photography have alerted us to the contexts of political and cultural domination under which these images were made, yet recent theorizations on the performative force of photography – from scholars including Elizabeth Edwards, Jane Lydon, Deborah Poole, and Ariella Azoulay – have made way for more complex and multivalent readings of the settler-colonial archive. In her influential writing on ethnographic photography, Edwards contends that the “affective tone” of the photograph cannot be reduced solely to its descriptive power.¹⁸ Rather, “photographs assume a form of agency in the way they prescribe relations and the telling of history.”¹⁹ Likewise, Jane Lydon, whose research centres on Australia’s colonial past, argues that a closer look at the production and consumption of the photographic image “reveals a dynamic

and performative relationship between photographer and Aboriginal subject.”²⁰

In this article, I focus on a group of photographs Gilliat made in the fishing communities of George River and Port Burwell, where the first two Inuit co-operatives were founded. A selection of this work was published by the National Film Board of Canada in a photo story that promoted northern resource extraction and upheld primitivizing views of Inuit (fig. 1). Yet, when examined alongside Gilliat’s unpublished images, writing, and letters, we are confronted with a narrative of encounter that offers “substantial evidence for a more contested, complex interaction.”²¹ While institutional critiques of photojournalism, and documentary photography more generally, are certainly merited they risk unintentionally reifying the power they seek to dismantle, granting sole authorship to the photographer and unequivocally denying the “active participation and possible strategic agency” of the indigenous sitter.²² In the archival material from George River and Port Burwell there is evidence of Inuit actively partaking in – and at times resisting – their photographic representation as well as Gilliat’s own struggle to define her position in the Arctic as a middle-class white woman working within a representational system that had long been used to marginalize and devalue Inuit culture and experience.²³ Moreover, a consideration of Gilliat’s photographs as performative visualizations of what Mary Louise Pratt has familiarly termed the “contact zone” allows one to move beyond a reading of her work as an uncomplicated expression of colonial ideology and to instead consider the photograph as a complex moment of exchange in which both the photographer and subject had something at stake, albeit within a space of dramatic inequality.²⁴

Because of Gilliat’s relative obscurity in Canadian photographic history, I begin with a biographical sketch that outlines her training in Britain and subsequent

career in Canada, before turning to an analysis of her documentary photographs of Inuit fisheries.²⁵ This body of work is a rich case study for understanding both the critical role documentary photography played in a “discursive formation” of the North and the transhistorical malleability of photographic meaning contingent on contexts of production, circulation, and viewership.²⁶

GOING NORTH

Born in Hove, England, in 1919, Gilliat spent her youth attending boarding schools in Switzerland and vacationing in British Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), where her father was a tea planter. She developed an interest in photography at a young age, using the camera to record memories of friends, family and their travels, and in her early twenties moved to London to pursue photography professionally. There she received dark room training, took courses in commercial photography, and apprenticed with a photojournalist. By the end of World War Two Gilliat was publishing her own work in several magazines, including the *Sunday Observer*, *Strand Magazine*, and *Lilliput*. Between 1949 and 1951 Gilliat again spent sustained periods of time in Ceylon where she photographed for her own interest and on assignment for the *Times Educational Supplement*. Taken shortly after Ceylon’s independence from British colonial rule, this captivating and hitherto unanalysed body of work consists largely of photographs of the country’s indigenous peoples, an interest that continued throughout her career in Canada.

Influenced by a few friends and compelled, at least in part, by a curiosity about the North, Gilliat immigrated by herself to Canada in the fall of 1952.²⁷ Within a year of settling in Ottawa, the nation’s capital, Gilliat was publishing photographs in some of the most influential journals of the day while also working on assignment for several federal agencies, including Canada’s Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (DNANR), the

Canadian Wildlife Service, and the National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division (NFB). Fuelled by a love of travel instilled in her at a young age, Gilliat sought assignments that allowed her to explore the diverse landscapes and cultures of her adopted home.

It was not long after settling in Ottawa that Gilliat began searching for ways to go northwards. By 1953 she secured a contract to photograph in the Yukon, which was followed by subsequent trips to northern Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories in 1956 and 1957 respectively. These early trips, in which Gilliat honed her photographic skills and furthered her northern education, were a natural progression to her most ambitious journey in the summer and early autumn of 1960 with British compatriot Barbara Hinds, a newspaper journalist based in Halifax, Nova Scotia.²⁸ On 17 June 1960, the women boarded a plane in Montreal and flew towards Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit) where they spent the first three-and-a-half weeks of their trip. Other major destinations included Fort Chimo (now Kuujuaq), and Cape Dorset (known as Kinngait in Inuktitut).²⁹ Along the way, they also visited a number of smaller communities for briefer periods of time, including Port Burwell (now Killiniq), George River (now Kangiqsualujuaq), Lake Harbour (now Kimmirut), and Pangnirtung. Although Gilliat and Hinds organized and funded the trip themselves, their itinerary was largely determined by the DNANR and the availability of government transportation such as boats and planes. While typical of how non-indigenous people travelled around the Arctic at the time, this dependence meant that the women could only go to places in which the federal government or Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) had an active presence and that they had limited control over the length of their stays. While in the North, Gilliat worked on freelance assignments for *Weekend Magazine*, *Maclean’s*, *Star Weekly*, and the HBC magazine *The Beaver*, as well as for Imperial Oil and the NFB.³⁰

Ilkalupik: King of the Arctic



Arctic char from Canada's north is adding to the taste thrills of many southern gourmets who specialize in epicurean delights. Fashionable clubs and restaurants in New York, Chicago, Boston, Detroit and major Canadian cities offer the delicate-tasting char to their discriminating clientele. In the past couple of years, three Arctic fisheries have been established. The fishing, freezing and shipping of char to southern markets has given a small group of Eskimos a new source of income in a land where the traditional means of making a living is rapidly changing through contact with the civilization of the white man. For a limited number of Canada's 12,000 Eskimos this added income, which reduces their dependence on the vagaries of a fluctuating food supply, is now a reality. In the frigid waters of the Arctic Lakes char reproduce at a comparatively slow rate so the fish are never likely to be in abundant supply. Eskimos call the char "Ilkalupik" which means *special fish*, and, at \$1.25 a pound, the succulent char seems slated to hold its lofty position for some time to come. First overseas shipment of char went to Paris for a banquet of the French Nature Protection Society—a body that takes pride in serving its members something new, if possible exotic, in the way of foods. To those in the know, Arctic char is just that.

In photo at right, Eskimos stretch nylon gill net across the mouth of a small stream near Port Burwell on Ungava Bay. Catch is loaded aboard motor boats and sped to Port Burwell fishery where, last August, 18,600 pounds of choice-flavoured char filled the freezers to capacity. Here it is cleaned, flash-frozen, and loaded aboard refrigerated ships for transport to southern markets. Biological studies ascertain the quantity of char that may be taken without depleting fishing grounds.



Cleaning char is done with meticulous care to assure fish reach market in top condition. At Port Burwell Eskimo child gets on-the-spot view of the operation.



A fisherman's dream is this rack of Arctic char beauties! Increasing numbers of sportsmen are being attracted northwards to Eskimo-operated tourist lodges near Frobisher Bay and at Camp Dorset by the spunky, fighting char.



Henry Anatik takes the order of a young Eskimo mother at co-op store at Port Burwell. Here, skins, carvings and work done at the summer fishing camps, are exchanged for pipes, tobacco, sugar, tea and other necessities.



On Labrador coast, Eskimo fishermen unload char nets from their canoe. Everyone works hard during brief char-fishing season—mid August to end of September. Rifle ensures a daily diet of fresh meat while at the fishing grounds.

National Film Board of Canada Photos by Rosemary Gilliat.

Fig 1. Photo story 277, "Ilkalupik: King of the Arctic," January 24, 1961, photographs by Rosemary Gilliat, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / National Film Board Fonds).

Throughout her career in Canada, Gilliat worked on a number of assignments for the NFB. While financially lucrative, these commissions also guaranteed a relatively wide circulation of her images. Mandated to promote the nation, the NFB is most known for its acclaimed filmmaking, however it also operated a highly successful Still Photography Division for several decades in the mid-twentieth century. Like the Farm Security Administration in the United States, the NFB used photographs to foster a sense of national cohesion, commissioning photographers to shoot a vast array of people, places, work, leisure, and cultural activities across the country. Millions of Canadians as well as international audiences saw these images reproduced in magazine, newspapers, NFB-produced books, filmstrips, and exhibitions. The Still Division was thus an important contributor to the project of nation building in Canada, producing, in what Carol Payne terms, an “official picture” of the country.³¹

While the Still Photography Division experimented with various forms of publication and display, most of its images reached viewers through narrativized arrangements of photographs and text known as photo stories. Taking the form of ready-to-use mat releases, these layouts were easily shared and reprinted in newspapers, magazines, government documents, and other publications. The photo story or photo essay has been a common narrative form since the emergence of European picture magazines in the 1920s and was popularized in the United States by *Life* magazine in the 1930s and '40s. While privileging the visual, photo stories also incorporate captions and text to provide “anchorage” as a way of closing or directing the viewer’s interpretation of an image.³² In her seminal study of *Life* magazine, Wendy Kozol argues that *Life*’s brand of commercial photojournalism differed from documentary photography in a few key ways: in its use of the narrative form of the photo story, the commodity package with ads, and the specific focus on middle-class culture.³³ In a

Canadian context, Payne maintains that the NFB’s photo stories were the “chief vehicle for its ubiquitous and familiar banal nationalism over much of its history.”³⁴

Shortly before her departure, Gilliat received a letter from Lorraine Monk, then editor of the Still Photography Division, requesting photographs for two stories; one, concerning Inuit print makers in Cape Dorset and the other, Arctic char fishing in the George River area.³⁵ For each story, Gilliat was required to submit twenty black-and-white images, including a “lead picture and an establishing shot of the area.”³⁶ Although the assignments were vague in detail, granting Gilliat a fair amount of liberty in fulfilling them, Monk emphasized that the division could “never have too many ‘human interest’ pictures,” thereby reiterating the NFB’s goal of creating a “sense of national cohesion, in part by defining Canadian identity visually.”³⁷

Arriving in George River by plane on 16 July, Gilliat spent three days in the area before receiving the unexpected opportunity to travel to Port Burwell where she spent another week photographing their local fishery and craft production.³⁸ For Gilliat, these remote villages embodied the North of her imagination. Of her arrival in George River Gilliat wrote:

*From the rocky shore a kayak – the first I have ever seen outside a museum – slid out [...] This gave me a strange feeling – to have read so much about the arctic and the Eskimo – and I could hardly realize I was seeing this with my own eyes [...] I felt intensely happy, for this was the arctic as I had hoped to find it.*³⁹

While betraying Gilliat’s primitivist underpinnings, this passage also expresses the elation she felt in George River and Port Burwell and foreshadows the care with which she approached her work in these communities. It was in these

sites that Gilliat also saw herself as possessing a particularly significant and powerful role as a photojournalist. After learning that the George River fishery had only sold half of what they caught the year before, Gilliat wrote, “I do hope most earnestly that my photographs will come out well enough to make some worthwhile propaganda for the char fisheries.”⁴⁰ Of course, by accepting the patronage of the NFB, Gilliat was effectively producing propaganda for the state, as her photographs were used to depict interventionist federal policy in a positive light and to market Inuit products to southern Canadians. Yet, Gilliat also understood the potentially positive benefits of co-operatives, including economic stability and a movement towards self-governance, and thus expressed a sincere interest in their success.⁴¹ In her words, “in this lie the hopes of this small band of Eskimo people. So more than ever I hope that our photographs and stories will help to educate the public.”⁴² Beyond the commercial promotion of Arctic char, Gilliat hoped her photographs would provide southern audiences with a glimpse into local Inuit culture as well as the social and economic implications of recently formed Arctic co-operatives. Gilliat desired, in other words, to humanize the Inuit who were most often pictured as specimens of anthropological investigation, or to use Gilliat’s terminology, “curiosities.”

The introduction of the co-operative movement is a critical period in the history of contact in the North. By Inuit art expert Marybelle Mitchell’s estimation, it was the “crucial transforming agent, definitively linking pre-contact practices with those of Western Capitalism.”⁴³ By the end of the 1950s, a pre-contact way of life had been largely displaced as Inuit were settled into communities formed around trading posts and missions where they had access to schools and medical services. As Inuit transitioned into a sedentary mode of living their means of production were drastically altered as they now supported themselves through fur trapping, some seasonal wage employment, and supplementary subsistence

hunting. But as the fur trade collapsed and hunting was no longer viable, many communities fell into economic despair and short food supply. Shortly thereafter civil servants in the North introduced a state-initiated co-operative program intended to develop local economies and provide Inuit with wage labour.

Comprising multipurpose ventures that involved retail stores, restaurants, construction projects, tourism, commercial fishing and handicraft production, the co-operative model was intended to “substantially increase their [Inuit’s] exploitation of renewable resources in order to generate profit that would eliminate the need for state assistance.”⁴⁴ The civil servant or co-operative officer was therefore expected to facilitate the initial planning and establishment of a co-op but to eventually step aside to make way for indigenous self-sufficiency. This model, however, did not always follow such progression as the reception by Inuit was varied and the benefits unstable. In her critical analysis of the emergence of social class among the Inuit, Mitchell argues that “co-op ideology promoted the idea that Inuit could be independent and equal partners in the Canadian economy, but the effect was an organization aligned with state and church to keep Inuit in their place and outside the mainstream economy.”⁴⁵

The first Arctic co-operative was established in April 1959 in George River.⁴⁶ Based on commercial fishing and logging, the co-op began with twenty Inuit hunters and a loan from the federal government. A few months later a second fishery and the first co-op store were set up 200 km north of George River in Port Burwell, a community of only 23 residents.⁴⁷ Gilliat was sensitive to the difficult circumstances of these two communities which both faced precarious food supply and inadequate access to resources as a result of the collapsed fur trade. She therefore supported the introduction of Arctic co-ops but expressed concern over their sustainability and monetary success. She was

particularly troubled that Inuit were continually forced to rely on white men to survive:

*What a lot is risked in this operation, too much I think, the odds against the successful fishery operation are so high – and that is incorrect too – the Eskimos are successful in catching the fish – it is the white man who cannot make his clever machine work that lets the Eskimos down.*⁴⁸

According to Mitchell, while Inuit were able to “retain some control over the terms and conditions of their work,” it was the government and southern markets that dictated what was produced and how much it was worth.⁴⁹

In another passage Gilliat described the fishermen’s “undefinable feeling of pride,” a sentiment she attempted to capture on film.⁵⁰ In George River she took several photographs of a man she identified as Johnny Emukadluk who played a central role in the fishery operation. In one striking picture (fig. 2), the centrally framed Emukadluk flashes a grin and shows off his large silvery catch. Dressed in a plaid shirt, black vest, and yellow smock, he confronts the camera’s gaze and takes pride in the fruits of his labour.⁵¹ Emukadluk appears as a man proud not only of his fishing abilities but also of his community’s economic and cultural independence. His returned gaze also suggests a sophisticated understanding of the power of photography to disseminate his image and promote the fishery.⁵² While Gilliat took several pictures in George River in which her Inuit sitters appear to have welcomed and actively posed for the camera, these are not, as I will later explain, the photographs that were selected for the NFB mat release.

Many of Gilliat’s photographs of the fishing camps are idyllic scenes of tents scattered on tundra, relying on a familiar visual trope that equated indigenous peoples with the natural world, yet she also turned her lens towards



Fig 2. Rosemary Gilliat, *Johnny holding up Arctic char, Kangiqsualujuaq (George River), Quebec, July 16-August 9 [July 16-19, 1960], 1960, 35 mm colour slide, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).*



Fig 3. Rosemary Gilliat, *Keith Crowe (right) and Johnny (left) carrying arctic char to a walk-in freezer, Kangiqsualujuaq, Quebec, July 16-August 9, 1960 [July 16-19, 1960], 35 mm colour slide, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).*



Fig 4. Rosemary Gilliat, *Two women cleaning Arctic char on an outdoor counter while a young girl looks, Kangiqsualujuaq, Quebec, July 16-August 9, 1960 [July 16-19, 1960], 35 mm colour slide, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).*

the modern technologies necessary for large-scale fish production. Taken from a distanced vantage point, another photograph of Johnny Emukadluk shows him carrying fresh char into an industrial freezer with Keith Crowe, the civil servant in the area (fig. 3). As a counterpoint to the picturesque scenes described and photographed by Gilliat, the unsightly freezer more accurately reveals the infrastructure of modern Inuit fisheries. But again, this, and other photographs that pictured commercial technologies, were not included in the NFB photo story. Such an omission is in keeping with numerous other Division pictorials of indigenous peoples that reflect aspects of anthropological discourse as critiqued by Johannes Fabian. In his influential study *Time and the Other*, Fabian identified anthropology's tendency toward the "denial of coevalness," defined by the refusal to acknowledge the subject's contemporaneous existence with that of the researcher.⁵³ Payne argues that NFB images representing indigenous peoples translated "anthropological allochronism into photographic and photo-textual form."⁵⁴ While this is true of the NFB fishery photo story, Gilliat's unpublished images, such as the photograph of the freezer, complicate anthropological ideology. In this instance, Emukadluk is not relegated to an "ethnographic present" but rather is pictured as a self-determined man negotiating with his contemporary conditions of change.⁵⁵

Gilliat also took several pictures of Inuit women who were an integral part of fisheries and co-operatives more generally. While in the eastern Arctic she often wrote about and photographed women engaged in various forms of labour, including sewing, hunting, and childrearing. As a childless woman herself, Gilliat actively resisted romantic views of motherhood and instead sought to understand and picture Inuit women's diverse and complex roles.⁵⁶ In one particularly arresting image from George River, two Kangiqsualujuaq women clean fish as a young girl peeks up over the table to see what her elders are doing (fig. 4). While run by Inuit and Qallunaat men, the fishery co-ops

were a collaborative effort between the sexes, requiring women to prepare the fish for freezing while also taking care of their children. Another photograph depicts two women cleaning fish at a wooden table within an interior space (fig. 5).⁵⁷ The woman in the white parka, identified by Gilliat as Maggie Eetok, carries a baby in her outer garment known as an *amauti*, while two young children stand around the table and look on. In the background is an unidentified Inuk man and civil servant Keith Crowe. This photograph illustrates the collaborative labour that went into char fishing, which involved the efforts of Inuit men, women, and sometimes children, as well as the aid of white workers in the North. While framed to emphasize the mother and child, the "excess" visual information in this seemingly unrehearsed snapshot unexpectedly confronts today's viewer with the complex politics and ominous history of place. In her writing on race and visual technologies, Deborah Poole argues that it is in excessive detail, such as facial expressions, gestures, or objects, that photography's intention of fixity is unsettled and negotiated, inviting rich and polysemous readings of historical photographs.⁵⁸ In the image of Eetok, the children amongst the women are relatively young in age because the older ones were likely at the nearby summer residential school known as the George River Seasonal School. This seemingly innocuous detail gives way to a deeper understanding of the context of the photograph's making. In the words of visual culture theorist Ariella Azoulay, "the spectator must reconstruct what was there from both what is visible and what is not immediately manifest, but what can – in principle – become visible in the exact same photograph."⁵⁹

In the mid-twentieth century Inuit were still mainly unilingual Inuktitut speakers and thus the government deemed primary education as an "absolute necessity" in its program of assimilation.⁶⁰ About 32 kilometres inland from the mouth of George River a six-week summer school was set up in a community hall to instruct Inuit children

in English, arithmetic, reading, and writing. Adjacent to the school were the George River Federal Hostels where students slept in tents on gravel floors. Run by community teacher Joan Ryan, the non-denominational hostel operated for only one summer although the school continued for a number of years.⁶¹ While many scholars have addressed the legacy of residential schooling, I refer here to The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) for an apt summary of this scarring past. In its executive summary of findings, the TRC identified 139 Indian Residential Schools that operated across the country for over 120 years:

*These residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to minimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society.*⁶²

Based on extensive archival research and the testimonies of multigenerational residential school survivors, the report details how the horrific experiences of thousands of children, from the forced loss of language to sexual and verbal abuse, have been hidden from public view for most of Canada's history. Although the hostel was in operation for only one summer, documentary evidence suggests that coerced attendance resulted in the separation of families, the significant loss of culture and language, and a legacy of trauma. Gilliat's own writing sheds light on the troubling realities of the George River Seasonal School. In her diary she commented on the lack of clean water and the school's remote location, making it difficult to access in the case of emergencies, as well as the separation anxiety experienced by children and their families: "Actually the parents were as homesick for the children as the children were for their parents – as Eskimo families are very close indeed – and this *experiment* is an entirely new conception for the Eskimos."⁶³ Gilliat did not photograph the George River school or

hostel nor was she hired to do so, however, she did take pictures of the students and their teacher. In one image (fig. 6), a group of children dressed in colourful coats and scarves crowd around Ryan as she rings a large silver bell in the air. Some of them look away from the camera, presumably towards their teacher, while others shield their eyes from the glaring sun. One child, wearing a beige hooded jacket, solemnly stares down towards the ground, while three young girls in the foreground look towards the camera with expressions of apprehension and suspicion. Unlike Johnny Emukadluk's returned gaze in the previously analysed photograph, here the action begs the viewer to bear witness to this historical atrocity.⁶⁴ Not a single student is smiling. These are the faces of children who have been forcibly removed from their families to attend summer school. Gilliat's photograph differs from typical historical images of residential schools. Shot outside, it does not include any school buildings or students learning, nor is it a before and after photograph used to represent progress by an "altered physical appearance."⁶⁵ Rather, it captures the dispirited expressions of children involved in a disastrous social *experiment*.⁶⁶

By contrast, most of Gilliat's other photographs of the George River Seasonal School show students playing in a nearby pond after the instructional day had concluded (fig. 7). Stripped down to their underclothes, the children splashed about in a watering hole, seemingly oblivious to Gilliat or other observing adults. It was in this moment of temporary joyfulness that Gilliat claimed to witness the true spirit of youth: "[It] was the happiest scene I had watched in years [...] How I wished I had lots of film [...] because it was the essence of childhood – the delirious gaiety of it all."⁶⁷ While the picture depicts ostensibly happy, healthy children, thereby promoting colonial education and contrasting the realities of what we know about residential schools, we might also consider this and other images of leisure as a subtle mode of resistance. According to Métis artist and



Fig 5. Rosemary Gilliat, *Maggie, the wife of Willy Eetok, cutting fish with her daughter Elizabeth on her back, George River [Kangiqualujuaq], Québec, August 1960 [July 17, 1960], colour slide, 6 x 6 cm, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).*



Fig 6. Rosemary Gilliat, *Joan Ryan ringing a school bell, Kangiqualujuaq, Québec, July 16-August 9, 1960 [July 24, 1960], 35 mm colour slide, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).*



Fig 7. Rosemary Gilliat, *Children in a swimming hole, Kangiqsualujjuaq, Quebec*, July 16-August 9, 1960 [July 24, 1960], 35 mm colour slide, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa (Photo: Library and Archives Canada / Rosemary Gilliat Eaton Fonds).

scholar Sherry Farrell Racette, images of students engaged in team sports, playing musical instruments, or enjoying free time were used to “generate public positivity and mask other realities, but they also reveal moments when students could escape into artistic or physical expression.”⁶⁸ In fact, Gilliat’s photograph was printed a few years later in a NFB photo story titled “Play in the *Land of the Long Day*” in which the rhetoric of leisure and recreation masked the darker realities of Inuit children’s lives.⁶⁹ Yet when viewed with an understanding of its historical context, the joyous and fleeting abandon of these children also reminds us of the rigidity and injustice that structured the rest of their days. Farrell Racette reads such images as a “visual tribute to the resilient spirits of children. [...] a spirit that eroded the power of the panopticon from within, causing the failure of the ‘laboratory of power.’”⁷⁰

As a collection, Gilliat’s fishery photographs visualize two vibrant communities in a moment of cultural and economic transformation. Individually, these images can be read in a number of ways: As Inuit men promoting their co-operative, as Gilliat’s feminist intervention in a masculinized narrative of the North, or as a subtle commentary on the abuses of residential school. Yet, the NFB photo story that integrated a selection of Gilliat’s fishery images is anchored by layout and text that attempted to fix meaning to suit a federally endorsed and culturally imagined idea of the North.

THE OFFICIAL NORTH

In January 1961, the Still Photography Division released a photo story titled “Ilkalupik: King of the Arctic,” which included six of Gilliat’s northern fishery photographs from the previous summer.⁷¹ The story is exemplary of the rhetorical strategies typically employed by the NFB in its representation of indigenous peoples.⁷² As Payne argues, these images, which often reflect an “anthropological distance absent from NFB portrayals of Euro-Canadians, position Inuit and other aboriginal peoples as complex

markers of Canadian identity for Canadians themselves and international audiences.”⁷³

The title, in its use of an Inuktitut variant for char, introduces the “exotic” subject matter of the story. This is reinforced by the lead image of a sailboat voyaging through an empty and vast body of water. Lacking descriptors of time or place, this shot is striking in its graphic simplicity of line, light, and shadow. Notably, the mast, which penetrates the fluffy white clouds overhead, creates a strong vertical line through the centre of the image, which can be read as a symbol of exploration, industry, and progress. At the same time, the receding horizon line suggests immense and foreboding waters, connecting the exoticism of the essay’s title to a wild and unfamiliar landscape. Thus, without picturing Inuit bodies this image reduces them to a symbolic association with the land.

Below the lead image is a short text describing the burgeoning industry of commercial Arctic char fishing “where the traditional means of making a living is rapidly changing through contact with the civilization of the white man.”⁷⁴ While alluding to the effects of contact in the North, the text glosses over the historical circumstances of Arctic co-operatives. Rather, it applauds Inuit for successfully adapting to a market economy and “reduc[ing] their dependence on the vagaries of fluctuating food supply.” This paternalistic view, which promotes assimilation while continuing to distance Inuit from Euro-Canadian society, is reiterated throughout the photo story in both image and text. The five additional photographs, read from upper-left to lower-right, are tightly cropped views of Inuit men and women arranging fishing nets, preparing char for the market, and purchasing tobacco and food goods at the local co-op store. In keeping with Euro-Canadian rhetoric of the time, the figures are referred to generally as “Eskimos” and all but one are nameless. The fishermen, none of whom face the camera, are also visually distanced and thus rendered

as objects of the colonial gaze. As Payne elucidates, “the photographs diminish the apparent status of the people portrayed while situating the implied, non-native viewers at a cultural remove, endowing them a superior caretaking role.”⁷⁵

In this photo story, the physical presence of non-native bodies in the North is also erased from view. A slightly different shot of Maggie Eetok (labelled image “C”) is framed to exclude the civil servant in the background, thereby focusing attention on the garment in which she carries her child. Likewise, the caption for photograph “F” does not mention federal employee Max Budgell whose back faces the viewer. These design choices strategically obscure the realities of settler-colonial collaboration, suggesting instead that Arctic co-operatives were entirely Inuit-run enterprises, thus amplifying their exoticism and driving up prices in southern restaurants.

The landscape view of the lead image is repeated in the second largest photograph, labelled “B,” with the addition of a boat and three men in the foreground. Enveloped by expansive waters and mountainous forms, the labouring bodies are framed and diminished by a majestic northern wilderness. In his influential writing on landscape and power, W.J.T. Mitchell argues that the indigenous relationship with nature is oppositionally positioned to that of the secularized western conception of landscape. The “primitive” dweller is seen as part of the land rather than as a “self-consciously detached viewer who sees nature for its own sake” and asserts power over it.⁷⁶ In this case, the photo story paradoxically endorses Inuit assimilation into western or southern life, particularly in their ability to exploit the land for profit, while simultaneously reducing them to “anthropomorphized elements of nature itself.”⁷⁷ Further, even though by 1960 modern technology such as guns and outboard motors had been introduced in the North and adopted by Inuit, the photo story visually privileges ostensibly primitive tools

and methods such as canoes, nets, and knives. The NFB narrative thus denies indigenous modernity, or rather pictures it as non-threatening, suggesting that the terms of modernity are determined by the colonizer rather than by the colonized.⁷⁸

In other images that emphasize modernization, such as the scene of commerce in the lower left (“E”), the viewpoint is one of paternalistic distance. Appearing at ease and, in the case of the figure on the far right, joyful, photographs such as this helped to assure readers in the South that Inuit were readily and happily adapting to Western models of capitalism when in fact, this transition was anything but smooth and uncontested. As Gilliat’s notes reveal, both fisheries failed to sell everything they produced and were plagued by problems with their freezers. Co-ops also often brought about physical and social afflictions such as sickness and the separation of families.⁷⁹

In their published form, Gilliat’s photographs upheld a primitivist discourse, defining Inuit as part of Canadian identity yet at a cultural and geographical remove. Within the archive, however, her unpublished images and writing offer a challenge to typical renderings of the North, allowing for multivalent readings of photographs not grounded by text or layout. This is not to say, however, that her images were manipulated to achieve meaning beyond their maker’s intent. Gilliat did, after all, willingly accept the support of the DNANR and kept their objectives in mind as she photographed throughout the Arctic. However, my purpose has been to demonstrate how photographs allow layered readings and how image-makers, particularly those working within the genre of photojournalism, have to navigate between their own point of view and the expectations of their clients. While Gilliat’s detailed diary and unpublished images offer a glimpse into the workings of two communities and the lands they lived on, the edited photo story decontextualizes place and distances local

narrative, thus reinforcing stereotypes and naturalizing assimilationist-based policies in the North.

CONCLUSION

In her book *Eye Contact* Jane Lydon offers close readings of nineteenth-century photographs of indigenous Australians but her conclusions are easily translated to the settler-colonial context of Canada:

*In a nation wracked by uncertainty about its identity, and especially about the status of its indigenous peoples, photographs still speak eloquently of oppression, but also of collaboration and intimacy.*⁸⁰

Lydon suggests that while photographs created within colonial systems are an extension of oppressive power, there remains the potential for them also to reveal encounters that were resistant, collaborative, and perhaps mutually beneficial. Drawing on Lydon, Edwards, and others who theorize photographs as “social objects of agency”, I have argued that photography has played a critical role in constructing and disseminating ideas of the North. While I have aimed for interpretative complexity, trying to disentangle the multiple, and at time competing meanings, that Gilliat’s photographs engender, my reading is inherently limited by my own position as a Qallunaat researcher in the South. The next phase in the social lives of these objects ought to be their return to source communities. Escaping their static position in the national archive – a site that many have argued is itself a technology of oppressive power – and travelling back to the North would allow these photographs to continue to accrue layers of meaning and to perhaps be useful to Inuit communities today who continue to “repossess their histories and to reassert sovereignty over their culture” and territory.⁸¹

There are a number of visual “returns” projects taking place around the globe.⁸² In Canada, *Project Naming*, an

ongoing initiative launched in 2001, has embarked on the task of identifying thousands of anonymous indigenous peoples in Library and Archives Canada's photographic holdings.⁸³ Gilliat herself understood the importance of both naming the individuals in her photographs and granting them the opportunity to view their own image. She kept lists of people's names and wrote many of these on the back of prints or slides that are now in the archive. She also maintained correspondence with a few people in the North, both Inuit and non-Inuit, and desired to send her photographs back to the North, which evidence suggests she did on at least one occasion.⁸⁴ Today, while some of Gilliat's northern images have been included in *Project Naming's* database, the bulk of them remain unseen and undescribed. Given the relatively recent period in which Gilliat went to the Arctic as well as the availability of her rich field notes, these archival photographs are "ripe for the excavation" of counter narratives of colonial history as generated through what Lydon terms "local ways of seeing."⁸⁵ In the opening epigraph of article anthropologist Hugh Brody maintains that the power of photographs resides in their ability to incite multiple narratives while never fully revealing anything. Returning Gilliat's photographs to their source communities to be recognized and described by the very people within them would bring them that much closer to their full potential.

¹ Hugh Brody, "In Conclusion: The Power of the Image," in *Imaging the Arctic*, ed. J.C.H. King and Henrietta Lidchi (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 227.

² Blaire McKenzie, "Camera-toting Travels to the North Takes Rosemary Gilliat Among Eskimos," *The Ottawa Journal*, 8 June 1963.

³ Throughout this article, I use the general moniker "North" to refer to both Arctic and sub-Arctic regions. Northern Canada is variously defined by geography and politics. Politically, the North refers to three territories that make up approximately 2/5 of the country's landmass: Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. For other purposes, as for my own, northern Canada includes the northern regions of provinces such as Quebec and Labrador. In the 1960s Canadian geographer Louis-Edmond Hamelin developed the concept of "nordicity" to refer to the perceived, real, or imagined conditions of high-latitude regions. Louis-Edmond Hamelin, "Nordicity," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/nordicity/>, accessed on 25 Feb 2019.

⁴ "Eskimo" is a term used to describe Indigenous peoples of the North. While some countries, such as the United States, continue to employ "Eskimo," in Canada it is considered outmoded and derogatory. Inuit, the word some northern Indigenous peoples use to describe themselves, is the accepted term. Inuk is the word for one Inuit person.

⁵ Sherrill Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001), 15.

⁶ Amy Adams, "Part One: An Accurate Representation of the World," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 15, no.2 (Summer 2000): 6.

⁷ Grace, *Canada*, 15.

⁸ An area of land formerly subsumed within the Northwest Territories, Nunavut was created in 1999 after years of land claim negotiations between Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the federal government. Nunavik is a region of northern Quebec.

⁹ This is part of the larger Gilliat Eaton Fonds which consists of approximately 25 000 photographs and 30 films as well as extensive textual materials written and collected by Gilliat. Another archival collection at the Cole Harbour Heritage Farm Museum in Halifax, Nova Scotia has also been useful in my research but is dedicated primarily to Gilliat's life after 1964, at which point she had largely given up photojournalism.

¹⁰ Gilliat to Frank Lowe (Editor of *Weekend Magazine*), no date, Gilliat

Eaton Fonds, R12438-0-0-E, box 1 file 40, "Correspondence," Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Ontario.

¹¹ Gilliat, diary entry, July 10, 1960, Gilliat Eaton Fonds, box 3 file 5, "Arctic Trip Diary," LAC.

¹² Qallunaat is the Inuktitut term for a non-Inuit. Throughout this article, I use Qallunaat interchangeably with white, southern Canadian, and Euro-Canadian to describe the settler population of Canada.

¹³ Gilliat, diary entry, July 10, 1960, Gilliat Eaton Fonds, box 3 file 5, "Arctic Trip Diary," LAC.

¹⁴ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on photographies and histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 63-4. In Martha Rosler's words, "Documentary, as we know it, carried (old) information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed as socially powerful." Martha Rosler, "In Around, and Afterthoughts (On Documentary Photography)," in *Contest of Meaning*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 306.

¹⁵ Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 4. This thoroughly researched study is important for understanding how colonialism operated in the unique setting of the North. Notably, the authors take issue with writers like Sherrill Grace who co-opt Michel Foucault's concepts of discourse and power to muddy the waters of what they believe is a sharp distinction between the colonized and colonizer. I, however, have found Grace's theorizations to be useful in understanding how ideas of the North are constructed and perpetuated in the Canadian imaginary.

¹⁶ Loren Lerner's definition of paternalism is useful for understanding the context of federal policy in the North. "In paternalism, a dominant power adopts attitudes and practices that deny the people being cared for individual responsibility and choice and leave them in a subordinate position. It often includes meddling in their lives, the imposition of gross inequalities, and the creation of devices for legitimating hierarchical and exploitative relationships." Loren Lerner, "Kathleen Daly's Images of Inuit People: Professional Art and the Practice of Ethnography," in *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970*, ed. Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 241.

¹⁷ Elizabeth Edwards, "Introduction," in *Anthropology and Photography 1960-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with The Royal Anthropological, 1992), 12.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs and the Sounds of History," *Visual Anthropology Review* 21, no. 1 & 2, (2000): 34.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), xiv.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

²² Aaron Glass, "A Cannibal in the Archive: Performance, Materiality, and (In)Visibility in Unpublished Edward Curtis Photographs of the Kwakwaka'wakw Hamat'sa," *Visual Anthropology Review* 25, no. 2 (2009): 130.

²³ For other compelling examples of white women in the North in the mid-twentieth century who operated within colonialism's social structures while exhibiting an opposition to its norms, see Lerner, "Kathleen Daly's Images of Inuit People," 225-258; and Rachel Alpha Johnston Hurst, "Lorene Squire's Psychological Landscapes of Colonial/ Modern Gender in the Canadian North," *History of Photography* 40, no.4 (2016): 413-431.

²⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6

²⁵ While in part an effect of the general curtailment of women's professional histories, Gilliat's absence is also related to photojournalism's subordinate position in the photographic canon. Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard, "Writing Photography in Canada," in *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada*, ed. Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 235.

²⁶ Here I am drawing on Edwards who espouses a social biography model of analysis that is attentive to the layers of meaning that photographs accrue over time and within different spaces of consumption. Edwards, "Objects of Affect, Photography beyond the Image," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41(1): 222.

²⁷ The North as a motivation for Gilliat's move to Canada was expressed to me by her friend, Elizabeth Courser, in an interview conducted on March 9, 2016 in Cole Harbour, NS. Gilliat's "strange attraction to the North" actually began years earlier when she visited Norway. Gilliat, diary entry, 1953, Gilliat Eaton Fonds, box 2 file 4, "Diary - Canada."

²⁸ While gender and the North is beyond the scope of this article, it is important to note the uncommon nature of such a trip. Unlike most women who travelled to the Arctic before them, Gilliat and Hinds were not missionaries, teachers, or the wives of civil servants or Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers. They had to work overtime to convince employers and government personnel of their professional motives and skill. Gilliat's archive is thus a fascinating counterpoint to traditionally masculinized accounts of the North and one worthy of further study. For further discussion on gender and the North, see Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); and Joan Sangster, "Constructing the 'Eskimo' Wife: White Women's Travel Writing, Colonialism, and the Canadian North, 1940-1960," in *Through Feminist Eyes: Essays on Canadian Women's History* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2011), 327-353. For other studies of women photographers in the north, see Susan Close, "Geraldine Moodie's Arctic Photographs," in *Framing Identity: Social*

Practices of Photography in Canada (1880-1920) (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2007), 20-47; Molly Lee, "With Broom and Camera: Gladys Knight Harris's Photography of Inupiat Women," in *Imaging the Arctic*, 168-174.

²⁹ In recent years, many colonial place names have been replaced by their Inuktitut language names as Inuit have gained political rights over their territory. For the sake of clarity and to reflect their historical semantic usage, I use outmoded place names throughout this article but make note of amended names when applicable.

³⁰ These were Gilliat's main photographic assignments but do not reflect all of the places in which her northern work was later published. Some of her photographs of Inuit artists, for example, were used in the West Baffin Eskimo Co-operative's annual print catalogues and were published internationally in *The Geographical Magazine* (March, 1962).

³¹ Carol Payne, *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division, 1941-71* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 7-8.

³² Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text*, 32-51, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 156.

³³ Kozol, *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 34

³⁴ Payne, *Official Picture*, 111.

³⁵ Editors of *The Beaver* and *Star Weekly* also requested photographs of Inuit char fishing. Malvina Bolus to Gilliat, May 26, 1960, "Correspondences.," Gilliat, notebook, 1960, Gilliat Eaton Fonds, box 3, file 4, "Arctic Trip," LAC.

³⁶ Monk to Gilliat, June 10, 1960, Gilliat Eaton Fonds, box 1 file 33, "Correspondences," LAC.

³⁷ Payne, *Official Picture*, 10.

³⁸ While this was not a part of her initial itinerary, Gilliat submitted several of her Port Burwell photographs to the NFB to be included in her fishery photo story.

³⁹ Gilliat, July 16, 1960, "Arctic Trip Diary."

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ As Ariella Azoulay notes, photojournalists often operate under competing motives. These include economic, professional, moral, and cultural motives, all of which exerted influence on Gilliat's work photographing co-operatives. Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008), 156.

⁴² Gilliat, August 1, 1960, "Arctic Trip Diary."

⁴³ Marybelle Mitchell, *From Talking Chiefs to a Native Corporate Elite: The Birth of Class and Nationalism Among Canadian Inuit* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), xiii.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 164.

⁴⁵ Ibid. It is important to note that co-ops have become the largest nongovernment employers of Indigenous people in the North. With

annual sales of nearly \$200 million, Inuit co-operatives remain a vital economic, cultural, and political force.

⁴⁶ While the HBC operated a post south of today's village intermittently until the 1930s, Inuit of the area had never settled there, preferring to live along the coast in the summer and setting up camp about 50 km inland in the winter. The construction of a village began in 1962 and within a few years most Inuit of the area lived in prefabricated houses. As George River grew, the community also built a school, co-operative store, and various government buildings.

⁴⁷ This former settlement was located on Killiniq Island situated in Ungava Bay at the northern tip of Labrador. Notably, this co-operative did not succeed in the long term. A decline of government services and programs gave rise to a slow outmigration of families and by 1978 the 47 remaining residents were evacuated. They scattered throughout Nunavik but most settled in George River. Separated from their traditional hunting territory, families were broken up and arrived in communities without housing, income, or many of their personal effects. For an analysis of the Canadian government's policy of forced relocation see, Tester and Kulchyski, *Tammarniit (Mistakes)*.

⁴⁸ Gilliat, August 8, 1960, "Arctic Trip Diary."

⁴⁹ Mitchell, *Talking Chiefs*, xiv.

⁵⁰ Gilliat, August 1, 1960, "Arctic Trip Diary."

⁵¹ Lydon contends that while images of Indigenous peoples adopting Western dress and agricultural ways of life were historically important for representing successful civilizing missions, today we can read them as record of indigenous "self-determination and courage in choosing a new future." Lydon, *Eye Contact*, xix.

⁵² Margaret Olin has written about competing understandings of the returned gaze. For some theorists, it "rescues the beheld's sense of self." "Rather than emphasizing the power of the gazing one to make the one gazed into an object, this idea [of a shared gaze] suggests responsibility toward the living person looking back at one." Yet for others, the returned gaze is rendered powerless by the fact that it is a representation, not the person, looking back. For others still, the returned gaze is a tacit invitation to look. Olin, "Gaze," *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson et al., 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 217.

⁵³ Johannes Fabian, *Time and The Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 31.

⁵⁴ Payne, *Official Picture*, 123

⁵⁵ According to Fabian, the "ethnographic present" is an anthropological tendency to describe the subject's culture in the present tense, whether or not this reflects its current state, which paradoxically suggests a pre-contact view of non-Western society.

⁵⁶ I have argued elsewhere that Gilliat's focus on Inuit women, or the female Other, was a strategy in exploring and asserting her own identity.

Danielle Siemens, "Picturing Inuit Women," in *Photographic Encounters in the North: Rosemary Gilliat Eaton's 1960 Trip to the Eastern Canadian Arctic*, M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 2016.

⁵⁷ Usually fish cleaning and preparation was done outdoors but on the day this photograph was taken heavy rain had forced workers inside. Gilliat's flash had gotten wet and her lens acquired condensation, explaining the poor quality of the negative.

⁵⁸ Deborah Poole, "An Excess of Description: Ethnology, Race, and Visual Technologies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005): 167.

⁵⁹ Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, 159.

⁶⁰ Mitchell, *Talking Chiefs*, 166.

⁶¹ For a brief history of the Federal Hostels at George River and related archival documents, see National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, http://nctr.ca/scripts/mwimain.dll/127/1/1?SEARCH&dboption=search&database=irs_school_val&report=web_location&advanced_search=n&showsingle=y, accessed 27 Feb 2019.

⁶² *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2015). The report can be read in entirety at www.trc.ca.

⁶³ Gilliat, July 24, 1960, 'Arctic Trip Diary,' emphasis added.

⁶⁴ For Azoulay, the performative force of the photograph includes the agency of the sitter and implicates the viewer in space of encounter. The spectator (or citizen of photography), Azoulay argues, has a responsibility to occupy a critical position of suspicion and the power to translate gaze into action.

⁶⁵ Sherry Farrell Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 52.

⁶⁶ Gilliat, July 24, 1960, "Arctic Trip Diary."

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Farrell Racette, "Haunted," 78.

⁶⁹ National Film Board of Canada Still Photography Division, photo story 305, "Play in the *Land of the Long Day*," February 20, 1962, photographs by Gar Lunney, Ted Grant, Bud Glunz, Jean Roy, Dough Wilkinson, and Rosemary Gilliat. The photo story's title makes reference to the NFB film, *Land of the Long Day*, directed by Doug Wilkinson in 1952, https://www.nfb.ca/film/land_of_the_long_day.

⁷⁰ Farrell Racette, "Haunted," 78.

⁷¹ The mat release also included several supplementary images and captions which publications could pick up individually. A close reading of the supplementary images is beyond the scope of this article but is worthy of further analysis. While these images are stylistically and ideologically similar to those included in the layout, it is possible that

when printed individually they served differing ends or were open to more interpretive complexity.

⁷² My reading of the photo story is ideological as I am interested in what Payne terms the “official picture” of the Still Division. I realize however that I am not taking into account the fact that some contemporary viewers would have constructed their own narratives through these photographs and challenged normative representations. Payne, *Official Picture*, 13; Kozol, *Life’s America*, 18.

⁷³ Payne, *Official Picture*, 34.

⁷⁴ The text may have been based on Gilliat’s notes, detailing the creation of the fisheries and those involved, but was likely written by staff writer John Ough. Her diary and notebooks also clarify in which communities she took certain photographs. The photo story, however, conflates the distinct communities of George River and Port Burwell, referring to both but misidentifying some of the images in the layout.

⁷⁵ Payne, *Official Picture*, 120.

⁷⁶ W.J.T. Mitchell, “Holy Landscape: Israel, Palestine, and the American Wilderness,” in *Landscape and Power*, ed. Mitchell, 2nded. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 265.

⁷⁷ Payne, *Official Picture*, 120.

⁷⁸ Thank you to Dr. Ruth Phillips for pointing this out to me in her comments on a conference paper I presented at the UK Association of Art Historians annual conference in Edinburgh, April 8, 2016. For an introduction to the concept of multiple modernities, see Susan Friedman, “Periodizing Modernism: Postcolonial Modernities and the Space/Time Borders of Modernist Studies,” *Modernism/Modernity* 13, no. 3 (September 2006): 425-33.

⁷⁹ Gilliat grappled with conflicting feelings about colonial policy; she was both critical of state intervention (“the paternalism of the old system” she called it) and believed in the need for non-indigenous aid and the promotion of industry. Her photographs, however, unlike those we tend to associate with social documentary, avoid picturing poverty, starvation, or abysmal living conditions. On the one hand, Gilliat’s “sanitized” views were contingent on the institutional bodies she worked for. Moreover, as a woman and a photojournalist she was denied entry into certain spaces as part of the overall social management of the Arctic that worked to keep oppressions from view. On the other hand, Gilliat was emphatic about not victimizing her indigenous subjects. Photographs themselves cannot not adequately depict the history of settler-indigenous contact in the North, the rapid transformation of Inuit culture, or the trauma of state-run schooling. Thus, it is by ceding to Elizabeth Edwards’ call to look *through* rather than at Gilliat’s photographs, that we can better grasp the political and social context of their making. Edwards, “Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84,” in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M.

Schwartz and James R. Ryan (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 278.

⁸⁰ Lydon, *Eye Contact*, 251.

⁸¹ Pamela Stern “The History of Canadian Arctic Photography,” in King and Lidchi, *Imaging the Arctic*, 51-52. For a discussion of the relationship between colonialism and the archive see, Laura Ann Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance,” *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87-109.

⁸² Lydon, “Return: The Photographic Archive and Technologies of Indigenous Memory,” *Photographies* 3, no. 2 (September 2010): 173-87; Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown, *Pictures Bring Us Messages / Sinaakssiiksi aohtsimaahpibhkookiyaawa: Photographs and Histories from the Kainai Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

⁸³ See also, Carol Payne, “Culture, Memory and Community through Photographs: Developing an Inuit-Based Research Methodology,” *Anthropology and Photography* 5 (2016): 1-17.

⁸⁴ In 1961 she sent a photograph of an Inuk man named Kingwatsiak back to his home in Cape Dorset. An exchange of letters between her and a government official in the North confirmed receipt of the print. From Esmond Butler to Gilliat, 1961, “Correspondence.”

⁸⁵ Glass, “A Cannibal in the Archive,” 131. Lydon, “Eye Contact,” 9.