

Arctic images in context

*Rereading the Padleimiut photographs
in Richard Harrington's The Face of the Arctic*

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Abstract

The article explores how Richard Harrington's travelogue *The Face of the Arctic* (1952) responds to and represents the changing Canadian Arctic at the beginning of the Cold War, with a focus on Harrington's famous photographs of the Padlei famine that were essential in changing the public's image of the region at the time. Whereas scholars so far have downplayed the complexity of these photographs, this study offers a re-reading of the Padleimiut photographs that draws on W. J. T. Mitchell's concept of imagetext. The analysis of these photographs in relation to the text they appear alongside, the article argues, facilitates a more dynamic understanding of the images and their meaning. As such, the present study exemplifies how Arctic images are dependent on their specific contexts and on contextualizing interpretations.

Keywords: Canadian Arctic, Cold War, Padleimiut, travel writing, photography, imagetext, Richard Harrington

In his travelogue *The Face of the Arctic: A Cameraman's Story in Words and Pictures of Five Journeys into the Far North* (1952), Canadian photographer Richard Harrington (1911–2005)¹ describes a dogsled ride through a vast and blank snowy landscape towards Bathurst Inlet, rendering his dialogue with his travel companion, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Officer Dick Connick:

“What’s wrong?” he asked, surprised at my silence. “Why don’t you use your camera on this –” His hand stretched out towards the track we had left, the great emptiness behind us. “Nothing wrong,” I said. “But as to photographing that sort of thing – no market. Those are shades and forms that you must carry in your head.”²

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The fact that there is “no market” for pictures of so-called empty landscapes signals the conditions of Harrington’s photographic work in the Canadian Arctic, and how he, as a self-funded photographer, was dependent on taking pictures that magazines would want to buy. In addition to his commissioned magazine work, Harrington took photographs for government departments, who were interested in documenting government attendance in the Canadian North, and for the National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division who at this time “solidified its position as a central organ of an ‘official’ idealized version of Canada” and looked northwards in its distinct nationalist vision.³ Moreover, the passage testifies to the increased awareness of and interest in the region as an inhabited land and as a site of human activity, also evident when looking at picture stories on the Canadian Arctic in magazines such as *Maclean’s* and the *Beaver* from the period. Like these picture stories, *The Face of the Arctic* is primarily focused on the *people* of the Canadian Arctic – only two of the travelogue’s 161 black-and-white photographs show landscape without people or traces of people – presenting the Arctic as a site of human presence and activity.

The increasingly significant geopolitical and economic role of the Canadian Arctic during the Second World War and into the Cold War brought about changes in the region and in the Canadian awareness of the area. Whereas the region previously had been perceived and represented mainly as empty wilderness, it entered the public mind as a site of military activity, strategic interest, and economic potential, as well as an inhabited and indigenous land.⁴ This shift, which coincides with the intensification of cultural nationalism in Canada during the 1950s, relates also to the idea of the Arctic as a marker of Canadian identity, which could no longer have its basis merely in the notion of a remote and unoccupied wasteland but would have to incorporate the various aspects of the changes that were taking place.⁵

In this article, I investigate the Canadian Arctic as it is represented in text and image in Harrington’s travelogue, with an emphasis on how his photographs portray the region as an inhabited land. In what follows, I briefly outline Harrington’s work as a photographer in the Arctic and the role of photography in travel writing more generally, before I discuss his most famous series of photographs, included in the travelogue, that of the Padlei famine, which were crucial in changing the public’s image of the Canadian Arctic. I argue against previous readings, which have downplayed the complexity and impact of these images by analysing them outside of the context of the travelogue.

In my rereading, I approach the photographs as they appear with their captions and the main text in *The Face of the Arctic*, drawing on W. J. T.

Mitchell's concept of the *imagetext*. The theoretical figure comprises the combination of words and images, not only encompassing their harmonious relations, but ought to be understood as "a composite, synthetic form or as a gap or fissure in representation" and as "a site of dialectical tension, slippage, and transformation".⁶ Contradicting the classic segregation of poetry and painting as it is famously presented in Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766), Mitchell claims that "there is no essential difference between poetry and painting".⁷ Rather, textual and visual art forms are always hybrid and interdependent, and language is fundamentally visual, made up as it is by word-pictures such as metaphors and similes, just as images are fundamentally textual since they convey meaning and make sense through the verbal. Mitchell's composite figure allows me to consider the images' *relation* to the text with which they occur, as well as the meanings produced in the dynamic exchange of this relation. The rereading of the Padleimiut photographs, I will claim, brings forth ignored aspects of the images themselves and of the people and events they portray, and makes a case for the importance of reading (Arctic) images in their context, referring here to the specific context of Harrington's travelogue and the juxtaposition of image and texts.

"Picture Man" in the North – Harrington and travel photography

Harrington was one of the most renowned Canadian photographers of his time, and he regularly contributed to magazines such as the *Beaver*, *Life*, *Maclean's* and *National Geographic*. Already in 1949, *Maclean's* celebrated him as "the No. 1 Canadian photographer of the Canadian Far Northland",⁸ and in their review of *The Face of the Arctic*, *Canadian Business* named him "Canada's best known photographer of the scenes and people of our Northlands".⁹ In 1993, he was honoured A Lifetime Achievement in Photography by the Canadian Association of Photographers and Illustrators, and he was appointed Officer of the Order of Canada in 2001. In more recent years, the steady interest in Harrington's photographs from the Arctic has been verified by numerous photo exhibitions, many of which have been devoted entirely to his work.

Harrington makes numerous references to his photographing in his travelogue, often commenting on practical challenges such as how he gets frostbite from the metal and how he repeatedly needs to thaw his camera. When visiting the Dorset Inuit in the Spence Bay area, he is given the name "*Adeeliarli* – 'The Picture Man'".¹⁰ He embraces this role and turns it into an important feature of his account. *The Face of the Arctic* is illustrated throughout, which cannot be separated from the fact that Harrington

was a photographer, nor can it be seen as isolated from the abundance of images of the Canadian Arctic that circulated at the time when the travelogue was published. Such photographs were not a novelty of the 1950s, although there were more of them, and their distribution became wider after the Second World War. Visual representation has been an important feature in travel writing from its very beginning and here, as elsewhere, the invention of photography in the second quarter of the 19th century brought entirely new possibilities of recording the world. The practice was quickly adopted by explorers and travellers, making its way into travel writing. Likewise, ever since Sir John Franklin, as the first, brought camera equipment on his last and infamous expedition in 1845 to the Northwest Passage, there has been a long tradition for photographing the Arctic. The earliest photographic images of the Arctic in existence are probably Dr. William Domville's calotypes from his trip in 1852 with the *Resolute*, one of many ships sent in search of the lost Franklin expedition.¹¹ Also, photographs were an important component of public lecture tours, introducing images of the Arctic and its people to the public. Later, the public also got to see *moving* images, with Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* from 1922 as well as feature films such as *Igloo* (1932) and *Eskimo* (1933). By the time Harrington published his travelogue in 1952, then, his readership was indeed accustomed to and familiar with Arctic images.

Most of the photographs in *The Face of the Arctic* feature Inuit life and Inuit portraits. Harrington seems especially fascinated by the assumedly primitive people with the least contact with white men, and his project of documenting untouched peoples echoes the paradigm of salvage ethnography, which according to James Clifford strives to document "the vanishing primitive" and salvage its object through writing, whereby "the other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text".¹² In *The Face of the Arctic*, the vanishing primitives of the Arctic are "saved" not only in writing but in photography, coinciding with what Mary Warner Marien has referred to as an "encyclopedic urge to collect images" that was "invigorated by the growing sense that traditional life around the world was disappearing so rapidly that it must be recorded".¹³ Photography, in Harrington's travelogue and in travel and exploration more generally, becomes crucial in the practice of salvage ethnography as "the salvage tool par excellence, with its indexical insistence and spatial and temporal projection that presented the past in the present".¹⁴

In her discussion of a group of staged portraits by Harrington that were published in the *Beaver* in 1952, Joan Sangster comments on what she sees as the tendency to promote "the notion of an *essentialized* 'Eskimo'" and the stereotype of the "Cheerful Eskimo".¹⁵ In *The Face of the Arctic*, too, Harrington promotes certain oppressive stereotypes of the unspoilt,

happy-go-lucky, ever cheerful Inuit through staged portraits. Yet he also photographs Inuit who are not “unspoilt” and who live in close contact with the non-Inuit inhabitants of the Canadian Arctic, such as Inuit traders working at Hudson’s Bay Company posts, Inuit getting southern-style clothing and living in fully equipped southern-style houses. Although these images certainly do not undermine the occurrence of stereotypes in the travelogue, they demonstrate how Harrington documented a wide range of Inuit life. The occurrence of stereotypes may point to how Harrington was dependent on taking (and selling) pictures that would satisfy preconceived ideas of the Arctic and of the Inuit. At the same time, his photographs also signal the changing perceptions of the Arctic and of the Inuit during the 1950s, which increasingly acknowledge the role of the Inuit in the present and future of the region.¹⁶

For his journeys in the Canadian Arctic, Harrington was entirely dependent on the assistance from actors such as the Hudson’s Bay Company, the missionaries, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He does not cover up or tone down these circumstances but writes for instance of the Hudson’s Bay Company that “their very presence in the country makes northern journeys possible”.¹⁷ Consequently, quite a few of his photographs show the non-Inuit settlements that he visits, the inhabitants he meets along the way, such as the families of Hudson’s Bay Company employees and activities such as Family Allowance registration and missionaries holding mass. As a result, the “white folks in the Arctic”¹⁸ are well represented in *The Face of the Arctic*, also emphasized in the publisher’s introductory note: “The reader sees what Arctic life is like for white people. We sleep on the hard benches of isolated Roman Catholic missions, never before visited by a white man. We meet an Anglican missionary visiting his widely scattered parishioners, and talk with white trappers who have lived in solitude for twenty years”.¹⁹ The emphasis on the white inhabitants in both text and images and the use of ‘we’ in the publisher’s note underscores the fact that Harrington’s travelogue was targeted towards a white readership. It also points to the fact that understandings of the Canadian Arctic, and the Arctic more generally, have been determined by predominantly *southern* ideas and perceptions, and considered what Rob Shields has described as “an empty page onto which can be projected images of the essence of ‘Canadian-ness’ and also images to define one’s urban existence against”.²⁰ This southern perspective is key in a comprehensive understanding of Harrington’s travelogue and photography and of the shift in the public understanding of the Arctic as inhabited and indigenous homeland.

The Padleimiut photographs – Aestheticized, decontextualized, dehistoricized?

Harrington's most well-known photographs remain those of the starving Padleimiut, taken during his journey to Padlei in the Keewatin District West of Hudson Bay in 1950. At the time of Harrington's visit, the Padleimiut were struck by famine due to changes in the migration routes of the caribou. With no possibility to hunt, the Padleimiut were now without their main staple, and the situation was serious.

During the 1950s, the social and economic concerns in the Canadian Arctic were being targeted by governmental policies to a much higher degree. The Department of Resources and Development, established in 1950 (in 1953 it changed its name to Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources), was a response to the new realities of the North, and federal social programs and development projects – which would also include assimilation and forced relocation of the Canadian Inuit – were being introduced to all Canadian inhabitants in the North. Key actors in this development were the already mentioned Hudson's Bay Company, the missionaries, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who also consolidated the governmental presence in the region. Despite this increased presence, authorities failed to take notice and respond to the Padlei famine. Thus, when Harrington's photographs first appeared on the cover of the *Toronto Daily Star* in 1950, they became powerful expressions of the governmental neglect of Canada's indigenous peoples.²¹

Harrington's photographs shook Canada. As Maria Tippett makes clear: "Conditioned to seeing photographs of the happy-go-lucky, hardy Inuit, the Canadian public were shocked when Harrington's photographs of the emaciated Padleimiut hit the front page of the *Toronto Daily Star*".²² The images caused a public outrage, which forced the government to respond, but as Tippett writes, the measures taken were a failure: "An RCAF [Royal Canadian Air Force] aircraft dropped sacks of dried peas and beans into the area. Lacking fuel to cook them, the Padleimiut continued to starve."²³ In his account, Harrington comments on how he "secured some help for them from a momentarily scandalized world".²⁴ He does not mention the failed relief that Tippett refers to, but registers that the Padleimiut as well as other Inuit groups were quickly forgotten after the spread in the *Toronto Daily Star*, and thus the famine continued.

Tippett acknowledges the impact, however briefly, of Harrington's photographs, and consider them a wake-up call that provided new perspectives on Canada's Inuit population and new insights on the government's actions (or lack thereof) in the Arctic. Even so, Tippett criticizes what she finds to be Harrington's romanticized and clichéd portrayal of the starv-

ing Padleimiut and his tendency to place “the increasingly westernized Inuit squarely into the ‘Noble Savage’ or ‘Noble Victim’ stereotype”,²⁵ which mirrors ethnographic photography from previous eras, exemplified by Franz Boas’ posed images and Flaherty’s staged documentary film. As a result, Tippett concludes, the depicted Padleimiut are aestheticized, decontextualized, and dehistoricized, and the dire circumstances of their situation are undermined:

But the devices he [Harrington] employed to accomplish this – he cropped the portraits and added captions which assured the public that the starving Padleimiut were uncomplaining – not only served to obscure the horrific conditions in which they were living, but did nothing to explain how the situation had come about in the first place.²⁶

Tippett refers to and quotes from *The Face of the Arctic*, but ignores the travelogue as a specific context for Harrington’s photographs. Her focus is on the photographs only: she does not comment on them as they appear in and with Harrington’s text nor does she make any reference to any writing in the *Toronto Daily Star*. In my view she decontextualizes the photographs in the way that she accuses Harrington of. Reread within their context in the travelogue, as imagetexts, Harrington’s photographs of the Padleimiut become far more complex than what Tippett claims.

Some of Harrington’s photographs of the Padleimiut are indeed aestheticized, decontextualized, and dehistoricized in the way that Tippett suggests. The caption of a photograph of a thin and elderly Padlei woman, for example, states that “she still goes on, uncomplaining, at starvation camp near Padlei”.²⁷ And when writing about how he wants his pictures to “show the outside world what real suffering was”, he also wants them to “show the strength, endurance, courage and ingenuity of an almost exhausted people”.²⁸ He adds, however, that “maybe after seeing them [the photographs], white men would stop referring to Eskimos as ‘children’ and ‘incompetents’”.²⁹ This last part of this passage, which Tippett does not quote, complicates to my mind Harrington’s ambitions and motives. It is not straightforward that he here wants to portray the Inuit as resigned to their destinies, stripped of agency.

Harrington does indeed point to the horrific conditions of the Padleimiut and partly explain the circumstances of the famine. For one, contrary to what Tippett argues, starvation is not described in particularly romanticized terms in Harrington’s account. Rather, it horrifies him and changes his view of the land: “Starvation is a frightening thing. Suddenly the great frozen land itself terrified me. I tried in vain to recapture

some of the ecstasy I had felt in the past when looking out over these vast white horizons”.³⁰ His picture story “The Padleimiuts” in *Canadian Geographical Journal* of January 1952, which anticipates *The Face of the Arctic*, features similar descriptions of starvation. Harrington here highlights the horrors of hunger and the alarming situation by referring to dying dogs, “haggard” Inuit, and children with “pot bellies, which made their chests look more skinny” describing the “extreme poverty” in several of the encampments. Starvation, he writes, is a “terrifying thing. There’s nothing to see, really, nothing dramatic. A dog keels over. A Native is found too weak to stir ...”.³¹

In context – The Padleimiut photographs

The same year as *The Face of the Arctic* was released, Farley Mowat published his landmark travelogue *People of the Deer* (1952) in which he narrates his stay with the Ihalmiut, the inland Inuit group of Canada’s Keewatin Region in the late 1940s.³² The book blatantly criticized the Canadian government for neglecting the Ihalmiut during successive famines and led to a questioning of Jean Lesage, Minister of Resources and Northern Affairs about the Ihalmiut in the House of Parliament in 1954.³³ Whereas *People of the Deer* launched Mowat as a controversial figure in the debate on governmental policies towards the indigenous peoples of the Canadian North, Harrington does not openly criticize the government’s failed actions regarding the Padleimiut. This non-confrontational approach is underlined in the publisher’s introductory note, which states that *The Face of the Arctic* is “not a scientific book, nor one of special pleading”.³⁴ Yet, he draws certain conclusions, and there are important traces of reproach in which he shows awareness of the underlying circumstances, such as his concern with the decreasing prices of fox pelts or in his portrait of the famished old Padleimiut woman showing her disc number or identification tag. The caption, “Near death. Note Government identification tag”,³⁵ points perhaps to the government’s selective intervention in the region: Taking pains to identify and register the Inuit yet absent in times of hunger.

Like Tippett, Mikhel Proulx accuses Harrington of potentially naturalizing “starvation into an image of the great, white, natural North”³⁶ and comments on how these photographs are aestheticized images that do not correspond to the tough conditions in which the Padleimiut were living:

Within these disquieting, poignant images Harrington himself wants to disappear: his seems an impassionate, objective eye documenting a tragedy. These are unarguably aestheticized, indeed beautiful images, cultiva-

ted and picturesque in a stylized harmony not analogous to the harsh reality of their depicted subjects.³⁷

Proulx's reading of these photographs is to my mind somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, he acknowledges their unsettling and moving effect. On the other, he refers to how these are impassionate, stylized, and harmonious images that undermine the seriousness of the situation. I recognize the disturbing effect that these photographs have on the viewer, but I do not find that the images provide an aestheticized and picturesque version of the starving Padleimiut. These images of hollowed faces and empty looks render the despair of the Padleimiut and the seriousness of the situation, and this is also the very reason for their disturbing effect.

Proulx reads into these photographs Harrington's wish to *disappear* into them. This disappearance is not absolute if we consider the photographs in relation to the text in the way that Mitchell's concept of the imagetext calls for. Harrington highlights his role as photographer throughout the account, also when he visits the Padlei camp: "In the midst of this misery, I took photographs".³⁸ His presence is evident in several of the captions, such as the image of an elderly starving woman smoking a pipe who "will quietly die in a day or so"³⁹ with Harrington adding that he was the one who had filled her pipe. In these captions, Harrington underlines his intervention and interaction with the depicted Padleimiut, which certainly refutes the impassionate and objective attitude that Proulx argues for. Another example is a full-page photograph of an Inuk girl dressed in fur clothing. Looking at this photograph, we can guess the girl's grave expression and we can see her worn clothing. We cannot see, however, that she is starving. What makes us aware of her situation is the caption: "Girl at starvation camp, just skin and bones, appears bulky in old fur clothes".⁴⁰ For this photograph to be really *seen*, the caption is needed. It completes the photograph in the way that Walter Benjamin has suggested ("Will not the caption become the most important component of the shot?"⁴¹) and echoes Susan Sontag's view that photographs "cannot themselves explain anything".⁴²

The final example in this article's re-examination of the Padleimiut series, is most likely Harrington's most famous photograph, the so-called Canada's 'Madonna and Child' (Fig. 1). As Martha Langford and John Goddard have remarked, this unofficial title, which often accompanies the image, was given to the photograph by Lorraine Monk, who founded the National Film Board of Canada's still-photography division and who created the show *Richard Harrington: Incredible Journeys* (1987) at the Canadian Museum of Photography.⁴³ As I will argue, this caption or title has a dogmatic and assertive, and perhaps even misleading function, which

steers the reading of the photograph in directions that undermine its other potential meanings.

Goddard considers the photograph to be perhaps “the most important photograph of Harrington’s long, distinguished career and even the most important ever taken in the Arctic”.⁴⁴ Likewise, Langford recognizes that the photograph “has grown to mythic stature through exhibition and faithful inclusion in Harrington monographs”.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, she is critical of the way the photograph works. She bases her discussion of the image on its appearance in the Museum of Modern Art’s exhibition *The Family of Man*, curated by Edwards Steichen in 1955, which according to Langford was a highpoint in Harrington’s career, one that confirmed his place in the Canadian canon.⁴⁶ In this exhibition and its catalogue, Langford argues, the image of Canada’s ‘Madonna and Child’ is not at all associated with the theme of hunger. Instead, the photograph is made representative of the curator’s universalist themes of “childbirth and maternal love” with “both Christian and art-historical associations,” and thus the “image encapsulates the desires and dilemmas internalized by itinerant photographers of the ‘other,’ and especially those paradoxical yearnings for a universal language of representation cast in the patois of the real”.⁴⁷ As a result, she continues, the photograph must be understood as “having propagandistic benefits within the Cold War”.⁴⁸ Langford’s claim is that the specificity of this image, its historical time and its geographical location, and the depicted subjects’ names, lives, and experiences become subordinated to a Western language of images that connotes Christian maternal love rather than hunger.

It is certainly important to understand this image within the specific context of the exhibition *The Family of Man*, but it leads to a misreading, or at the very least an incomplete reading, of the image: this photograph had already been published in the *Toronto Daily Star* and *The Face of the Arctic*, a fact that to my mind facilitates a more complex reading of the photograph as representing *both* hunger and maternal love. For example, the starvation of the Padleimiut is thoroughly described in Harrington’s text, and the photograph’s association with hunger is underlined in its caption in *The Face of the Arctic*: “Starving does not cut off affection at Pip’s camp”.⁴⁹ The depicted woman and child remain nameless, but at the very least the caption does refer to them as belonging to “Pip’s camp”. (According to Goddard, Harrington learns from an Inuit friend many years later that the woman’s name is Keenaq and her son’s is Keepseeyuk.)⁵⁰ Furthermore, the main text provides additional context to this specific photograph as well as to the other images of the starving Padleimiut. “Pip’s camp” in the caption refers to the camp of Pipkakkak and his family, where Harrington stays for a week. In his account of this stay, he mentions the



Fig. 1. The 'Madonna and child' photograph by Richard Harrington, 1950.
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increased incidences of polio, how the children are “runny nosed and ill fed”⁵¹ and how the food situation is serious. He goes on to contrast this terrible situation to the conditions of the non-Inuit inhabitants of the Arctic, remarking how he, in this time of famine, recalled “the well-fed soldiers farther south who thought it great fun to turn their guns on the migrating caribou and on the schools of white whales in Hudson Bay”.⁵²

The short and unassuming caption of the photograph, as well as the descriptions of the famine in the main text, complicates Langford’s reading of the ‘Madonna and Child’ image as merely sending a universal message of maternal love, in which the horrors of hunger are undermined and even eradicated. Langford’s argument is further weakened when reading the reviews of *The Face of the Arctic*, which highlight the images as testimonies of the horrific conditions of the Padleimiut, showing “the grim realities of primitive life, men, women, and children in the last stages of starvation”.⁵³

In their discussions of Harrington’s photographs and of the Padleimiut images in particular, Langford, Proulx and Tippett criticize the processes of aestheticizing, decontextualizing, and dehistoricizing. As such, they repeat Sontag’s notion that the act of photographing someone is always violating and objectifying.⁵⁴ Although this power of photography might be valid for a reading of Harrington’s images, especially when taking into account that very few of the depicted subjects (Inuit and non-Inuit) return Harrington’s look and that Inuit voices and perspectives are absent at the narrative level, the matter becomes more complicated when we read the images within the specific context of *The Face of the Arctic* and attempt to understand them as they appear *in and with* the text.

Rereading the Padleimiut photographs, it becomes clear that Harrington’s “romanticized” view of the Inuit, which Tippett accentuates, is not clear-cut. Nor is Harrington’s disappearance behind these images, as Proulx claims, absolute when we look at them as they appear in the travel book as imagetexts. Rather, Harrington constantly refers to his role as photographer, not merely as privileged onlooker but as an intervening agent who interacts with the people he photographs and who arranges his subjects and motifs. In this way, he indicates a distance from the objectifying power of photography. Furthermore, by highlighting his presence and his participation in the depicted events, he undermines the exclusionary look and destabilizes his assumed position as a detached, objective eye, as someone who is merely holding his camera as a shield between himself and the scenes and people he portrays.⁵⁵

In conclusion, I find that approaching Harrington’s photographs as imagetexts in *The Face of the Arctic* contributes to a reading that recognizes the manifold of potential meanings at play in the relation between

image and text. Considering the importance of Harrington's work and that of the Paddleimiut photographs especially to the public's understanding of the Canadian Arctic from the 1950s onwards, this complexity becomes particularly pertinent. Hopefully, the rereading the Paddleimiut photographs may be a reminder of how Arctic images, our interpretations of them and consequently of the Arctic itself and its people, are always dependent on their specific contexts, and always changing.

Notes

1. Harrington was born in Hamburg, Germany and later emigrated to Canada.
2. Richard Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic: A Cameraman's Story in Words and Pictures of Five Journeys into the Far North* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1952), 143–144.
3. Carol Payne, *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 32.
4. See for example Mark O. Dickerson, *Whose North? Political Change, Political Development, and Self-Government in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press/The Arctic Institute of North America, 1992).
5. For discussions of the Canadian Arctic and national identity, see for example Sherill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) and Samantha Arnold, "The Men of the North' Redux: Nanook and Canadian National Unity", *American Review of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 4 (2010): 452–463.
6. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 83; 106.
7. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 49.
8. "In the Editors' Confidence" (comment on Richard Harrington), *Maclean's*, December 15, 1949.
9. "Review of *The Face of the Arctic*, by Richard Harrington", *Canadian Business*, June, 1953, 57.
10. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 50.
11. Huw Lewis-Jones (ed.), *Face to Face: Polar Portraits* (London: Conway, 2009), 28.
12. James Clifford, "The Others: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm" in *The Third Text Reader on Art, Culture and Theory*, eds. Rasheed Aracen, Sean Cubitt and Ziauddin Sardar (New York: Continuum, 1986), 112.
13. Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (3rd ed., Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, [2003] 2011), 216.
14. Elizabeth Edwards, "Salvaging Our Past: Photography and Survival" in *Photography, Anthropology and History: Expanding the Frame*, eds. Christopher Morton and Elizabeth Edwards (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 83.
15. Joan Sangster, "The Beaver as Ideology: Constructing Images of Inuit and Native Life in Post-World War II Canada", *Anthropologica* 49, no. 2 (2007): 197.
16. Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (London: Routledge, 1999).

17. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 327.
18. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 21.
19. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, n.p.
20. Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1992), 165.
21. A few years later, the Canadian government would attempt to rectify this neglect by initiating several relocating programs in the Eastern Arctic, with devastating consequences for the Inuit. See for example Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Tam-marniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); Alan Rudolph Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Imagined Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995); Alooook Ipellie, “People of the Good Land” in *The Voice of the Natives: The Canadian North and Alaska*, ed. Hans-Ludwig Blohm (Toronto: Penumbra Press, 2010), 19–33, and Frédéric Laugrand, Jarich Oosten and David Serkoak, “‘The saddest time of my life’: Relocating the Ahirmiut from Ennadai Lake (1950–1958)”, *Polar Record* 46, no. 2 (2010), 113–135, DOI:10.1017/S0032247409008390.
22. Maria Tippett, *Between Two Cultures: A Photographer Among the Inuit* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994), 14.
23. Tippett, *Between Two Cultures*, 14.
24. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 200.
25. Tippett, *Between Two Cultures*, 14.
26. Tippett, *Between Two Cultures*, 14–15.
27. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 236.
28. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 248.
29. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 248.
30. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 254.
31. Richard Harrington, “The Padleimiuts”, *Canadian Geographical Journal* 44, no. 1 (1952), 6; 9.
32. A more correct spelling of “Ihalmiut” would be “Ahirmiut”, Kenn Harper, “Taissumani, May 30: Farley Mowat and the North, an appreciation”, *Nunatsiaq News*, May 30, 2014, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/65674farley_mowat_and_the_north_an_appreciation/ (accessed October 2, 2023).
33. Cf. Farley Mowat, *People of the Deer* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1952) and *The Desperate People* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1959).
34. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, n.p.
35. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 237.
36. Mikhel Proulx, “Naming the Eskimo: Politics of Naming in the North of This Land Now Called Canada”, *Canadian Portraits* (2012), 23, <http://canadianportraits.concordia.ca/exhibitions.html> (accessed September 29, 2023).
37. Proulx, “Naming the Eskimo”, 22.
38. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 248.
39. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 261.
40. Harrington, *The Face of the Arctic*, 238.
41. Walter Benjamin, “A Short History of Photography” (translated by Stanley Mitchell), *Screen* 13, no. 1 ([1931] 1972), 25.
42. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, [1977] 1990), 23.
43. See John Goddard, “Canada’s ‘Madonna and Child’”, *Toronto Star*, February 27,

2005 and Martha Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide: Universality and Locality in a Canadian Photographic Document" in *Photography, History, Difference*, ed. Tanya Sheehan (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2015).

44. Goddard, "Canada's 'Madonna and Child'".

45. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 40.

46. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 36.

47. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 40.

48. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 40.

49. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 256.

50. Goddard, "Canada's 'Madonna and Child'". In 2002, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Nunavut Sivuniksavut, and Nunavut's Department of Culture, Languages, Elders and Youth created Project Naming, which aims to identify the Inuit who have been portrayed in these photographic collections (now located at LAC), hundreds of which were by Harrington, cf. Payne, *The Official Picture*, 181–187. For a study of governmental naming policies in the Canadian North and the consequences for Inuit identity, see Valerie Alia, *Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy: Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity* (Halifax: Fernwood, 1994).

51. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 262.

52. Langford, "Richard Harrington's Guide", 268.

53. D. M. LeBourdais, "The Great Frozen Land Itself" (review of *The Face of the Arctic*), *Saturday Night*, December 27, 1952, 26.

54. Sontag, *On Photography*, 14.

55. See David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 13.