The Beaver as Ideology: Constructing Images of Inuit and Native Life in Post-World War II Canada

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Abstract: This paper explores the *Beaver*'s use of imagery and text to create an ideology of Canadian "northerness" that promoted ideals of anthropological discovery, historical pride and liberal tolerance for other cultures, while also reinforcing colonial images of Inuit and Native peoples. Although the *Beaver* was intended as a public relations endeavour by the Hudson's Bay Company, the magazine gained readership from the 1940s to the 1960s as a *National Geographic* style publication offering authentic images of the North, Canadian history, white exploration and Native peoples, especially those from the West. By uncovering the recurring images of Inuit and Native in the *Beaver* we can better understand the dominant ideologies concerning race and Indigenous cultures in this time period, and thus view the cultural terrain upon which political and social decisions concerning First Nations peoples were constructed. Three themes—expert accounts, the historical picturesque, development narratives—are utilized here to explore dominant discourses in the magazine.

Keywords: *The Beaver*, Representations of Indigenous and Inuit Peoples, Canadian History

Résumé : Cet article examine la façon dont les images et le texte du magazine *The Beaver* ont contribué à la création d'une idéologie de la «nordicité» canadienne. Cette idéologie a promu des idéaux de découvertes anthropologiques, de fierté historique et de tolérance progressiste face aux autres cultures, le tout en renforçant les images coloniales des peuples inuits et amérindiens. S'il est vrai que *The Beaver*, à l'origine, s'inscrivait dans une campagne de relations publiques au profit de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, il n'en demeure pas moins que ce magazine a élargi son lectorat et s'est hissé, des années 40 aux années 60, au rang d'une publication telle le *National Geographic* en présentant aux lecteurs des images authentiques du Nord, de l'histoire canadienne, de l'exploration des Blancs et des peuples autochtones, en particulier ceux établis à l'Ouest. En dévoilant la récurrence des images sur les Inuits et les Amérindiens dans le *Beaver*, nous sommes à même d'appréhender les idéologies dominantes de cette époque sur la race et les cultures autochtones. Il nous est également possible de sonder le terrain culturel d'où ont émergé les décisions sociales et politiques concernant les peuples autochtones. Nous ferons usage de trois thèmes pour explorer les discours dominants du magazine : les récits d'experts, le caractère pittoresque de l'histoire et les énoncés sur le développement.

Mots-Clés: The Beaver, Représentation des peuples amérindiens et inuits, Histoire du Canada

A 1943 issue of the *Beaver* (March), sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) as Canada's "magazine of the North," featured a photograph of an arctic white wedding with fashionable bride, bridesmaid and minister, all framed by ice and snow. This was but one of a number of white arctic brides celebrated in the pages of the *Beaver* (see Photograph 1), offering a marked contrast to the magazine's images of northern Native and Inuit women, who were more often shown in "traditional" Native dress, engaged in productive and domestic labour, or, by the late 1950s, adjusting to "modern" familial and work roles. These contrasting displays of femininity, juxtaposed by culture and race, are only one example of the *Beaver*'s use of imagery and text to create an ideology of Canadian "northernness" which ostensibly promoted ideals of anthropological discovery, historical pride and cultural tolerance, while simultaneously reinforcing racialized and colonial images of northern Native and Inuit peoples.

The *Beaver* had long been a deliberate public relations effort on the part of the HBC to align its commercial image with positive interpretations of Canadian nation-building, with Indigenous peoples deliberately integrated into their narrative of Canada's popular history. In the post-World War II period, the magazine circulated in public libraries, schools and to a wider public, operating as an influential *National Geographic* style publication offering authentic, scientific images of Canadian history and the North. Delineating the *Beaver*'s representations of northern Natives and Inuit can thus expose both the prevailing images of Indigenous peoples of the era and the cultural terrain upon which political decisions concerning the First Nations were justified. Indeed, the cultural and political realms were closely connected for the *Beaver*'s image and text worked *as ideology* to legitimize the persistence of internal colonialism in Canada's North and to proscribe economic and social solutions for the inevitable and necessary modernization of Native cultures portrayed as traditional and primitive.

Photo 1: Group at Pangnirtung.
Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBC) Archives of Manitoba (AM); HBCA 1987/363-P-5/2 (N12868)

The *Beaver* served as ideology on two overlapping levels: first, it was a conscious, *interested* project of meaning making on the part of the HBC, an attempt to create a narrative of nation-building that idealized and rationalized the company's economic history and involvement in the North. As one enthusiastic reader wrote to the editor, "I *envy* you [the great job] of circulating Canada's history. You *sell* Canada to Canadians and the world!" (Vogel 1954). Second, the magazine's messages about Indigenous peoples were part of a broader hegemonic ideology of race and culture diffused through civil society, deeply interwoven into prevailing, taken for granted notions of Indigenous life. Ideology, as some materialist scholars persist in suggesting, exists not only as a system of signification, ideas and belief, and thus an active material force in everyday life, but also as a system of power, in this case legitimizing the interests of one powerful social group as opposed to another (Eagleton 1991; Dirlik 2002; Ebert 2002; Jameson 2002).

The *Beaver*'s rendition of Indigenous life may well have been an anathema to Native and Inuit peoples; my focus, however, is on image and ideology, *not* the experience, of Indigenous peoples.[1] I explore the visual and textual rendering of the Native, crafted for a predominately white middlebrow audience in the "south," focussing on three themes—the expert account, the nostalgic picturesque, and the development narrative. Rather than measuring the ethnographic accuracy of the *Beaver*, I want to examine the "imaginative spaces" that Indigenous peoples occupied for magazine readers searching out entertainment and education, the "tropes and stories that ordered [Indigenous] existence" in their minds (Lutz and Collins 1993:2; Hervik 1999).

In the textual "contact zone" (Pratt 1992)[2] of Native and white displayed in the *Beaver*, interpretations of Indigenous culture, governance, economic development, familial and gender roles often assumed an ambiguous tone, for the magazine was infused with the cultural relativism characteristic of much post-Boasian anthropology (Dippie 1982), and authors advocated cultural tolerance and co-operation in the development of the North. Much like American interwar intellectuals and avant-garde artists who appropriated aspects of Native cultures, the *Beaver* also attempted to create a Canadian national identity by enthusiastically celebrating its links to Native history and culture (Rushing 1995).

Yet the *Beaver* also reflected a cultural hierarchy that cast white, Euro-Canadian modernity as preferable and superior by recording the primitive, strange and alien behaviour of the "Eskimo." It drew on orientalist (Said 1979) ways of seeing the non-Western "other," contrasted to white Canadians who were modern, rational, progressive and technologically advanced. Adapting orientalism to an anthropological paradigm, Fatimah Tobing Rony (1996:5) has advanced the notion of an "ethnographic" gaze: in the case of the *Beaver*, for instance, Indigenous peoples were placed within an exotic "mise-en-scene" in which the individual Native was made "real" by the objectifying ethnographic gaze of white observers. Discursive strategies such as essentializing, classifying, generalizing, even idealizing Indigenous cultures (Spurr 1996) were woven throughout text and image; as a consequence, Indigenous peoples remained the objects of colonial scrutiny, rather than active, creative, even contradictory human subjects (Said 1979, 1989). As Hugh Brody observed many years ago, the "Eskimo are seen by whites *only as* Eskimo" (1975:79). Drawing on stock, repeated stories, whites construct tales depicting true "traditional" essential "Eskimos," often doing so by pointing to "the bizarre" in their culture: "they are *illustrations*" (Brody 1975:79). Spivak (1986) and Lewis (1996) point out that orientalism was also gendered.[3] Not only did white women, as authors and artists, play a part in creating this ethnographic gaze, but Indigenous cultures were seen through the gendered eyes of non-Indigenous observers sure of the superiority of their "modern" familial and gender order in contrast to the supposedly primitive and patriarchal existence of Indigenous women (Tiffany and Adams 1985; Carter 1993).

As scholars of postcolonial theory have noted, Said's orientalism maintained a debt to the concept of ideological hegemony, though integrating Foucault's attention to discourse and power (Moore-Gilbert 1997; Wolf 1997). The discursive strategies utilized in the *Beaver* were con-

structed, shaped and ordered using symbols and stories already a part of an influential racialized ideology explaining the culture and history of northern First Nations (Francis 1992; Carter 1997; Goldie 1989). This ideological context was also in flux as the North assumed increased political, economic and strategic importance after 1940. As critics of "culturalist" postcolonial writing argue, our analysis of text and image must always *historicize*: it is crucial to place the textual practices of colonialism in an economic, political and temporal context, linking them to state power, politics, and regimes of labour and capital accumulation (Dirlik 1994; Ahmed 1995; Bannerji 1998). Our explorations of representations of colonialism need not supplant our analyses of the historically specific, economically and socially structured inequalities of colonialism.

The political economy of the North in the war and postwar period was thus a crucial backdrop to the *Beaver*'s popular history making project. As a concept of space and place, the North had long exercised an important role in the imaginary construction of the Canadian nation, influencing political visions and economic power, and also shaped by those forces (Grant 1989; Berger 1970; Grace 2001; Cavell 2002). However, from the 1940s to the 1960s, the North took on new significance in Canada's political economy. Although the fur trade was facing economic difficulties (Ray 1990), the North was promoted by other business concerns as Canada's last economic frontier of development, and the Arctic was embraced by the state as a frontier needing both military-strategic occupation and increased "benevolent" intervention in the lives of Indigenous peoples (Grant 1988; Kulchyski and Tester 1994; Dickerson 1992). State interventions (however well meaning in areas such as health and education) undermined existing familial, social and community ties, resulting in social dislocation and cultural crisis which in turn became the focus for fierce public debate in Canadian magazines, books and newspapers by the late 1950s and early 1960s. The most vocal critics of state policies and northern development were not found in the pages of the *Beaver* (for example, Mowat 1952).

The *Beaver*'s image of the Canadian north also exposed much about the cultural construction of Canadian modernity in the "south." Imperialist visions often portray the metropolis as the antithesis of the colony, yet "home and away" were part of the same "field of debate" (Burton 1994:483). At the time, most Canadians presumed that progress moved in one direction—northward—but in fact, a dialectical relationship was created through this very image. By constructing Canada's last frontier, the Native and Inuit north, as primitive, the south, with its exuberant embrace of economic expansion, technology and consumption became the very epitome of progress and development. This reciprocal construction of a primitive north in need of guidance from a modern south masked relations of ideological power (Crehan 2002) which had potentially profound consequences for Indigenous peoples, some of whom were physically re-located during this period. What may have been done in the national interest of a supposedly modern, progressive state could thus be justified as being in the best interests of "less advanced" Indigenous inhabitants.

This mirror image of modern and "primitive" also hints at the popular appeal of the *Beaver* for its predominantly English-speaking, white audiences. Although reader response remains outside the purview of this article, (and granted, consumer readings may always be unexpected or ambiguous), the dominant images of the Native north in the magazine reaffirmed an uncritical acceptance of post-World War II Canadian society. The stress on progressive development that would "liberate" Indigenous peoples from environmental insecurity, and on the image of a childlike and "happy Eskimo" being integrated into a history of Canadian progress, all fit comfortably within the cultural and political milieu of the period. As Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins (1993) argue of *National Geographic* images, readers could see themselves as culturally tolerant, but still shift to racial explanations for cultural differences, avoiding questions of an international division of colonial labour. Reassuring images of the Indigenous mother with papoose or a child in hand—lauded as the "Madonna" of the North in a 1950 *Beaver* photograph caption—suggested that domesticity for all women was essentially the same under the skin, a romanticized view that also fit well with an intensified culture of domesticity in this era. *Beaver* readers, however, were also led to believe that northern Native women ultimately yearned to imitate the domestic lives of their white counterparts in the south.

Expert Accounts of Indigenous Lives

Originally an HBC staff publication established in 1920, the *Beaver* altered its agenda in 1933-34, shifting from romancing its personnel to romancing its customers and the public, presenting material designed to "create a feeling of pride" in the HBC empire (Klein 1934). Subscription fees were introduced, circulation substantially increased (including American readers), and free giveaways—for example, to the troops in the war—were used to boost readership. By 1960, a typical run was 24,000; the magazine's appeal to a middle brow audience and its educational uses offered it a small, but socially significant readership.

The magazine's editors in this period were well educated professionals, with backgrounds in popular writing, journalism and museums. After editor Douglas MacKay was killed on company business in an air crash in 1938, Clifford Wilson, a well-connected journalist, and like MacKay, an established author on the HBC, was hired in 1939 to oversee all the company's public relations projects. Undoubtedly the key architect of the *Beaver* from 1940 to 1959, Wilson's tenure coincided with an increasingly professionalized museum world which he was also closely connected to, leaving to run the Glenbow Museum in 1958. After 1959, the new editor, Malvina Bolus, added material on arts, crafts, archaeology and nature, though the staples of Wilson's magazine, namely articles on travel, exploration, vignettes of daily life in the North, and especially writing on the HBC's past and present role in building Canada, remained important.[4] The magazine prided itself on its "good taste" (Bolus *ca.*1971; Wilson 1942:65-66) and its objective adherence to "the facts," but in tandem with this positivist claim was Wilson's stated mission to promote a Canadian history that might inspire national pride, a goal also apparent in his earlier writing of historical children's literature (Wilson 1933, E95/52; see also Wilson 1954, 1957).

The magazine's contributors encompassed scholars from anthropology, history, science and economics, some of whom were amateur raconteurs and historians, including a significant group of women writers, marginalized within academe at the time, yet still employed in archives, museums, American colleges, or working freelance. Respected scientific groups, such as the Arctic Institute of North America were featured, along with internationally-known writers whose very reputations were the product of their northern travel, writing and research. Invoking the knowledge of anthropologists offered an especially impressive seal of authenticity to the *Beaver*. In 1951, for instance, the magazine invited prominent spokespersons from the anthropological profession to write on the theme "Enter the European" looking at the impact of whites on the arctic Inuit. Anthropologist Diamond Jenness (1954) was critical of some negative influences of northern whites, such as the exploitation of Inuit by the whalers or the Inuit's "manipulation" by missionaries, yet his descriptions also cast the Inuit as "pawns" of white ingenuity and deviousness. Only mildly critical of the HBC fur trade and its effects on Native trappers, he observed that white traders usually had the interests of the Inuit people at heart, and that the company was, after all, simply a victim of the prevailing capitalist business climate. Critical of the Canadian state for neglecting its Inuit "wards," he lauded the more protective policies of the Danish and American governments and added that racial intermarriage with whites would eventually provide a solution to the race problem. His message, in this and other pieces, that the Canadian state was morally responsible for the Inuit, could be read as call for attention to their voices. Yet his work also assumed the perspective of white Western paternalism, assuming Inuit needs could be best defined by anthropological experts like himself (Kulchyski 1993). Indeed, unlike many Boasian anthropologists, Jenness still relied on evolutionary paradigms, often seeing Inuit culture as static, even doomed to obsolescence (Hancock 1999).

The *Beaver* also showed considerable deference to missionaries working in the North. A regular contributor, Anglican minister Donald Marsh (1954), weighed in on the "Enter the European" debate, arguing that the Inuit had gone from being wards of the government to citizens with equal rights who should not be forced into the mould of southern peoples, but rather should be allowed to pursue their traditional lives as hunters. Yet he portrayed the mission encounter as progress incarnate, bringing syllabic alphabet, writing skills, education and religious enlightenment to "primitives" and he warned that "Eskimos" were being "spoiled" by overly indulgent southern policies: "the issuance of relief to the Eskimo people has become one of the greatest problems of the Arctic" (1954:32). A Catholic missionary asserted even more forcefully that his religion had provided humanistic enlightenment to Indigenous peoples. "Child murder, desertion of the old and the cripples, wife-trading etc. are now things of the past amongst the Christians," he concluded concerning the legacy of the Catholic Church (Thibert 1954:36).

Long-time HBC traders invited to comment on this debate reminded readers of their positive roles as medics, advisors, even domestic counsellors to the Inuit. In the vein of much imperialist rhetoric, trader Pete Nichols (1954) saw his role as a white "father" to his "Eskimo children." The father, he wrote, wants his children to "grow up gradually, to be introduced as painlessly as possible to the hectic tempo of modern civilization...he needs to steer them between the rocks of a hard stone age existence and the sucking whirlpool of civilization." In this schema, the male Inuit are *prospective* paternal role models, as they are already "manly" heroic hunters, symbols of the unspoiled, natural, human past. What made these men quintessentially "Eskimo" added Nichols, was their struggle with a harsh environment, their courage, dependability and manliness—all those things "which make the race so admirable in the white man's eyes" (Nichols 1954:37). As Ann Fienup-Riordan (1990) notes, for southern audiences, *all* north-

ern Inuit were popularly constructed as the mirror image of the ideal white explorer, exhibiting bravery, independence, perseverance. They were idealized as the "ultimate survivors," uncorrupted by civilization—though ironically, not people who should control their own fates. Nichols and other *Beaver* authors relied heavily on the views of earlier white explorers like Peter Freuchen, whose own writings were reprinted in a series "Out of the Stone Age," accompanied by sketches of Eskimo hunters as unkempt, wild primitives, with long hair, tearing on raw meat, using bows and arrows (1951) (see Figure 1). This "cave man" image also subtly reinforced images of primitive sexuality found in other travel writing on the Inuit.[5] Not surprisingly, Freuchen's claim that "the HBC has done more than any other company in the world to make life simpler and easier for people living in the north" (1951:5) also made its way into the magazine.

Anthropologists, as respected scientific commentators on non-Western cultures, were incorporated often as authorities on topics ranging from Inuit and Native art, to history, culture and subsistence practices, with some of this writing reflecting the lasting influence of salvage ethnography (Darnell 1998). This expert surveillance often celebrated certain aspects of Inuit and Native cultures, particularly their environmental and survival skills, but simultaneously echoed the need to document cultures destined to be swept aside by the tides of modernity. Scholars connected to American and Canadian museums were frequent contributors, reflecting Wilson's connection to the museum world. Their mode of writing, like that of many experts, often drew on the rhetorical device of "classification...an ideologically-charged procedure of demarcating non-Western cultures from the benchmarks of more sophisticated European ones" (Spurr 1996:62, 69).

Marius Barbeau, to note only one example, wrote on topics ranging from the fur trade and voyageur songs to settler buildings, Indian tobacco, art, the silver trade and so on. Using a theme like "tobacco" he unravelled a historical and anthropological discussion of its use, significance and meaning over time. His keen eye for the meaning of the material produced short, accessible articles that were undoubtedly meant to endow value to Indigenous history and culture. At the same time, his rendition of the fur trade, to use another example, reinforced a narrative of white civilization coming to the primitive wilderness. Writing of Fort Simpson, he admitted that the fort offered a "new regime [of economic] benefit for the [HB] company" but it also bestowed "peace and order" on the "warlike" Natives, long "demoralized by contact and encounters with predatory seamen, and now addicted to a slave trade of their own" (Barbeau 1940:21) The accompanying sketch showed the "Haida and Tsimsyn" doing battle outside the fort, reinforcing an image of "war like" Indians. Barbeau's complex relations with Native peoples reflected the imprint of Boasian salvage ethnography, a desire to record and value Native cultures, but also the influence of "prevailing social prejudices," sometimes harnessed by the state to its policy goals (Nurse 2001; see also Smith 2001).

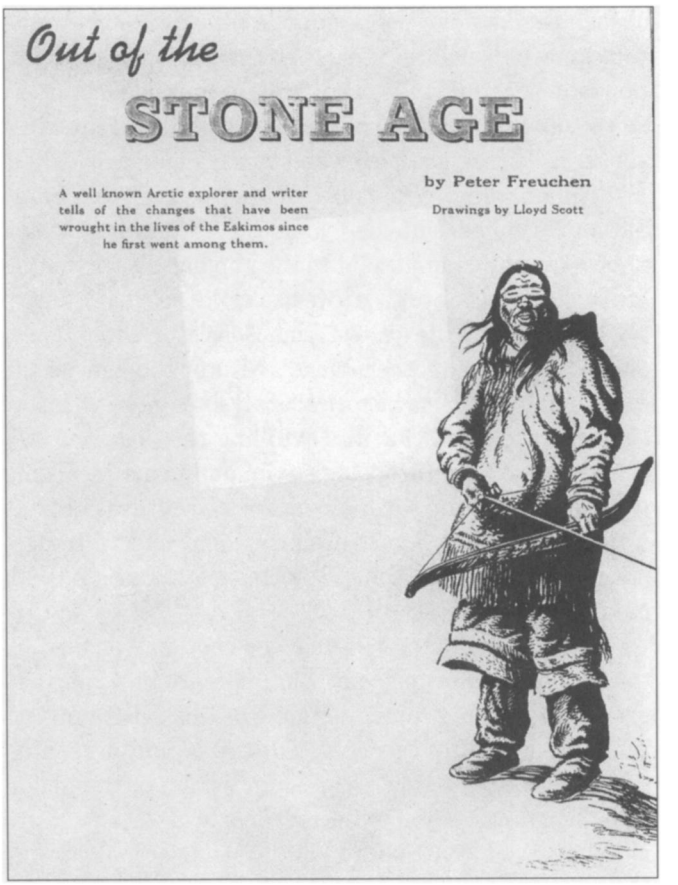
Out of the
STONE AGE
A well known Arctic explorer and writer tells of the changes that have been wrought in the lives of the Eskimos since he first went among them.
by Peter Freuchen
Drawings by Lloyd Scott

Figure 1: *The Beaver*, September 1951.

Harry Hawthorn, a professor of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia and author of two reports for the state on Indians in Canada (Hawthorn 1960; 1966) also contributed to the "Enter the European" debate. Hawthorn, whose wide-ranging assessment of Native peoples in Canada (1966) was an important policy statement of the time, offered his optimistic prognosis for the progressive integration of "Indians" into Canadian society through the provision of social services and education, for Indians, he argued, must now conform to "a highly literate, industrialized modern nation" (1954:7). As "Indians" become "citizens" they might also find "practical expression" for their cultural past in the medium of preservation offered by the museum (Hawthorn 1954:7). The sketches

chosen by the editor to accompany the article were the well-known drawings of early exploration—or colonization—of C.W. Jeffreys (offered by permission of Imperial Oil), many of which underscored the theme of the white settler as leader, instructor and treaty maker.

The editors occasionally secured pieces from international scholars outside Canada like Margaret Mead, known for her commitment to the popular dissemination of research. In one article, Mead's children's book on the "Eskimo" way of life, drawn from Boas' work, was reproduced (1959). In another, Mead's "Enter the European" contribution offered a historical analysis of Western incursion into the South Pacific, extolling the positive, progressive role of anthropologists in an internationalizing world, as promoters of respect for all cultures, and as expert advisors on how to ease fragile, primitive Indigenous cultures into the complex technology associated with modernity (1953).

These contributors' pieces were not only shaped by the dominant anthropological paradigms of the time, they were also moulded to fit the aims of this HBC publication. Their writing was selected, edited and presented according to the public relations program of the magazine, including its aim to entertain as well as inform. In more than one contribution, anthropologist and curator Douglas Leechman described the historic Cree and Chipewyan in negative, essentialized terms and he stressed practices like polygamy, with powerful men fighting each other for "seven or eight wives" (1957:29). Years apart, two Leechman articles described Indians "wrestling for wives" in almost identical words. Was he re-using old writing, or were these "sensational" details of the Native past replayed precisely because they spoke to popular images of the Hollywood Indian?

Since the early 20th century, anthropologists debated and worried about the popularization and commercialization of ethnographic research, concerns perhaps intensified with consolidation of the discipline within universities in the post-World War II period (Griffiths 2002; Grimshaw 2001). These *Beaver* contributors undoubtedly saw their writing as a positive effort to educate a lay audience, and were less mindful of the unanticipated effects of their writing. Their expert commentary must be situated within the reigning theoretical preoccupations of the time (Darnell 2001) and as such, there was an *appearance* of discussion and debate; differences were aired, for instance, about the best way to successfully integrate Inuit and Euro-Canadian cultures. A few articles in the magazine also criticized discrimination against First Nations peoples (Shumiatcher 1959). However, perspectives critical of the HBC, or indeed of colonialism as a system, would not have appeared, and the experts ultimately reflected fairly homogeneous ideological and professional networks and ideas.

Other expert voices in the *Beaver* included professional historians such as A.S. Morton, Donald Creighton, John S. Galbraith, and W.L. Morton who provided accessible, short excerpts from their longer works, such as Creighton's articles on Sir John A. McDonald (1956, 1957), as well as studies of the fur trade. While differences in their interpretations were evident, much of the writing nonetheless betrayed a dominant narrative of the West and North, in which white settlement represented the march of inevitable progress and development, with Native peoples doomed to displacement. W.L. Morton's article on the emergence of Red River, for instance, celebrated its dualistic culture, though this distinct society was described as the unification of white "civilization" and "Indian savagery" (1950:3). Even George Woodcock's sympathetic version of Louis Riel depicted him as a defender of a "dying order" (1960:24).

Scientific and medical experts were also featured, with the latter often lauding the displacement of Indigenous superstitions by the scientific certainties of modern Western medicine. One study, funded by both the federal government and the "generous aid of the HBC" was undertaken by a list of distinguished medical, anthropological and scientific experts whose findings were published in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. Their *Beaver* article, published under the tongue in cheek title, "Voyage of the Medicine Men," highlighted the marked malnutrition in James Bay northern Native bands (which, according to the study, experienced starvation before the arrival of family allowances) and the need for better medical and dental care, refrigeration and TB tests (Tisdall and Robertson 1948). Malnutrition, continued the medical experts, may well have been the cause of characteristics such as "shiftlessness, indolence, improvidence and inertia, so long regarded as inherent or hereditary traits in the Indian race" (1948:42). While professing a liberal questioning of racism, such studies still reinforced the view that the Indian character *could* be generalized about, with categories such as "laziness."

Many whites sojourning in the North also adopted the roles of amateur anthropologists, contributing vignettes that assumed intimate knowledge of Inuit and Native cultures. One suspects that pieces like "Windigo Woman" (Raynor 1957) were chosen *as* illustrations of the exotic, unusual or unexplainable Native, with the exotic providing a reassuring mirror to readers' own conception of their rational normality. These amateur anthropologists crossed the spectrum from the culturally tolerant

to the resolutely ideological. A resident nurse who described her local "Medicine Man," depicted him as a "pseudo-doctor," but still "no quack." Some of his natural remedies worked; others did not, but she conceded that he had long "dreamed of his role," and was dedicated to curing his fellow Ojibway. "Healing is in his soul" she wrote, reinforcing the Native viewpoint that healing had a spiritual dimension (Resident Nurse 1943:25). Yet in the same issue, HBC manager George Anderson's "Pagan Eskimos," portrayed the *angakook*, the spiritual Inuit leaders, as "crude," uninformed, and superstitious, peddling "taboos," even abusing their power. One "lazy" female angakook, he claimed dismissively, conveniently had the spirits tell her that she should not gather fuel for her family (1943:39).

Photographers also became important documentarians of Inuit and Native life. Many were northern sojourners, like missionaries J.H. Webster and Donald Marsh, or HBC employees, encouraged by the HBC to create a photographic record. Following in a long history of explorers and missionaries who returned home with lantern slides to display the Native person to their audiences, some photographers probably "stole" their images, capturing authentic "primitive" tribal rituals for white eyes (Apter 2002). Philip Godsell, a former HBC trader, offered his rendition of practices of the "warlike" Assiniboines; his article was paired with a photograph of the (banned) sun dance, with skewers piercing the chest muscles of the young men (1952:7; see also Godsell 1934). In contrast, Richard Harrington, a professional photographer who became renowned for his wide ranging depictions of the Inuit north, offered both informal shots as well as posed portrait studies, such as "The Cheerful Eskimo," a portrayal of healthy, smiling Inuit from a range of age groups. These portraits, explained Harrington, represented "what was noble about the Eskimo," as they showed the "finest types of Eskimos—cheerful, hardy, resourceful, and brave" (1952:7).[6] However varied these photographs, the notion of an *essentialized* "Eskimo" remained. Moreover, the trope of the "cheerful Eskimo"—happy, childlike, naive, welcoming to whites—was long standing in popular culture, including Hollywood films (Fienup-Riordan 1995). Some photographs were also juxtaposed to startling headlines suggesting the contemporary "Eskimo" was becoming an artefact of history. An article on the vanishing "Eskimo" by Doug Wilkinson, writer and NFB (National Film Board) filmmaker, offered the author's judgment on Inuit life: "The Canadian Eskimo is on his way out and you and I are slated to be the interested spectators at his demise...there will be a new race of northern Canadians some of whom will have Eskimo blood in their veins but who will be...remote from their ancestors" (1959:25).

The HBC saw its photograph collection as a means of carefully managing its history and image making, monitoring not only which photos it collected, but also how these images were presented in the *Beaver* (Geller 1995). While some photographers like Harrington and Lorene Squire produced striking, humanistic images of daily life in the North, the *Beaver*'s cover often featured colourful renditions of the traditionally attired "feathered" Native posed for a tourist gaze (see for example September 1948). Other visual representations provided stark contrasts between the primitive north and the modern south, with white men more closely associated with technology and modernity (see for example December 1948). A particularly popular photograph of one Inuit woman, reproduced in another North American magazine, showed her in traditional winter attire, wearing *komiks* (boots) and a beaded and fur-trimmed coat, with a child by her side (September 1954) (see Photograph 2). However exotic, domestic and good-natured were the portrayals of Inuit mothers, they apparently did not fit with dominant notions of white southern beauty. Featuring a picture of the Calgary HBC store's beauty contestants (all white women, in bathing suits) in its "Here and There" feature, the *Beaver* explained that readers had complained there were "too many Natives and too much ice" (1947b:45) in the publication so they were offering up something more appealing.

Historical Nostalgia and the Colonial Picturesque

The HBC consciously promoted itself as a historic institution, as a key constitutive element of Canada's *nation-building*. In a special 275th anniversary edition in 1945, Douglas Leechman, asserted the value of timeless HBC traditions, declaring that "things have not changed much" since the company discovered "the savages at the bottom of the Bay" almost 300 years ago (1945:14). Articles on the fur trade celebrated early contacts between Native and white, perpetuating nostalgic and romanticized images of the fearless *courier de bois*, the brave trader and the intrepid female traveller. A tour by Clifford Wilson through HBC buildings in Winnipeg offered him the opportunity to ruminate on the company's museum holdings. Gazing over the library, he pictured the fine old Scots traders, erudite in the wilderness, reading the "leather bound" classics like Dante's *Inferno* in the cold of the winter as they warmed their feet by the fire (Tobin 1944:30). Historic rituals and symbols of the HBC, from the London *Beaver* Club to the company flag, were featured; readers were reminded that the HBC had once ruled its own

Photo 2: Inuit woman and boy, Cape Dorset, 1953. Photographer: D. Blair.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-E-250/5 (N81-82)

Photo 3: *The Beaver*, March 1948 (inside front cover).
HBC, AM (N1596)

empire, presided over by its own *governor*, whose tenure and replacement were surrounded with pomp and ceremony. Even advertisements juxtaposed products like the HBC blanket to Native art, fetishizing commodities as historical artefacts.

The magazine also linked the HBC to the crown itself—and what other department store could connect its origins to Charles II? During the war, monarchist connections were made frequently: "little did Charles II dream," one author wrote, "that some day his Company of Adventurers would play a part in fighting for England" (Tobin 1944:34). A "Here and There" photograph spread showed the HBC governor, Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, leaving Buckingham Palace after he was knighted, accompanied by his son and daughter, both in the military. His wife, of course, wore HBC fur (*The Beaver* 1944:48). Linking fur to members of the royal family was also a promotional strategy that played on cultural associations of fur with wealth, status and grandeur (Nadeau 2001). Princess Alice was shown inspecting blue fox furs at HBC House in London (Sorenson 1945:5), while Princess Elizabeth was photographed as she left for her honeymoon in 1947, wearing her wedding present from the HBC—a beaver coat. Accompanying the picture was a copy of her thank you note to the company (March 1948) (see Photograph 3).

One of the most enduring staples of historical nostalgia in the *Beaver* was the travelogue, detailing the voyages of HBC employees, missionaries and elite travellers. Although tales of rugged masculine bravery in the wilderness were plentiful, the magazine also offered stories and first-hand accounts of women's voyages that were noticeably attentive to gender, family and relationships with the Indigenous peoples upon whom whites depended for survival. Yet even women like HBC wife Elizabeth Watt, who praised her Native guides, employed a language of discovery, suggesting the land was unused, unclaimed until whites appeared, making travel narratives simultaneously ones of white conquest and domination. As Pratt argues, some European travel narratives were ones of "anti-conquest," emphasizing white innocence in the wilderness while nonetheless establishing their hegemony through the very "possession of seeing" (1992:7, chapter 3).

Beaver contributors often wrote of the northern journeys of educated women travellers like Elizabeth Taylor,

the daughter of a late nineteenth-century American consul to Canada. In an article written by one of Taylor's male descendants, she is portrayed as a "frail...mite of a woman...braving the rigours of the wilderness" (Dunn 1949:20), though, in contrast, female historian Grace Lee Nute's serialized piece on Taylor stresses her extensive observation of both nature and Native life (1948a, 1948b). Elizabeth Taylor's sympathy for Indigenous peoples cast on hard times is relayed, but so too is her sense of superior cultural voyeurism, as she consciously sought out the most "primitive Eskimos" "unchanged by whites," those whom she assumed would be "larger, more warlike and more treacherous and suspicious" than others (1948b:44).

Another series drew on Frances Simpson's accounts of her famous voyage west to meet her HBC governor husband (1953a, 1953b, 1954). Frances is portrayed as a "refined" yet "modern" wife, alive to the "beauties and grandeur of the untouched continent" around her, and less acerbic than her imperious husband (1954:12). Undoubtedly, women authors identified with white women travellers, as pioneering role models and proof of women's ability and courage to create a northern Canadian nation. But the resulting erasure of Native women—Simpson had previously married one—constructed a white frontier even if it added women to the story. There *were* some important exceptions: at least one piece (Campbell 1954), presaging later feminist history, argued for the important role Native "women in between" (Van Kirk 1980:75) had played in fur trade history.

Visual display was a key strategy used to convey the nostalgic picturesque to readers. In its earliest incarnation, the picturesque denoted "contrast and sudden variation," the evoking of feelings associated with "memory, death, the passing of time and distance—[with the] subjects [often] the remote and marginal" (Rony 1996:79-80). While the picturesque also became a synonym for scenic, idyllic, even romantic scenes, the picturesque was easily fashioned into a colonialist genre of visual display that elicited sentiments of nostalgia for the imperialist past, the exotic and culturally marginal. As Rony argues, the picturesque was thus also "a shielding gesture, with relations of dominance preserved by playing up images of the "dying races" or playing down disturbing reminders of colonial power" (1996:80).

In the *Beaver*, artistic renderings of landscape, HBC forts and portrayals of action and adventure conveyed nostalgia for a grand empire of the past. Dog sleds careered through the snow and voyageurs plunged through massive rapids, suggesting a past of daring and heroism. Sketches of old HBC forts and encampments, sometimes long abandoned, rose out of the wilderness like ruined castles on a British landscape, marking past glory as well as the coming of white civilization. Accompanying texts reinforced the nostalgic picturesque. In Elizabeth Watt's description of her visit to the abandoned "ghost" Fort Nascopie, she recalls the "heyday of its existence—canoes arriving at the now deserted shores, and picturesque old-fashioned Indians, dressed in their painted deerskin coats...while other Indians, equally picturesque, would sit on the bank watching them, smoking their stone pipes....A pageant of old-time post life passed in front of me—Now all was gone" (Watt 1943:50). In keeping with imperialist nostalgia, these renditions of times past "mourned what was lost," while maintaining an image of white innocence on the frontier (Rosaldo 1989:69).

While the visual archive of the magazine was immense and varied, its reproduction of nineteenth century pictures by artists like Paul Kane and Peter Rindisbacher also reinforced colonialist themes. Kane was promoted by the HBC as a documentary artist, offering ethnographic veracity, yet as recent critics contend, his paintings were constructed images of feathered Indians created for white Victorian eyes (Eaton and Urbanek 1995). Whether the artistic trope utilized was the "noble savage," the "barbarous savage" or the "vanishing race," much of this 19th-century Canadian art naturalized a colonial hierarchy of white British superiority and Native inferiority (Poulter 1994; Parry III 2001; Berkhofer 1978). Dramatic sketches and paintings of Native battle-making, pagan rituals (such as scalping), the herding of (extinct) buffalo, or the Native "primitive" in traditional *undress* (pictures of naked whites were certainly not shown) were featured in the magazine, and when Indigenous and white met, the latter were often shown offering leadership as well as the hand of friendship.

Colonial themes were not completely dominant. As early as 1942, an article valorizing West Coast Native art from the British Columbia Society for the Furtherance of British Columbia Indian Arts and Crafts appeared (Ravenhill 1942), and by the late 1950s, Indigenous art is featured and praised more prominently, as the handicraft movement attempted to sustain and *restore* Native arts from totem pole making to Inuit sculpture—though some authors suggest this movement was promoted by whites as a charitable process of "protection" and recovery (Francis 1992:36). Nonetheless, these pieces offered an alternative to the theme of the colonial picturesque, valorizing Native art that was not always designated as "handicraft."

The picturesque was sometime accompanied by the picaresque in the form of accounts of droll, mysterious or wild colonial figures—though not all were Indigenous.

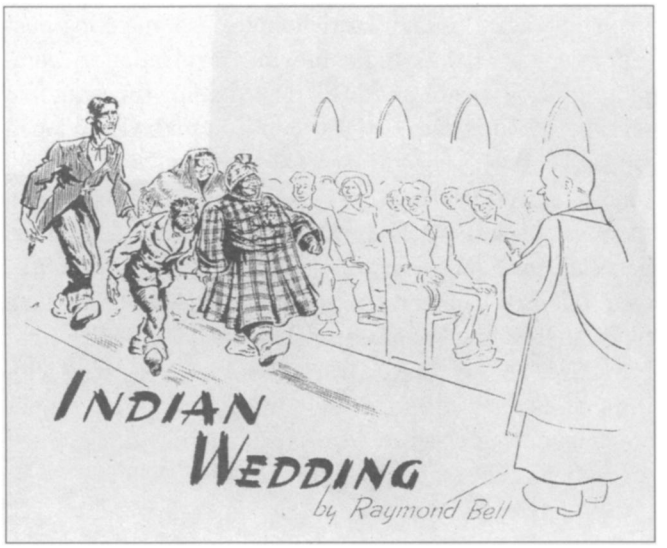

Figure 2: HBC, *The Beaver*, June 1942.

Inuit customs were portrayed as quaint, endearing or amusing, but also as potential anachronisms in the new North. White sojourner Marion Nichols relayed various amusing "little excitements" at the HBC Cape Smith post, including the time when "the little Native Muk Kenuik" went crazy, "becoming full of devils as the natives put it." Her own "maid," Betsy, is portrayed as an amusing hybrid of Annie Oakley and Calico Jane, with "billowy layers of red and pink calico over her skin boots...bright hair clips...and [a] hefty rifle in hand." She is very competent at hacking up a seal, Nichols tells us, but not very good at cleaning the kitchen properly—the latter denoting a modern housewife's job (1942:40-41). White authors sometimes admitted that the Inuit found whites amusing, inept and useless, but these observations may have represented the appearance of openness and reciprocity rather than its actual practice (Pratt 1992).

A revealing example of the droll Native contrasted to the normalized white is found in a "humorous" wedding story. In contrast to the respectable white wedding exhibited in photographs, this wedding story described a hybrid Indian wedding, combining white and Native cultures, but ultimately lacking in basic social graces. The bride, wrote the author, stalked "up the aisle with the implacable purpose of a heavy tank, and dragging the little bridegroom by the hand." A shrivelled little man, the groom was wearing clothes "liberally decorated with goose feathers adher[ed] to with grease." The most derisive image is that of the overbearing bride, who appeared in moccasins, purple dress like a flour sack, pink ribbon, white rosettes, creating "an intense optical shock." She produced a ring from her former husband (clearly not mannerly wedding practice), which was placed on her finger by the "grimy paw" of her new spouse (Bell 1942: 28-29). The accompanying cartoon played on a well-worn trope: the domineering, large bride dragging a scrawny, cowed man to the alter but the bride was also a racialized version of Aunt Jemima (see Figure 2). On the following page, another photograph of an Indian wedding is far less derisive, though the worn clothing and demeanour of the participants still stands in contrast to the pristine white weddings of "arctic brides" featured in the *Beaver*.

Development Narratives

The *Beaver*'s visions of the future for northern Indigenous peoples were coloured by cautious optimism and a deep belief in the progress associated with Euro-Canadian modernity. Most writers were in agreement that cultural collision and painful adaptation were inevitable, especially in the eastern Arctic, though they differed on how the authorities should manage less technologically advanced cultures like the Inuit. Narratives of development in the *Beaver* stressed the importance of education, new forms of labour, a stable family unit, the centralization of communities and the value of racial co-operation. These themes reflected the dominant ideals of post-World War II liberal modernization theory with its emphasis on the shift from "the tribe" to the city and the production of an "educated, rational, modern man" (Scott 1996: 28). As feminist critics point out, these discourses also rested on "gendered foundations," reproducing "dichotomies of 19th century thinking" which juxtaposed the traditional (nature, superstition and physicality) with the modern (man, science, abstract knowledge and civilization) (Scott 1996:24, 27; see also Marchand and Parpart 1995). Even though "traditional" societies were described positively, as "holistic, seamless webs of family, spirituality and community," they were still characterized as static, subsistence poor, in need of change (Isbister 2001:33-34).

After the Second World War, the importance of new capitalist ventures was promoted in the *Beaver* by Gordon Robertson, Commissioner of the NWT (Northwest Territories). The real wealth of the North, he argued, lay under the ground, and the sooner it was exploited, the better. Since the fur trade "can only go in one direction—down" he urged Indigenous men to use education as a tool to prepare them for the "new" North of mining ventures (1958:5). Even those promoting the North as wilderness saw possibilities in the tourist trade; articles promoted holiday by canoe, the perfect wilderness quest for urban dwellers from the south (Gordon 1953).

This northern frontier needed to be tamed as it modernized. The RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police)

were to offer paternal justice, offering up law and order, "educating the Native mind" to the mundane basics of Canadian income tax, estate law and relief—a task requiring "an infinite amount of patience" as one RCMP author sighed (Nevin 1945:7). The Inuit's lack of investment in individual wage labour and wealth accumulation also needed altering, and the RCMP could help by encouraging more "thriftiness" as the Native people's tendency to be "habitually lazy and improvident" meant they were all too content to have the state support them (Nevin 1945:9). Policing social provision also meant regulating family allowances, making sure that Inuit parents did not squander their allowances on needless luxuries at the HBC store rather than the modern pabulum they needed (see Photograph 4). While the RCMP were pictured as paternal, benevolent and fair in these accounts, the Inuit were naive, childlike, in need of instruction.

The importance of the debate on economic modernization was indicated by articles penned by prominent politicians like federal cabinet minister Jean Lesage. Offering what might be an incipient version of "citizens plus" he suggested the Inuit should be absorbed into the Canadian polity with equal "rights, privileges, opportunities and responsibilities" but also allowed to maintain their "cultural identity" (1955:4). His prognosis echoed prevailing liberal modernization theory: Indigenous peoples should be helped to adapt to the inevitable triumph of the market, given opportunities for new employment (such as in northern airfields) and educated to take over their own administration in a rational, efficient manner. There were potential pitfalls: citing Margaret Mead as his source, Lesage worried that Natives might potentially lose all sense of initiative and self reliance in this economic transition up "the ladder to civilization" (1955:5) This development narrative was also gendered, in the sense that Lesage talked of making "hunters" into "labourers" on "airfields and radar stations," probably an assumption that men, not women, would be working for wages.

By the late 1950s more state employees were drawn into the debate on economic development; federal welfare teachers Marjorie Hinds and Joan Ryan emphasized the value of retaining some Inuit and Dene traditions in this process (Hinds 1959; Ryan 1959), but other academics and state consultants saw Indigenous peoples as government wards in the true sense of the word. For example, Arctic geographers puzzled over how a "redundant" people would be recast into a more "modern" society (Michie and Neil 1955:33-34), while Diamond Jenness suggested the Inuit needed Ottawa's moral guidance and "wise" federal policies (1954:30). This paternalism, argues Hugh Brody, lasted well into the 1970s, as whites in the

Photo 4: A trapper with his supplies inside an HBC post store. HBC, AM, 1987/363-T-200/7 (N15958)

North circulated countless stories of the Inuit as "temperamental children of nature" suffering disorganization as their "intact, traditional cultures" faced the trauma of modernity (1975:77-78).

The magazine's attempt to strike a provocative image of primitive cultures embracing modern ways was symbolized in descriptions of changing dress, beauty and consumption. "Beauty's only skin deep," announced the *Beaver*, when it ran an article on tattooing that argued Inuit women were leaving this "primitive" practice behind, now imitating their "white sister[s], not only in the things [they] do, but also in the things [they] do not" (Leechman 1951:40). One "Here and There" photograph of a bevy of British models touring Canada showed them posing in the latest fashions at a HBC store as they ogled and fingered "a bit of Eskimo haute couture," a manikin in the HBC museum with braided hair and beads, moccasins and parka (*The Beaver* 1947a:35). Inuit women were quite literally "museum pieces" in comparison to the modern white women. Although scholars contend that Indigenous peoples utilized performance and dress as a means of cultural preservation (Raibmon 2000), or later, might "talk back" to the ethnographic photographer (Macdougall 1994), the still photographs collected and utilized by the

Beaver had less potential for such agency and negotiation, though we should not discount the fact that Indigenous peoples might use this ethnographic material for their own ends and benefit. "Indian and Eskimo" stereotypes were also highly marketable; the magazine's own use of advertising images like that of the feathered Native man smoking his traditional pipe, suggested that, for many readers, "the best Indian was the historical Indian" (Francis 1992:176).

Differences between the primitive and modern woman were symbolized in the *Beaver*'s images of fur. Fur was esteemed for its use and exchange value by Native and Inuit women, but portrayed as a fetishized item of consumption for white women. Dichotomous presentations of fur as work and fur as consumption revealed a stark racial contrast: in advertisements, bourgeois white women were swathed in glamorous jewels and furs, suggesting decadence, wealth, and sensuality (see also Nadeau 2001), yet Inuit women were portrayed chewing skins, cutting, scraping furs across branch frames, or sewing fur by hand (see Figure 3 and Photograph 5). Indigenous women's work preparing fur was celebrated as an example of their traditional skills but this addressed neither the declining, uncertain economy of fur of the time, nor the importance of Indigenous women's unpaid labour to the production of value for the HBC and other fur enterprises.

Writers on development in the 1950s and 1960s often understood Indigenous societies as patriarchal ones, in which women faced a devalued self and familial oppression, themes harkening back to 19th-century writing in which Native women were "exotic specimens, oppressed victims, sex objects or the most ignorant members of 'backward' societies" (de Groot 1991:115). While Marxist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock argued that earlier Native societies were historically egalitarian, these views did not necessarily dominate in more popular writing (Leacock 1981). Development narratives thus claimed that the companionate, monogamous marriage embraced by Euro-Canadian society was yet another benefit that modernization would bring to the Inuit. The male Inuit hunter was assumed to embody prestige and power, with women's "domestic" and family roles hidden, private and less valued, assessments which reflected Euro-Canadian assumptions concerning familial labour. Ironically, this view of

Figure 3: *The Beaver*, Summer 1955.

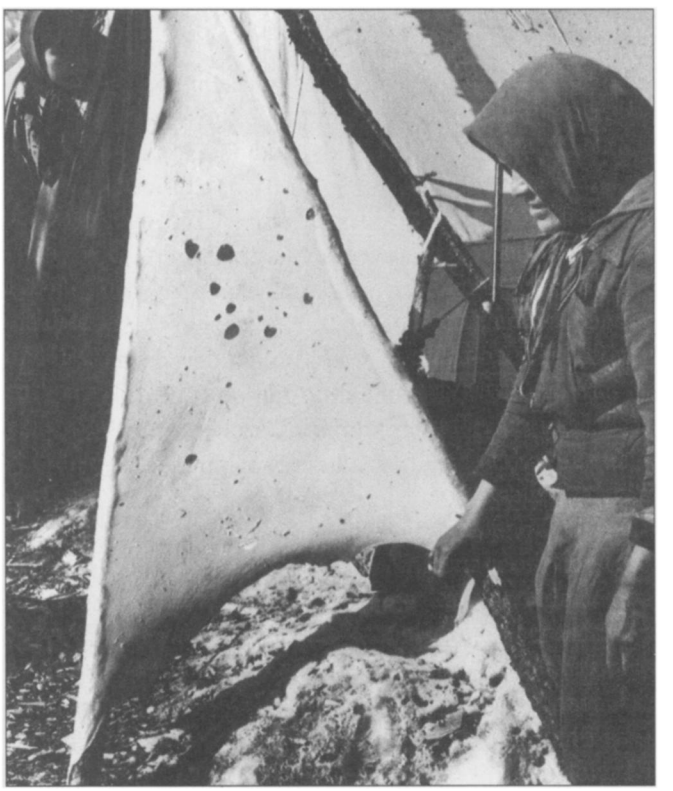

Photo 5: "Hanging [caribou] skin outside. It freezes instantly." Photographer: Richard Harrington.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-C-14/A/43 (N15957)

Inuit "patriarchy" contradicted 19th-century efforts on the part of the state to re-make southern Native families into Anglo, middle class and patriarchal forms (Stevenson 1999).[7] By the 1940s, however, a shift in Canadian culture had occurred, with the ideal marriage increasingly portrayed as egalitarian and companionate: pure patriarchy was increasingly out of style—or at least masked and hidden from view.

Women's domestic and wage labour also provided the means of contrasting the primitive with the arrival of the modern. White women were often pictured in their well furnished HBC post houses indistinguishable from southern manses while Inuit women were featured in snow houses, using time consuming utensils (see Photograph 6). The fact that the domestic comfort of white sojourners was premised on Indigenous labour was occasionally recognized, but never emphasized, again masking a colonial division of labour within the North. Modernization was presumed to be a boon to the new, modern Inuit woman—referred to in the *Beaver* as a woman "living with a foot in two worlds" (Baird 1959:50). The new woman could take advantage of wage labour, though within a gendered and racialized division of labour in which she was a hairdresser, cashier or perhaps teacher. She was also located firmly in the domestic sphere being positively transformed by technology. An extended essay written in 1959 by an Irene Baird of the Arctic Institute offered an optimistic analysis of cultural adaptation in the Inuit family. Because the Inuit family was being transformed by the forces of modernization, she suggested, the Inuit had to be helped, especially by the state, to adapt to these positive changes. New schools, consumer items, better food and housing were replacing the precarious living conditions of the past so that families were "no longer at the mercy of harsh weather, sickness, and [hunger]" (Baird 1959:51). Old ways were "evil" and dismal; new ways promised more freedom and security. Modern ways freed women from incessant toil, offering them "the electric oven," freedom from the hunting camp, and the prospect of something "*new*—leisure time." White women were situated on an evolutionary–historical trajectory of progress ahead of Inuit women who were only now "doing their pioneering." Despite the massive differences in culture, however, some gendered traits seem to be transcultural, for the Inuit men are the "leaders...and wage-earners" and women have the "quieter, more passive roles" (Baird 1959:49-52).

The *Beaver* did suggest that progress might bring with it potential problems, such as the possibility of delinquency, since teenage-hood was so "relatively new" (Baird 1959:52) to (apparently fragile) Inuit families. But authors like Baird had immense faith in Inuit cultural adaptability—this in contrast to other contemporary authors' commentaries on southern Native peoples, which were tinged with pessimism, even contempt. The photographs of the new Inuit career woman are especially arresting: she is pictured in front of her new electric stove, with a small nuclear family, though also caring for other women's children, babysitting as paid work. She is shown in both Western dress, as well as in a traditional parka. She has embraced modern religion and is having her child properly baptized by a minister, and she shops at an HBC store, where the uniformed clerk is also an Inuk woman (see Photograph 7). From Christianity to consumption,

Photo 6: "Eskimo woman cleaning ice-window of igloo." Photographer: D.B. Marsh.
HBC, AM, 1987/363-E-324/66 (N15959)

Photo 7: Hudson's Bay Company store at Churchill, 1958. Photographer: Charles Gimpel.
HBC, AM 1987/363-G-100/11 (N15960)

the ideal "new" Inuk woman was being re-made in the image of Euro-Canadian women.

Finally, calls for racial collaboration were woven into development narratives. One *Beaver* article pronounced that Canada's north might prove to be "one of the first spots on the face of this earth where the colour line is really dropped...[this is] the most exciting single feature of our rapidly accelerating northern development" (Robertson 1958:5). White, mixed blood and Inuit live in the same houses, their children attend the same schools, the author continued, and as a result, every facet of economic production and administration will be decided on the basis of individual merit rather than race. In keeping with modernization theory of the time, this outlook stressed individual achievement and the fair distribution of rewards: these were the positive contributions of Western cultures to developing areas, or as this author put it, the consequence of "white civilization" moving north. Race was ultimately an ambiguous and contested category in the popular imaginary presented in the *Beaver*. Some images of "Red and White" families in the *Beaver* (see March 1946) suggested cultural opposites, yet other photographs of white and Inuit children happily playing together, reprinted more than once (*The Beaver* December 1946), appeared to be deliberate attempts to symbolize the racial collaboration needed to effect northern development.

Conclusion

The *Beaver* attempted to create a popular history of northern nation-building by integrating Native and Inuit into its celebratory narrative, yet it did so by simultaneously glossing over structural and systemic inequalities, and ultimately by providing a modernized veneer on older colonial identities. The ideological assumptions of the magazine, however, were not without contradictions, and importantly, they were not necessarily shared by those it represented. Although one posed photograph showed two Inuit men smiling broadly as they looked at the *Beaver*—with the implicit message that it "spoke" to them—there is little evidence that First Nations peoples themselves contributed to, or read the magazine. A small piece on Inuit hunting, published in 1954, was heralded as "the first article by an Eskimo" in the *Beaver* (Anaveluk 1954:42). No others followed, and there is ample evidence from oral history and tradition that the image of the "cheerful," even childlike "Eskimo" was hardly shared by the Inuit themselves—indeed, they sometimes saw whites as "childlike" (Grant 2002:232).

As the North became a new frontier for capital and assumed more political and military significance for the Canadian state, it also became the focus of renewed popular fascination and social debate. The Indigenous north featured in the *Beaver* provided a cultural backdrop for important political decisions, justifying, legitimating, explaining interventions and changes in the lives of Native and Inuit peoples. These colonial discourses, then, operated as a "set of effects" (Eagleton 1991:194) that were ideological in nature. Representations of indigeneity in the *Beaver* were shaped by political and economic forces, by the dominant cultural ideology of Euro-Canadian society as much as they also constituted these norms. The HBC was perhaps the most obvious ideological influence on the *Beaver*, as the magazine consciously created a vision of the company's noble history, its concern for its Indigenous workers, and its prognosis for northern development. But the HBC was also part of a larger political economy, history and culture of colonialism engendering orientalist or "ethnographic" ways of seeing that, as Said (1989) argued, with a touch of pessimism, could be culturally hegemonic. Subtly sympathetic to the HBC's economic role in the North, the *Beaver* portrayed a racialized northern frontier in which traders, the RCMP and the missionaries, were the enlightened leaders of northern development and First Nations peoples exemplars of cultural stasis, tradition and continuity.

The magazine, however, presented itself as an objective and scientific window on the North, a claim promoted through the use of expert testimony and surveillance, presentation of the colonial picturesque, and the embrace of a gendered, liberal modernization narrative. The appeal of the *Beaver*, consumed as both education and entertainment, may have emanated from its presentation of a multitude of topics—from ice to Inuit myth—and its fusion of various techniques of presentation: eye witnesses accounts, academic experts, historical nostalgia, landscape and nature shots, ethnographic photography, to name only a few. This pastiche, however, did not produce an apolitical pluralism, lacking any ideological suppositions. Expert surveillance in the *Beaver* ultimately provided scholarly credence to the magazine's dominant theme of white settler progress in Canada's evolution, and the picturesque, nostalgic rendering of the HBC's empire offered Euro-Canadian readers a reassuring view of a colonial past. While laying claim to cultural relativism, text and image presented a dichotomized narrative of primitive and modern, with the former inevitably to be confronted and altered by the technical, rational and scientific superiority of the latter. Celebrating Inuit sculpture, the "colourful Indian" (Winter 1954 and September 1958 covers) or the northern Native's wilderness prowess still confined First Nations peoples to the realm of nature, to a static,

sometimes romanticized historical and cultural identity. As James Clifford notes of the long-lasting influence of the salvage paradigm in the twentieth century, there is a desire to "rescue authenticity out of destructive historical change," with authenticity poised on the brink of the present, still salvageable before the inevitable onslaught of Western culture (1987:121-2).

The precise impact of *Beaver* images, of course, is ultimately open to some question. One cannot presume an instrumentalist reading of simple correspondence between state and HBC interests and the popular image making of Indigenous peoples, fashioned especially by academic experts. The state and civil society were connected spheres, a messy "knot of tangled power" (Crehan 2002) in which both coercion and ideological consent intermingled, altering their connection over time. Nor can one reject the possibility that the attempts of many experts writing for the *Beaver* to record and valorize Indigenous cultures did stimulate new awareness and raise questions, for both readers and those represented, that would later engender opposing, more decidedly anti-colonialist views of Canadian history.

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Notes

1 My examples draw on images of northern Native peoples and especially the Inuit who were of special interest to the *Beaver* at this time, though I occasionally use examples of other First Nations discussed in the magazine as well. I use the term "Indigenous" when referring to both northern Native and Inuit. The *Beaver* was examined from 1939 to 1960, though this essay concentrates on the post-1945 period.

2 See also David 1995; Grewal 1996; Mills 1991; Callaway 1987; Burton 1994b; Burton (ed.) 1999; Midgley 1998; McClintock 1995; Donaldson 1992.

3 See also Haggis 1990; Woolcott 1997.

4 Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Wilson Fonds, E95/3 and Bolus Fonds, biographical sketch; Canadian Who's Who, 1936-37, vol. 2 (Toronto, 1937). Douglas MacKay attended Woodstock College, University of Toronto and Columbia University, and worked as a journalist for Canada Steamship Lines and the Seigniory Club in Montreal. Wilson came from an English Westmount family, attended Upper Canada College and McGill University. Both had written popular versions of HBC History. Bolus was educated in England. After emigration to Canada in 1926 she worked for Agnes Macphail and later for the *Canadian Geographical Journal*. She wrote on landscapes and landmarks, Inuit art and edited fur trade history.

5 The image of the "Eskimo" caveman, club in hand, claiming his woman by force, as Brody implies, is in some respects a projection of white sexual desires–anxieties: "the caveman is our primitive ancestor...the original version of ourselves. What they feel is deep down at our core. The stereotype is whites' version of the essence of ourselves" (2000:263). De Groot too comments on the Western fascination with the primitive, the exotic woman or the male hunter, both shaped by nature, arguing that these images represented the "other" to the white self. The image was both attractive and repellent, representing the need of whites to control and "discipline *themselves* in order to maintain their claim to superiority" (de Groot 1991:118; see also Stoler 1989).

6 The magazine also used the work of professional American nature photographer, Lorene Squire, who contributed many powerful pictures of Inuit life. Although she died in 1942, The *Beaver* managed to acquire many of her photographs which it continued to use in the postwar period.

7 It is likely that the Inuit (as opposed to Native) hunting family may long have been viewed, perhaps with some longing, by white observers, as ordered and patriarchal; Shari Huhndorf (2001) argues that this was precisely the appeal to white men of "going Native" in the North in the interwar years.

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