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UMI
Seeing is Believing? Historical Connections Between the Pictured Landscape and Tourism in the High Eastern Arctic

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Science

TRENT UNIVERSITY
Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

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Canadian Heritage and Development Studies M.A. Program
June 1999
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0-612-40479-X
Acknowledgements

In such a large endeavour as a thesis one invariably comes into contact with many people and must rely on even more for support. If I were to list every person that helped me get to this point in my life the list would be almost as long as the thesis itself. I have been very fortunate to have wonderful friends, teachers, professors, and family who have stood by me through it all. They have received the exasperated phone calls, the frantic emails, the letters expressing my temporary lapses of initiative with grace and care. For that I thank them from the bottom of my heart.

In particular, I would like to acknowledge my parents Karen and Alexander Manweiler whose unfailing support has meant much more to me than I think they know. They have always said - know what you want, believe in yourself, work hard, and go get it. How they live their lives is the greatest inspiration. To my brother Gerald Manweiler and his wife Sheila - thanks for always being willing to lend a listening ear and periodic camping trips to relieve some stress.

As for my friends, all I can say is thank you for listening, commiserating, bringing me sugar when needed, cheering me up, and generally just being there. In particular I would like to acknowledge Michelle Sasvan and Victoria Lee who were there when this whole adventure began, Jan Warfield who began the adventure with me and stood by me the whole way, Paul Ellerman who made the adventure more enjoyable with his inner peace and happiness, Susan Knabe who showed me the many possibilities in an adventure, and Jamie and Denise Maddison who always listened and let me just be who I am throughout the whole adventure.

I wish to thank my committee members, Professors Shelagh Grant, Bruce Hodgins, and John Wadland for supporting my ideas and pushing me forward. They never questioned the relevance of my research and even proved to me at times when I was discouraged that I had something to offer. Their insight, helpfulness, and of course editing made the whole process possible. I must also acknowledge all the support given by Professor Doug McCalla who provided a strong listening ear and insightful advice whenever requested.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and thank the residents of Iqaluit and Pond Inlet, Northwest Territories who opened their towns and lives to me and let me share, if only for a brief moment, their land. Without the Nunavut Research Institute, Adventure Canada, Tonoonik Sahoonik Outfitters and Dave Reid, Matthias, Charlie, Jule, and Lamech the trip would not have been possible. In particular, I would like to note the assistance provided by Matthew Swan of Adventure Canada who made the trip possible. The memory of hearing a Narwahl on the floe edge and the wonderful beauty of the land will never be forgotten.
Through my experience at Trent and the completion of my research I have learned that whatever you expect will not always be what you get, adversity makes you stronger, peanut butter toast is a food group, and “perhaps the most fascinating terrae incognitae of all are those which lie within the hearts and minds of men” [and women] - John Kirkland Wright.

Thankyou.
Abstract

Seeing is Believing? Historical Connections Between the Pictured Landscape and Tourism in the High Eastern Arctic

Jeralyne Karen Manweiler

Images, whether landscape paintings or photographs, affect southern Canadians’ cultural and political perceptions about the high eastern Arctic. Landscape imagery of the region has influenced the popular media’s imagination so much that a critical eye is rarely applied to historical and contemporary images. Perceptions of the Arctic landscape are derived from many influences. Landscape theory, theories of nationalism, as well as ideas about nature and wilderness reflect how the landscape can be interpreted. Direct links can be demonstrated between historic landscape paintings, the revolutionizing effect of photography, the impact of members of the Group of Seven on images of Canadian nationalism, and contemporary tourism advertising. Images of the high eastern Arctic landscape combine to form a collective memory involving a cultural and ideological hybridization of ideas that privileges a romantic perception. The purpose of this thesis is to acknowledge the romantic perception as constructed and reinforced and not privilege it to the exclusion of others.
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Introduction

The Arctic is a vast region of Canada which for many people is associated with paradoxical perceptions and images. The Arctic holds a unique place in southern Canadian nationalism. It is included in the framework of the country’s identity, yet most Canadians have little or no experience of the region. Apparently, this fact matters little when discussing the idea of land in nationalist sentiment. For some the Arctic is characterized by blowing snow, polar bears, Inuit, dramatic stories of explorers caught in ice floes, men committing cannibalism out of desperation, or images of the whaling industry. Others understand the Arctic as a place to cross over or from which to extract non-renewable resources. Some people consider the Arctic a beautiful, “pristine” place with unique wildlife, complex cultures, and wonderful landscapes.

How is it possible that so many diverse ideas or perceptions of the Arctic exist? Perhaps the question should be: are these perceptions inherently different or is it possible that they can co-exist in the minds of southern Canadians? Is one perception more dominant than another? Even more importantly, how did these perceptions develop?

Perceptions of the Arctic, and particularly the landscape of the Arctic, derive from many sources and influences. These influences, both historical and contemporary, combine to strengthen the importance of the land in the Canadian ethos and emphasize how this ethos is utilized to sell the Arctic to potential visitors. The Arctic figures prominently in nationalist sentiment. Because it remains unfamiliar most Canadians would attest that it imparts a unique quality to
the nation's character. Some dominant perceptions of the Arctic have become so pervasive in Canadian history and culture they are seldom questioned.

The approach taken in this research is that for most Canadians, perceptions of the Arctic are formed by popular discourse, whether textual or visual, because a landscape and its history must be placed within the parameters of natural and cultural history if it is to be fully understood (Baker 2). In Ian Angus's more theoretical assessment, forms of expression such as visual imagery, in which a society "externalizes itself," are of particular interest (21). Popular discourse works within the confines of previously established conventions which are familiar to the public. As the literary critic and writer John Moss states, "for those who have never been to the Arctic this is the only northern reality they know. this world gleaned in fragments from narrative accounts of explorers and adventurers, scientists, and artists..." (Moss 28). The imagery of the Arctic provided through the popular media involve perceptions, institutions, and thought (Angus 51). Most people will never have the chance to go to the Arctic to form different perceptions, and if they do go, the presence of mediated knowledge guiding them to the familiar remains.

It was the unique qualities of the Arctic that attracted me to this research. My interest was sparked by classes on the Canadian North, Canadian intellectual traditions, and Arctic exploration literature. These classes demonstrated that the Arctic represents not only a unique quality in the nation's character, but also how cultural, political, and economic influences from other places in the world affected the history of the region. I was also intrigued why I associated certain stereotypes with the region. In the search to study something truly Canadian I
found the Arctic – only to discover that there was much more to understand than simply Canadian history.

To study the Arctic is to invite a great interdisciplinary journey. Some of the areas of research for the Arctic are exploration literature, indigenous cultures and life, natural science, history, or politics. In each of these areas of study images play a role.

Reading and analyzing exploration literature is a journey in itself. In an expedition journal one discovers the world of the explorer, the region in which the explorer was travelling, the cultural and political perceptions of the time which influenced how he experienced a new land, the people he came in contact with, issues of imperialism and nationalism, and how what he experienced and wrote eventually came to affect the historical memory of a country.

Exploration journals often include illustrations, sketches, and paintings as a complement to the text. The illustrations provide insight into how explorers viewed and interpreted the landscape. In addition, illustrations reveal the popular conventions of the time. These images are then viewed by others and they influence perceptions about the Arctic.

However, the picturing of the Arctic, particularly the high eastern Arctic does not end with exploration journals. There is a long history of Arctic imagery. This history not only reflects how the Arctic is perceived in images, but also reflects how one relates to national cultural and political issues. In an increasingly visual and technical world, how a region is presented in both historical and contemporary imagery affects how it is perceived on every other level.
Often, images are studied as disconnected or discrete documents. They are analyzed for the content inside their borders and often not for the cultural context beyond. Images of the Arctic need to be placed within many frames of reference. Two of the most important frames of reference applicable to the study of Arctic landscape imagery in Canada are theories of nationalism and landscape. How the landscape is perceived and how it influences Canadian nationalism is apparent when one places Arctic landscape imagery within the context of western civilization’s appreciation of nature. Inherent in the appreciation of nature is also the flexible definition of wilderness. These frames of reference are reproduced through images of the region.

Canada is a young nation. As a result of this a great deal of its history has been recorded visually in photographs. The photograph also changed the world of visual imagery. Creating images was no longer exclusively the prerogative of artists using canvas and paint. After the invention of celluloid film and the Kodak camera, with the right equipment anyone could take a photograph. The photograph introduced to the world a popular medium. Soon, famous images were used and reused, reducing certain places to stereotypes.

Photography did not replace art in representations of the Arctic. A.Y. Jackson and Lawren Harris of the Group of Seven identified the high eastern Arctic landscape as essential to the definition of Canadian nationalism. Both travelled to Baffin Island to experience and paint the landscape firsthand and to transcribe their own interpretations of the Canadian north. However, both men were working within previously established context and perceptions of the Arctic, landscape, and nature.
The development of photography, and more importantly amateur photography, also paralleled the slow and steady increase of tourism. More and more people had the facility to travel to new places and they brought their cameras along with them. Famous places were visited and recorded for posterity. Tourism in Canada increased greatly after World War Two but it was not until the 1980’s that the Arctic witnessed much tourist activity. However, this fact allows us to examine the representation of the high eastern Arctic in tourism publicity and trace the origin of certain artistic conventions and stereotypes that reveal a romantic conception of the region. It is this romantic conception that entices people to travel and experience the awe-inspiring beauty of the northern landscape.

After considering the historical and theoretical context of high eastern Arctic landscape imagery and the acknowledgement of the power of photography over perception of place, I wondered a romantic representation of the region dominates. The question was, how could this be determined. The answer would be to demonstrate a link between historical and contemporary imagery in tourism advertisements. Moreover, this link would demonstrate that images cannot be considered only as disconnected or discrete documents. They are connected far beyond the borders of a page whether in an exploration journal, a photo essay book, a magazine article, or an advertisement. The challenge would be to demonstrate the connections within a context.

A very real aspect of this research involves peoples’ perceptions of landscape. However tempting it might have been to complete a study based almost entirely on secondary sources, I recognized the importance of asking
tourists in the high eastern Arctic about their perceptions. The assumption is, after all, that the collective memory bank of images of the Arctic that we hold of the Arctic would somehow influence what tourists expect when visiting the region. In addition, it was also important for me to experience the landscape and to record my reactions as, I too, would be a first time visitor.

With visitors’ perceptions, experience, and expectations of the landscape recorded, a stronger case is made for the connection between images of the past and present. Contemporary tourism advertisements from Canadian Geographic, Equinox, and Up Here were also analyzed to demonstrate the use of the sublime and the picturesque to influence travel decisions. I found some interesting images that exemplify the paradoxical and stereotypical perceptions of the high eastern Arctic held by Canadians.

Some observations made during the examination of the three magazines were not expected. For example, I noticed that certain photographers were supplying photographs to each of the publications. Sometimes these landscape photographs in each publication were the same or similar. As might also be expected, many of the images contained elements of the sublime and/or stereotypical perceptions of the region. The repetition of these images strengthens my argument. People who may or may not be interested in travelling to the high eastern Arctic are presented with similar images of the region. The argument is that one always has the option of turning the page, but the paucity of other types of images, including images by the Inuit who call the Arctic home, will lead the viewer back to the original romantic perception.
At first glance European and Euro-Canadian imagery of the high eastern Arctic itself would seem discrete. People travel there, they experience the landscape, they write about it, and they create images, whether by painting the landscape or taking a photograph. It is not that simple. When people travel they bring with them ideas, values, and assumptions which are then applied to their interpretations of new places and landscapes. These ideas, values, and assumptions can be viewed through various cultural productions such as literature and imagery.

The study of European and Euro-Canadian imagery of the high eastern Arctic provides a window on conceptions of nature and wilderness, imperialism, nationalism, sense of place, and the impetus for travel. It is hoped that this study will help to prove that the "unbelievable land" is believable, and that we simply need to look for metaphors beyond the physical borders of images to realize this.
Chapter One — Theory and Methodology

Theory forces one to examine a subject on a variety of levels, none of which may present clear and structured arguments. What theory does do is to present a set of principles which enables the researcher to compare observable phenomena about a subject. Therefore, theory is essential to most serious research. Much of the theory required in this study will appear as part of the narrative in the following chapters. These chapters analyze the thesis of this research that there is an historical continuity involving cultural and ideological hybridization in the picturing of the high eastern Arctic, and furthermore, that this pictorial tradition contributes to misconceptions, distortions and illusions, while simultaneously serving to attract tourists. David Lowenthal states convincingly that, "We see things simultaneously as they are and as we viewed them before: previous experience suffuses all present perception" (Lowenthal, Past Time 6). For southern eyes and hearts, the beauty of the high eastern Arctic derives both from the place itself and from representations of it through historical landscape painting and contemporary popular photography.

The theoretical approaches used in this study are linked by the common elements attached to the land in Canadian history and identity: sense of place, the impact of imagery in popular culture, nationalism, and tourism. Moreover, the theoretical approaches employed in the study indicate the validity of a humanist approach in a field of study where often the social sciences and physical and natural sciences dominate (Coates and Morrison 14). Theories of landscape and nationalism are particularly relevant to the second and third chapters of the thesis, and theories of tourism apply directly to the fourth chapter. As a result of
the interdisciplinary nature of this research, it is necessary to process and analyze information, often from different perspectives, to fully grasp the importance of visual imagery as a form of cultural production. Theory provides a vehicle to contextualize and the methodology allows for the interpretation of the information gathered.

The first section of this chapter will examine the qualitative methodologies employed in the study, the parameters set for the research, and the time frame of the historical inquiry. The second section will address the theoretical approaches employed in the study.

**Methodology**

At the outset of this research, it seemed that a survey of secondary sources would provide the largest amount of information. The literature survey revealed the connection between historical and contemporary images. This connection also indicated the distinct contemporary component of the research involving tourism and the impetus behind travel. The literature survey also reflected both the geographic parameters and the time frame set for the study. Primary research and data collection were necessary to complement the literature survey to display the links between historical imagery, contemporary imagery, and tourism in the high eastern Arctic region.

Methodology is the process of obtaining the information to test one's hypothesis. More specifically, it is a body of procedures, working concepts, or rules used to determine answers to research problems. Methodology involves theory (the principles used to examine a subject) and ideology (a co-ordinated body of ideas or concepts on a particular topic) as complementary forms of
knowledge. With this description in mind it is clear that how you research the world is inextricably linked to how you ‘see’ the world.

The methods reflect the qualitative character of the research as well as their capacity to generate the most useful conclusions. One of the first decisions to be made regarding the basic methodology of the study was to define the geographic parameters (boundary or limit) and the time frame. This posed a distinct challenge as even in contemporary northern scholarship, definitions of “North” and Arctic remain a contentious debate. However, if a specific geographic region were not selected the project would be too large. The high eastern Arctic was chosen partly because of its well documented history and also to reflect the continuation of certain conventions and tropes of representation in imagery. Parameters for the high eastern Arctic were defined as the North Pole, Ellesmere Island, to the southern tip of Baffin Island, west at approximately the 62nd parallel (Rankin Inlet) including Southampton and Coates Islands, to approximately 110 degrees latitude and then North through most of Victoria Island returning to the North Pole (Figure 1).

The time frame was not difficult to establish. Previous scholarship on exploration history, the whaling industry, and landscape representations of the region provided a guideline. The conventions of the sublime and the picturesque, with their connections to greater historical and art movements in

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Although the parameters of the study were defined as the high eastern Arctic, the titles of some American and European landscape art from the major exploration period do not specifically indicate the high eastern Arctic. However, they are considered representative pieces and for some it is known that the artist had experience or second hand knowledge of exploration in the high eastern Arctic.
Fig. 1 Map of the Canadian Arctic with Study Area from Geoffrey J. Matthews and Robert Morrow Jr., *Canada and the World: An Atlas Resource* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1985) 133.
Europe and North America, also acted as dividing points in the research. Early British representations, covering the period approximately 1818 to 1884, comprise the first section of historical images. This section identifies the influences of the age of Romanticism, Arctic exploration, and imperialism. Representations of the Arctic from 1884 to the 1960s, include sublime images in the race for the North Pole, the political uses of photography for the purposes of establishing Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, and works by members of the Group of Seven. These images advanced the importance of the Arctic landscape in the interests of Canadian nationalism. Finally, the contemporary section of the thesis reflects the influence of tourism as a popular twentieth-century activity and how the Arctic is pictured in advertisements/publicity intended to attract visitors to the region.

Also involved in the secondary source analysis is the assessment of images used for illustration. Different categories of image were assessed: images resulting from expeditions, coffee table books about the region, magazine stones, and tourism advertisements. For the most part, Arctic landscape paintings and tourism publicity photographs were chosen for their direct connection to the region. A subsequent consideration was the presence of sublime or picturesque conventions in the image. In addition, tourism publicity photos were analyzed with reference to what they were trying to sell. Moving images were not considered.

A crucial part of methodology is making decisions about why one chooses particular methods, abandons others, and how one arranges to obtain information. Although it would be possible to complete this research by using
mostly secondary sources, those sources would not provide a well rounded view of why people are attracted to travel to the region and what type of imagery, if any, influenced their decisions. To obtain such information it was necessary to talk to tourists visiting the region. The interviews, participant observations, personal observations of the researcher, and the questionnaires provide a very ‘real’ aspect to the research, and, in addition, demonstrate that qualitative, humanities-based research can have practical applications to business as well as support the theoretical discussions which surround Canadian nationalism and identity.

Interviews were conducted on an Adventure Canada trip, an eco-adventure tour company, to Baffin Island between June 16th and 23rd 1997. A questionnaire was distributed following the trip to obtain additional information from the participants. In combination with information provided by Nunavut Tourism, a very simple content analysis was completed on Arctic advertising images in the periodicals of Canadian Geographic, Equinox, and Up Here for the period from 1985 to 1997. Categories for the content analysis were chosen to (1) reflect the time period examined and frequency of images in the magazines, (2) delineate the type of image used for illustration or publicity purposes, (3) identify the frequency of advertisements and stories, (4) name the specific regions of the Arctic featured, (5) name the author(s) and photographer(s) for

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Advertising images were defined very broadly for the purposes of this research. Any story, actual advertisement, whether paid for by a private company or the territorial or federal governments, was considered to have influential value in affecting tourist decisions to travel to the region.
cross referencing, and finally, (6) relate an image to historical imagery and/or stereotypes.

To complete the interviews, participant observations, and personal observations, a trip with Adventure Canada was arranged. The trip originated in Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, and proceeded to the floe edge approximately two and a half hours by snowmobile from the northern village. The travellers included eight people, including myself. The trip provided an exemplary opportunity to ask people, in intimate circumstances, why they decided to undertake such an adventure and if they remembered or regarded visual images as an impetus for their travel. The alternative to this arrangement would have been to interview tourists as they entered and exited the region. Although this option was considered, its impersonal aspect was deemed a negative factor. In addition, the costs of such an option would be have been demanding. In the leisured setting of a small cohesive group, more detailed information could be gathered. However it was not appropriate to conduct formal interviews; rather, a participant observation format involving informal discussions was used. The participant observation method allows me to be a participant during the data gathering process (Kirby and McKenna 76). In actual practice, the formal interview

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To supplement the group information obtained on the Adventure Canada tour, exit surveys and analysis were supplied by Nunavut Tourism.

2 Please see Appendices Two and Four for transcribed conversations and relevant material from the field diary.

Kirby and McKenna in their book Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins, define the participant observation method as a means of “combin[ing] ways of data gathering such as surveys, personal accounts/narratives, life histories/chronicles, unobtrusive measures (filming, recording), or document analysis with direct observation to give a full account of how individuals make sense of their experiences” (76).
questions developed prior to the trip were merely used in a more informal manner. Some of the discussions were taped with participants' permission and others were recorded in a field diary.⁶

The interviews and questionnaires completed for this study do not represent a definitive sample of tourists in the Arctic today. Tourism in the Arctic is diverse and includes visitors who engage in many activities such as canoeing, kayaking, polar bear watching, fishing, hunting, hiking, and even taking a cruise to the North Pole.⁷ However, to obtain information from some, if not all, of the different groups of tourists in the high eastern Arctic would have been difficult. The opportunity to be part of a specific trip provided a micro analysis of a few tourists.

Personal observations of the researcher were also integral to this study. The researcher, as a first time visitor to the region, also had relevant and important contributions to make to the research. Impressions regarding landscape, history, the tourist experience, and culture are important from any member of the tour experiencing what the region has to offer. Personal observations were recorded in a field diary and will be cited later in the thesis.⁸

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⁶ Before discussions, participants were given an informed consent form to complete which detailed how the information they related could be used and if there were any restrictions. For example, some participants did not want their names used. Please see Appendix Two for a copy of the informed consent form, the Trent University Committee on Human Research approval, as well as the Nunavut Research Institute research license issued for the research conducted in Iqaluit and Pond Inlet, NWT.

⁷ Trips to the North Pole on a ship as well as canoeing or kayaking vacations are becoming extremely popular. The Wanapitei Canoe and Northwinds Company regularly run trips to Baffin Island for kayaking and whitewater canoeing.

⁸ Please see Appendix Three for relevant sections of the field diary.
Although personal observations are integral to this study, they are, of course, subjective. It would be have been impossible for me to travel to the region and immediately forget all I had learned prior to going there. What the personal observations did illuminate, however, is the knowledge of Arctic history and culture that many tourists hold prior to their adventures in the region. As I have a strong background in Arctic history and culture, I was in a position to determine the extent of tour participants’ knowledge.

Finally, an additional questionnaire was distributed to members of the Adventure Canada group. This questionnaire provided supplementary detail to the participant observations and informal interviews. Seven questionnaires were distributed by mail, and five were returned completed. The questionnaires consisted of the previously developed interview questions so as to conform to the protocols of Trent University’s Committee on Human Research. Questions posed in the survey included the participants’ residence, age, level of education, main factors that led to their trips, knowledge of Arctic history, sources of information on the region, presence of visual imagery in the information, effect of the visual imagery on travel decisions, trends or conventions in the imagery, knowledge or familiarity with historic or contemporary Arctic imagery, expectations of the trip, and purpose of the trip.

An interesting additional methodology presented itself during and after the Adventure Canada tour. Participants decided to trade especially good photographs from the trip with each other. Although unsolicited on the researcher’s part, this allowed some analysis of what images members of the
tour found compelling and if it could be determined whether their judgement was affected by historic and contemporary Arctic imagery. Studies including the exchange of participant photos have generally been more empirically based. For example, Kevin Markwell published a study of the dimensions of photography in a nature-based tour. In addition to using participants' photographic collections, Markwell drew from interviews, diaries, and a personal narrative of the nature-based tour. All are similar methods to those employed in this research.

Although the methodology used for this research project remained simple, it illuminated the importance of linking theoretical and historical discussion to contemporary events as well as primary information. The insights provided by members of the Adventure Canada tour demonstrate both the impetus behind travel to the region and the impact of tourism publicity on travel decisions. The primary information from the research complements the analysis of theoretical secondary literature to reflect critically on the social context of tourism in the high eastern Arctic region. Overall, the qualitative analysis used has emphasized the process, meaning, and experience of communication and has shown how qualitative methods can be sensitive to cultural and historical contexts (Nelson 161).

Landscape Theory

Theories of the landscape have a long and established tradition of examining and contextualizing natural scenery, land surfaces, and urbanization. When considering Arctic landscape imagery, one must necessarily account for theories of landscape which have helped to shape perceptions of nature.

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10 See Kevin Markwell, "Dimensions of Photography in a Nature-Based Tour." Annals of
aesthetics, and landscape appreciation for generations. Theories of landscape provide a convenient, although not an exclusive, entry point to the study of Arctic landscape imagery as it reflects history, politics, and culture.

Landscape has two or more distinct meanings; it can either denote artistic and literary representations of the visible world, or it can mean the integration of natural and human phenomena that can be verified and analyzed scientifically (Osborne Iconography 9). Attached to particular usages of landscape theory is cultural symbolism: "[e]very modern nation has its symbolic landscapes": "[they are] a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing surroundings" (Daniels and Cosgrove Introduction 1). In essence, landscapes are cultural productions waiting to be explained; they are inherently invested with symbolism.

Landscape theory offers the possibility of understanding humanistic perspectives and behavioural tools which in turn foster an understanding of sense of place within regional and national identity (Dearden and Sadler 4). Although landscape brings to mind an idyllic, picturesque scene, it must not be forgotten that the word can also denote social landscapes. Indeed, at times landscapes may be invested with both physical aspects and particularly significant social issues. The "social" aspects of the landscape are as significant as the physical "land" because without people the landscape, in whatever form, could not be appreciated: "Landscape, whether in the physical environment or in the form of a painting, does not exist without an observer." Although the land exists, "the scape is a projection of human consciousness. an image received"

Or, as Nelson describes it, “Landscape refers not so much to the features of the environment, but to historically grounded ideas that influence how people perceive and appropriate the world” (Nelson 40,41). The social and physical aspects of landscape in the high eastern Arctic have been considered in tandem – each as significant as the other. Landscape painting and photography help us to understand the history of how we ‘see’.

Authors have written scores of books and articles addressing the importance of landscape theory in contemporary society. Most agree that “landscape is a way of seeing that has its own history, but a history that can be understood only as a part of a wider history of economy and society; ...[it] has its own techniques of expression, but techniques which it shares with other areas of cultural practice” (Cosgrove 1). One example of how landscape is studied with reference to cultural practices and productions is through agriculture. For centuries, humans have been manipulating the landscape to achieve certain purposes. Agriculture has effected dominant changes in the landscape, often to the point where it has been long forgotten what the “original” landscape was. Yet, as Osborne points out, changes in the landscape were not only physical and economic in nature, they also signified the way in which people thought about themselves and their relationships with the world around them (Cosgrove 6). Neil Evernden suggests that “tacit understandings of ‘nature’ figure prominently in many aspects of social discourse” (Evernden 19). Landscape study inherently involves and reflects debates concerning society and culture.

Equally as important as any landscape are the boundaries placed around it: the frame of reference which connects landscapes to cultural debates. Gina
Crandell states: “[T]he process by which the landscape has been given boundaries has been neither an isolated nor an accidental one. Instead, it has proceeded in tandem with the development of a set of artistic conventions” (Crandell 6). Notions of value are inherently related to how we ‘see’ the landscape, because we see them in a pictorial manner (Crandell 6). Or as Berger describes it, everyone has assumptions about landscape and art: these assumptions may be concerned with beauty, truth, genius, civilization, form, status, or taste (Berger Ways 11). National landscapes, in particular, are highly symbolic and encapsulate ideas of progress and uniqueness.

Landscape painting is an integral element in the theory of landscapes. It provides a more accessible means of examining the impact and significance of landscapes whether urban, rural, or natural. As a cultural production emerging from landscape appreciation, landscape painting is more intellectually and physically accessible because it has the ability to reach a great number of people and transmit specific messages about the landscape itself. Indeed, painting a landscape is an original way to express the physical and social relationships of landscape described above: “[A]n analysis of landscape painting thus provides us with an entry point into how a society sees its relationship to... landscape” (Short 197)

Artists who choose or chose to portray the landscape surrounding them, enlarge interpretations of culture and identity. The relationship between the landscape of place and the landscape of the imagination can range from simple data - gathering to personal identification (Porteous 104). Landscape painting reflects a personal identification with landscape; it provides visual access to
tangible and intangible elements of our experience: some forgotten, some remembered, and some simply longed for. Mostly, landscape painting allows the possibility of “ordering” the landscape to convey ideas of our human relationship to it.

The tradition of landscape painting is not ancient. Prior to the establishment of a “landscape school”, nature was merely used to situate or provide background in paintings. Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, first in Italy and Flanders and then throughout western Europe the idea of landscape came to denote the artistic and literary representations of the visible world, the scenery...which is viewed by a spectator. It implied a particular sensibility, a way of experiencing and expressing feelings towards the external world, natural and man-made, an articulation of a human relationship with it. (Cosgrove 9)

Historically, landscape painting was reduced in the hierarchy of the art world, but by the 1800's it “was rising dramatically in importance” (Galassi 21). The reason for this increasing significance was the idea that the “unembellished landscape possessed intrinsic value”.

The association of landscape with wilderness or “untouched” nature is relatively recent, implying rejection of human action on the landscape (Osborne 14). The idea of landscape as attached to wilderness or “untouched” nature has become somewhat ritualized through landscape painting. There are two major historical responses to wilderness: 'the classical' which emphasizes human action, and 'the romantic' which stresses “untouched” places (Short 6). Indeed the concept of wilderness as a place bereft of civilization was imported to North America by Europeans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth
centuries (Grant Arctic Wilderness 29). In the romantic conception, wilderness and/or nature can be a place of the imagination and a social construction.

Through viewing painting and photography many people try vicariously to understand the intense personal connection artists feel in their relationship with the landscape. As with exploration and travel literature, landscape painting and photography continue the tradition of separating the spectator from the landscape itself (Davis 22). But landscape painting did not develop in the Arctic. As stated previously, it belongs to a long and established tradition of exploration, travel, and aesthetic appreciation. The history of the Canadian Arctic regions must be considered within the context of western society if we are to gain a full understanding of the significance of its visual representation by non-Native people.

The study of landscape inherently involves human activity, whether it directly or indirectly affects the landscape. Humans have made their imprint on the Arctic landscape in a number of ways. For the most part, however, unlike the Inuit for whom the Arctic is home, “for most of the last four hundred years of Arctic encounter the whites have not wanted land there at all.” “They want nothing except liquid water so they can get past the land because they do not want to stop in the Arctic at all: they merely want it [the Arctic] to be a convenient passage to another place altogether” (Wiebe 77). When non-Native peoples do arrive, they bring with them ideas and values which have an impact reaching far beyond the landscape and the geographical region (Wiebe 77). Tuan notes that attitudes to unsuitable settlement areas are complex and deeply ambivalent: we find instances of indifference or
deliberate neglect, or, at the other extreme, keen interest as potential economic resource and base of political power; we find desert and ice viewed as threatening presences to be conquered in the name of national pride and manhood, or as challenge to the prowess of science; and last, though certainly not least, we find worshipful admiration tinged by fear. (Tuan Desert and Ice 139)

The visual images from Arctic expeditions recorded not only events, but also power relations and social assumptions (New 22).

When Arctic explorers realized that the land was there and there was no simple way to get around it to reach Cathay, ideas began to change. In the beginning, as with most strange and new places, the Arctic regions instilled fear and terror. With increasing knowledge and the development of technology, more expeditions to the 'frozen reaches' were undertaken; after the Napoleonic Wars, the British Admiralty had more freedom and time to devote to exploration. Explorers, and the nations they represented, most notably Britain, began to lay claim to the newly "discovered" territory. It is important to remember that they laid claim to this territory on their terms:

Those who claim to have done the 'discovering' presume authority over place, other persons, and value. Then they translate what they have 'found' into their own terms.... European explorers consequently moved through the world with a sense of their potential authority over it. (New 29)

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For example, in Thomas James' journal of his expedition to James Bay, Strange and Dangerous Voyage, the language used to describe the landscape is almost exclusively in terms of religion and supplication to a higher power. James was certain that if he did not display the requisite submission to the natural elements that God controlled, he and his men would surely perish. As W.H. New notes in his book Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1997), exploration journals such as that of Thomas James used cultural norms for the period and thus the journals represent an apprehension of beauty beyond the prevailing European system (58).
The art that grew from this period of Arctic exploration and ‘discovery’ can be placed alongside social and artistic developments in the western world, most significantly those in Britain and in the United States.12

Arctic exploration journals provide a unique insight into both the social and the cultural aspects of the times. Indeed, through them changes in attitudes and perceptions toward landscapes and landscape appreciation can be traced. As W. H. New aptly notes:

The European explorers’ journals... are not straightforward, nor are their versions of documentary ‘objective’; indeed, they rely on spiritual code, covertly (or at least unthinkingly), to define a cultural connection with the land and they rely on the political expectations of their time (and on editorial shaping to such political ends)... (New 54)

When contemplating a journal or some of the artistic representations related to the expeditions, one must consider many factors. Of paramount importance is the time of the expedition, political developments that may have affected the author or artist, popular trends and conventions in society, as well as issues of editing. For example, editors of exploration journals often altered passages to enhance the sense of adventure, sometimes implying that the explorers “went Native” 13

Many of the previously discussed ideas about landscape have not changed for hundreds of years. The landscape continues to be the centre of the

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12 This idea will be covered in greater detail in Chapters Two and Three which trace the significance and development of Arctic imagery.

13 Although not related directly to Arctic exploration, the published journals of Thomas Hearne afford prime examples of editors changing certain passages in the interests of general readership. Ian MacLaren and Heather Rollason have both provided excellent scholarship on the issues of editing and representation in Hearne’s journals.
're-presentation'; it is still a measure of how societies reflect culture through social discourse and cultural productions.\textsuperscript{14}

Theories of Nationalism

Arctic exploration was not the only major activity occurring in and around the North American continent. By the mid-nineteenth century, the North American continent was in the process of being spanned and settled. Artists on the North American continent were well connected with the art world: “American landscapes were being moulded into categories advanced by Burke, Gilpin, and Ruskin, and their representation was increasingly distorted by the artistic conventions developed in English landscape painting” (Osborne Iconography 163). Paralleling the imperialist and nationalist British images, was the emergence of Canadian nationalist images.

It was also during the nineteenth century that ideas of nationalism created at the end of the eighteenth century started to gain power as more and more nation-states formed around the world.\textsuperscript{15} There are many different interpretations and definitions of nationalism. Benedict Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson 15). He considers nations ‘imagined’ because most members of a nation will never know each other; a nation is ‘limited’ because it has finite boundaries; the concept of a sovereign nation “was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the

\textsuperscript{14} Please note that a much more detailed discussion of landscape and photography will be included in Chapter Four.

divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm*. Finally, a nation is a community because a “deep comradeship” permeates the fabric of people within it (Anderson 16).

How does one place the development of the Dominion of Canada within the development of nationalism? Actually, very easily. The facility to place Canada within the development and popularization of nationalism may simply be because “[N]ationalism is the reigning passion of our times” (qtd. Zelinsky in Osborne Interpreting 250). Through Confederation nationalism and a growing pride in an independent Canadian identity emerged in the Dominion. As historian Carl Berger states, this new sense of nationality was “grounded upon a definite conception of Canada’s past, her national character, and her mission in the future, and at its heart was a yearning for significance and desire to obliterate the stigma of colonialism” (Berger The Sense of Power 259). Although nationalism developed at a slower pace in the new country, it would eventually become an important element of English Canadian culture.

To understand how the development of nationalism changed how people looked at the world, one only needs to look at symbols. Indeed, “every discussion of nationalism includes a survey of the various factors that may become symbolic of national identity. Most often mentioned are ethnicity, blood, race, religion, language, cultural values, history, geography, and psychology” (Angus 13) Cultural productions, particularly visual representations, often act as a window to changing ideas as well as reflections of cultures in a society.¹⁶

¹⁶ Anderson notes reliefs and stained glass windows of mediaeval churches, or the paintings of early Italian and Flemish masters (28).
Whatever their original purpose or meaning, some images are indelibly part of national identity and some even central to it (Osborne *Iconography* 162).

Prior to the spread of nationalism, Liberalism and the Enlightenment provided the ideas to criticize the *ancien régime* and to view the world in a completely different manner:

Beneath the decline of sacred communities, languages and lineages, a fundamental change was taking place in modes of apprehending the world, which, more than anything else, made it possible to ‘think’ the nation. (Anderson 28)

Developing ideas of nationalism were reflected in cultural productions. Landscape representations gained much greater importance and attention. Indeed, landscapes became invested with significant national pride as they often represented the uniqueness of nations. Mountains, deserts, or pastoral farming communities gained new symbolic meaning through nationalism. The modern nation-state began to promote nationalism “to solidify its power internally and sometimes in order to enlist support for external territorial expansion” (Angus 14)

Obviously, particular credence is given in this research to the reflection of nationalism through landscape painting or photography. A common result of the expression of nationalism through painting and photography is the ‘framing’ of nature by taking what we consider the best examples of it (Crandell 3). At this point one could almost enter a “chicken and egg” debate regarding framed landscapes. Did the landscape or land come first purely because of its

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”...the forms of expression in which a society externalizes its self-understanding are of particular interest. These may include conventionally ‘cultural’ phenomena such as art forms, but should be understood in a wider, more anthropological sense of culture to include everyday activities ‘in their characteristic style’, which comprise a ‘structure of feeling’ that is lived as a ‘form of life’ “ (Angus 21).
existence, or was the landscape created by its appreciation? As Crandell notes, "This means that what we think of as nature has been mediated by pictorial activities such as appropriation, framing, and re-presentation" (Crandell 4). A landscape painting or photograph is a mediated and dynamic representation for individual appreciation or appropriation (Cosgrove 26). But does the appreciation or appropriation of an image add to the meaning of the pictured landscape or does it merely interpret it on another level?

For an image to become an "artistic icon" of nation, as Osborne would call it, it must be revered by a significant proportion of the populace (Osborne Iconography 172). Most nations have used nationalism combined with rhetoric, writing, music, and art to establish symbols and ideologies (Osborne Interpreting 250). Osborne argues further that fine art, "has little opportunity to become part of the nationalist imagination" as long as it is shown only in art galleries and other such institutions. This may hold true for much of fine art, but what of the images that are reproduced in the popular media? Even more importantly, what about photography, which has given the almost effortless ability of "re-presentation" to the amateur? When images are reproduced in the popular media, such as through advertisements for tourism, do they then somehow become the "people's art" or in some way a form of propaganda? Brown notes that, "[T]ravel not only had [has] the potential to draw nations closer together, it also had [has] the power to strengthen one's own country and national character" (Brown 58).

The land and the "North" have been taken up as the "causes célèbres" to define what it is to be Canadian because, according to Ramsay Cook, the nation

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18 A similar conclusion is reached by Pat Jasen in her book Wild Things: Nature, Culture,
does not share, as other nations do, a common language, history, or religion "out of which to formulate a national mythology and ideology" (263). Scores of papers, addresses, and books have been written about this topic in the grand, and what some consider heroic, search to define Canadian identity. In the nationalistic Canadian produced images and literature of the Arctic from approximately 1890 to 1930 "northern society and landscape have been presented in stereotypical terms, by people who have gone north to 'discover' things, quite often themselves, or to identify the 'essence' of Canada" (Coates and Morrison 5). Indeed, images of the Arctic helped accentuate Canada as a "northern" nation while reinforcing Arctic sovereignty.

Historian Ramsay Cook remarks that Canadians generally use two basic modes to define national identity. The first mode is a method of contrast in which people search for those characteristics that distinguish Canadian national life, and the second is by the definition of the land: "those elements in the environment which could be used to explain the real or imagined uniqueness of nations" (Cook 263). In Angus's terms, the polity must reach inside itself to find what is commonly shared and which will aid it in determining its future (Angus 6). However, conceptions of "North" often vary from the provincial northerns to the most northern Arctic island - Ellesmere. It is in pursuit of this idea of "North," or in the hope of experiencing the distinctiveness of Canada on the North American continent, that many people travel in the country to experience the "land".

Scholars differ on what constitutes "the North". Some, like Louis-Emond Hamelin, use a number of points to confirm "Nordicité". Historian Morris Zaslow in Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914 (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1995) 152.
considers the Northern frontier a moving line reflecting activities and assumptions of the incoming newcomer population. And W.L. Morton argues that the North begins at the end of the commercial line of agriculture. However, the most influential description of North often involves a psychological component: “[N]orth...is a state of mind as well as certain material conditions. Central to this revised notion of norticity is the concept of wilderness.” “The North is not found along a line. It is a space with depth...” (Hodgins and Hobbs, 1-2). Apparently, this invisible line constituting North holds great appeal for many as they travel to the Arctic to connect with their history and culture.

When studying “the land” and Canadian nationalism, most contemporary scholars work within the rubric of post colonialism “in recognition that it [post-colonialism]...represents a particular set of attitudes toward, as well as a history about space: exclusionary, hierarchical, abstract, totalized, [and] appropriative” (Cavell Theorizing 92).Canadian scholars and authors use many metaphors to try to explain the relationship between land and nationalism. Ian Angus uses the metaphor of the border which he considers a line of separation between humanity and nature (Angus 47). When considering Arctic scholarship this border is always apparent; most research of the region has occurred “from the outside in.” In the words of Kenneth Coates, a leading Northern historian:

[The North, land of legend, mystery and misconception, remains very much a conceptual wasteland. After decades of scholarship, much of it excellent, insightful and methodologically important, the vast circumpolar region is still typically explained within the conceptual frameworks and intellectual paradigms of the Southern or “outside”. (Coates and Morrison Writing North 5)
The realization of this exclusionary aspect of Northern scholarship reveals the power structures which often aid the construction of a popular visual discourse. Images of the Arctic, for the most part, reflect experiences of British and American explorers or of southern visitors and researchers.

Theories of Tourism and Its Connection to Advertising

Tourism, at first glance, would seem to be a fairly straightforward subject: people work, they earn vacation time, and they travel to different places. Yet has this always been the definition of tourism? Has tourism and the activities related to it changed in the last century? What is the impetus behind travel? What attracts people to certain places and not others? What type of considerations are involved when people make decisions about where they would like to travel? Questions such as these are what researchers attempt to address.

Tourism research is relatively new, having been considered suspect as a legitimate academic subject as a result of its interdisciplinary nature (Leiper 392). It is particularly because of the interdisciplinary nature of tourism research as well as because of its relevance to the high eastern Arctic, nationalism, and popular visual culture, that it is used in this research. The study of tourism in a specific region, for example the high eastern Arctic, helps us bring sophisticated questions to the analysis of advertising, market trends, and visitor studies.

Tourism is not new. For centuries people have been travelling to experience new places. For example, S. L. Smith, in his book *Tourism Analysis: A Guidebook*, notes that Herodotus collected ethnographies of foreign peoples and Augustine emphasized the educational value of travel (Smith *Tourism* 13).

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15 See also David T. Herbert ed. *Heritage, Tourism, and Society* (New York: Mansell.
It is mass tourism that has increased astronomically since World War Two (Smith Tourism 13). As incomes and leisure time increase, so does the amount of tourism in the world. Many authors cite industrialization as one explanation for increases in touristic activity (Smith 13). Denison Nash examines the idea of imperialism in tourism activity. He outlines the factors associated with the appearance and development of tourism as: (1) increased productivity that creates leisure, (2) psychological mobility associated with broadened horizons, and (3) improved transport and communication facilities (Nash, Tourism 37).

For general purposes, a tourist "is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith 3). Some even define tourism as a special sort of play involving travel or just simply "getting away" (Graburn 18). Moreover, there are different types of tourism including ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism, and recreational tourism (Smith 2,3). There is also variability in types of tourists, ranging from the "explorer" to the "charter" tourist.  

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In his book Tourism Analysis: A Handbook (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989), Smith defines somewhat negatively and critically, different types of tourism as follows:

Ethnic Tourism: "is marketed to the public in terms of the "quaint" customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples.

Cultural Tourism: "includes the "picturesque" or "local colour," a vestige of a vanishing life-style that lies within human memory with its "old style" houses, homespun fabrics, horse or ox-drawn carts and plows and hand rather than machine-made crafts.

Historical Tourism: "is the Museum-Cathedral circuit that stresses the glories of the Past – i.e. Rome, Egypt and the Inca.

Environmental Tourism: "is often ancillary to ethnic tourism, attracting a tourist elite to remote areas such as Antarctica to experience a truly alien scene.

Recreational Tourism: "is often sand, sea, and sex – promoted by beautiful colour pictures that make you want to be "there" – on the ski slopes, the palm-fringed beaches, the championship golf courses, or sunning in a deck chair" (2,3).

Smith also defines the various tourist types:

Explorer Tourists are on a "quest for discovery and new knowledge but in a shrinking planet... by definition they are not tourists and traditionally are almost akin to anthropologists living as..."
In more recent scholarship, the definition of tourism has also been debated as not only commercial activities, but “also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs (MacCannell 1).22

Integral to the understanding of tourism is the idea of leisure. Many scholars argue that the idea of leisure is a relatively modern one, resulting for the most part, from changes in work practices following the industrial revolution (Herbert 2). As with tourism, there are many interpretations and theories of leisure. Most researchers recognize that leisure must involve choices in activities.23 Age, gender, social class, income, and education are significant factors in assessing leisure activities (Herbert 3). Leisure activities, like tourist activities, may also be classified, they may take the form of household, or family oriented activities.

In addition to the various tourist and leisure classifications there is also the debate concerning the difference between a ‘tourist’ and a ‘traveller’. Buzard has traced the word ‘tourist’ “to the late eighteenth century when it was used as a synonym for ‘traveller’” (qtd. in Herbert 6) Herbert notes that the difference in

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22 Please note David T. Herbert for more a more detailed list of leisure theories (2.3).
connotation between these two words took on more significance when tourist activities were no longer exclusively within the purview of the wealthier classes (Herbert 6). Today, the implied difference between a tourist and a traveller is length of time spent on a planned trip from home and the type of activities in which the tourist and the traveller engage.

Tourism involves what Jasen would call the “romantic sensibility to the culture, economics, and politics of the tourist industry” (Jasen 4). Urry uses a classification similar to that of Jasen, but defines tourists as those who are more aware of historical significance; an elite group who can “appreciate magnificent scenery, who value solitude and have the cultural capital to draw meanings from places” (Urry 45). The opposite of Urry’s classification is the ‘collective gaze’ which gives more of a sense of carnival to a place (Urry 46). Each place visited obviously has some particular attraction, otherwise people would not be taking the time to travel. Yet, do people travel to view something new and exciting, or do they travel to see what they expected to see from previous literary and visual experience?

How does the media portray regions to attract tourists? This question involves issues of power, media relations, history, politics, as well as cultural identity. As Schouten points out, “Heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain

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24 According to Jasen, “romanticism refers to the tendency, widespread among members of the middle and upper classes by the end of the 18th century, to value feeling and imagination, or sensibility, far more than before, to extend or transfer feelings formerly associated with religious experience to the secular realm and to imbue ‘wild nature’ with new meaning and value” (7).
marketing, into a commodity” (Schouten 21). It is telling to view images which have been employed to stimulate tourism. These images often reflect national myths and stereotypes, what a country aspires to be, what it especially treasures, what it wants outsiders to see, or what will earn the most revenue through tourism. Many of these issues apply to all nations, but they are especially relevant to Canada as it has an established tradition of picturing certain tropes in tourism advertisements.

The media plays an integral role in the development of tourism in the Arctic regions, particularly in Nunavut. As a result of the inaccessibility of the region, concerted efforts have had to be made to attract tourists. As Prentice argues, heritage has become closely linked with tourism:

> [e]ssentially in tourism, the term 'heritage' has come to mean not only landscapes, natural history, buildings, artifacts, cultural traditions and the like which are literally or metaphorically passed on from one generation to the other, but those among these things which can be portrayed for promotion as tourism products. (Prentice 5)

Handbooks, web sites, magazine advertisements, brochures, and posters are only a few examples of visual advertising methods with heritage content employed by the tourism industry.

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25 The definition of heritage is at best problematic. Most dictionaries define heritage as something that has been or may be inherited. Heritage may also mean something that a past generation has preserved and handed down to a subsequent generation.

26 The connection of the popular media and tourism to more academic subjects was achieved in the 1970s when the definition of “culture” expanded to include popular and mass mediated forms, and analysis became more comprehensive and interdisciplinary. David Crowley and David Mitchell “Communications in Canada: Enduring Themes, Emerging Issues,” *Canada: Theoretical Discourse*, eds. Terry Goldie, Carmen Lambert, and Rowland Lorimer. (Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies. 1994) 137.

27 Please note the most successful *Baffin Handbook: Travelling in Canada's Arctic* (Iqaluit: Nortext, 1993) which provides excellent information to the traveller in the eastern high Arctic.
The high eastern Arctic has diverse attractions to offer visitors. However, the region offers little by way of what would be considered traditional historic architecture, so the focus for tourism has remained on the natural environment and on the Inuit themselves. Most Canadians will not think of travelling to Baffin Island in their lifetime. It is arguable that the historical inaccessibility and geographic remoteness of the region hamper tourist development. Both, however, assure the continuance of the region as so-called "pristine wilderness." which, for many, is the major attraction. Obviously, tourism is a significant revenue generator, but at the same time as it is generating revenue, it can also create problems. For example, tourism can inundate an economy and region to the point where the original purpose of tourism may be threatened or lost. If visitors to the high eastern Arctic go in search of the "natural," the "pure," and the "wild" they may be disappointed in the future as increased development and more tourist traffic may alter the landscape irrevocably. Both physical and social impacts result from tourism; however, this is not to say that all impacts are necessarily negative.

Advertising images "stimulate the imagination by way of either memory or expectation" (Berger Ways 129). Jasen argues that "being a tourist means being in a state of mind in which the imagination plays a key role..." (Jasen 4).

The high eastern Arctic region provides a unique example of the impact of

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28 Some people believe this is the case in Banff, Alberta. Recently, the federal government has placed a restriction on the number of people permitted to live in the town. Of course, there are also issues concerning the wildlife of the area with regards to the human as well as mechanized traffic in and around the town site and in the park proper.

29 Herbert notes the positive and negative aspects of promoting heritage places as tourist attractions. Essentially, a place and can be compromised in many ways by increased tourist activity (10-11)
images used in advertising. The effects of advertising can be evaluated according to their impact on the individual; namely, their ability to change behaviour, opinions, and attitude. The effect of advertising on society can also be measured by the extent to which it promotes general ideas and beliefs (Dyer 73). The argument is that images provide an impetus for people to travel.

Barthes argues that the travel guide functions as an agent of blindness that focuses the traveller’s attention on a limited range of landscape features, thereby ‘overpowering’ or even ‘making’ the ‘real’ spectacle of human life and history and simultaneously providing an illusion of cultural stability and continuity. (qtd. Duncan and Duncan 20)

Barthes’ argument can easily be extended to advertising images. However, one must recognize the history behind the images produced about the high eastern Arctic and what the region chooses to distribute as self-representation for tourist purposes.

Contemporary images used to advertise tourist destinations can be linked to historical landscape paintings of the region: “Publicity makes all history mythical, but to do so effectively it needs a visual language with historical dimensions” (Berger Ways 140). Even as the art of the high eastern Arctic uplifts and makes the visual environment meaningful, tourism and contemporary landscape photography provides an aesthetically appropriate counterpoint to ordinary life. The combination of an evaluation of nineteenth-century Arctic landscape painting and contemporary Arctic publicity images may seem a curious one. For the most part, nineteenth-century images were not intended to inspire travel. However, they were intended to illustrate text, inspire imagination, and thus promote the purchase of more books. Contemporary advertising
images are also selling a product – the Arctic for experience and travel. Or, as New succinctly states, “The wild might on occasion be magnificent, beautiful, or ‘grand’, but the civilized observer... must be wary of identifying with it: far better to tame it in the conventions of art, to sketch it, or – better still? – to snap a photograph of ‘scenes’ and carry on, investing time and money in the familiar” (New 15). The “Arctic” product in advertising images continues to be what has been pictured before – the sublime and the picturesque. If we do not recognize, or at least acknowledge, the conventions of historic landscape imagery, representations of the Arctic will not change despite the evolving nature of the region.
Chapter Two: Images Past

The Idea of Wilderness, Landscape, and British Representations

In order to answer the question of where perceptions of the Arctic derive and to test the hypothesis that imagery affects perceptions and even travel decisions, there must be an examination of the development of perceptions of nature and wilderness, of how perceptions of nature reflect societies, and of how they relate to image production, specifically to the images produced throughout Canadian history. In particular, the high eastern Arctic region needs to be situated within the larger context of Arctic history, perceptions of nature, and what many people would define as wilderness.

Major ideological changes in the last two thousand years, for example the "transition from feudalism to capitalism, the secularization of society, and the emergence of nation states (and dependent colonies), had profound effects upon landscapes" and, I would argue, upon cultural productions such as landscape painting (Baker 10). Some scholars argue that "Nature's beauty became accessible in part because poets and painters made it clear through their work and made it plausible through its implicit contrast with and relation to artistic beauty" (Kemal and Gaskell 5). Many works have examined this topic, but for the purposes of this research it is necessary to consider views of nature, or land, from the major exploration period, 1700-1930.30

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30 Although there was some Arctic exploration prior to 1700 the major expedition of the high eastern Arctic occurred around and after this year. W. Gillies Ross notes in his article "Whaling, the Inuit, and the Arctic islands" that "It was highly significant when the Northwest Passage expeditions of John Ross in 1818 and Edward Parry in 1819 demonstrated the feasibility of high latitude crossing of Baffin Bay..." as it opened up more whaling opportunities in the eastern Arctic (236). The year 1900 signifies the approximate end of the whaling industry in the high eastern Arctic. Canadian expeditions in the Arctic began in the late nineteenth-century and
Also important in the development of views toward nature are the cultural productions attributable to visual representations of nature. The views of nature presented in this work are by no means exhaustive; they are presented to situate the study of Arctic landscape imagery in the larger tradition of landscape art and in the historical context of the periods studied. For the purpose of this study, landscape painting and photography, specifically advertising photography to foster tourism, have been selected as they can be compared directly to nineteenth-century images.

In western society, each era has conceived nature differently. In fact, each era has often included conflicting ideas about nature and each, moreover, has inherited previously established ideas thereby allowing a continuous dialogue shown through the formation of cultural productions that attempt to represent or portray nature. Indeed, "[I]deas concerning the relation of man to nature could not develop without a feeling for and an interpretation of nature" (Glacken 12) An examination of ancient history for a review of perceptions of nature would require a whole chapter, or indeed a book unto itself.31 For the purposes of this research, main views of nature delineated in the Greek and Roman periods, biblical times, and the development of Romanticism, will suffice to illustrate the continuity of perceptions of nature as they relate to cultural productions

During the great Greek and Roman civilizations, wilderness was seen as supernatural and monstrous. More specifically, in folk traditions the wilderness was considered to strike the imagination and be filled with great mystery. Forests were to be feared as they were dark and mysterious (Jasen 14). Mythical creatures, both evil and good, lived in the forest either to aid or hinder humans encroaching on their "wild" territory. Gifts and ceremonies appeased the mythical creatures, which allowed humans the possibility of turning some of the "wild" into agricultural land from which to subsist. Once this "wild" was tamed. Greek and Roman descriptions of nature reflected on nature as domesticated, "a pleasant commingling of nature and art" (Glacken 12). Moreover, the Greeks believed that the "airs, waters, and places" affected character and lent credence to the idea that racial and cultural differences were caused by climate and nature (Glacken 7). However, as Jasen notes, the predominance of fearful and threatening wilderness imagery did not preclude value; nature was full of symbolic meaning waiting to be deciphered by humans (Jasen 14).

As stated previously, whole books have been written on the development of nature perceptions and ideas about nature; these books also highlight cultural productions resulting from these perceptions. In fact, Glacken believes that the "roots of modern attitudes toward nature are to be found in the Hellenistic age..." through poetry, letters, philosophy, religion, landscape painting, and agricultural

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32 The descriptions of nature in this section are generalizations; obviously, there were many perceptions, ideas, and aesthetics during the Greek and Roman periods.

33 Glacken argues that the theory of the "four elements" was later developed by Ionian philosophers. It entailed "the basic composition of matter, the manner in which the present order of the cosmos had come into being, [and] the doctrine of the four elements and the humours also prepared the way for wide-ranging speculations regarding the earth and man's relation to it" (8).
writing (Glacken 25). Therefore, a main premise of this thesis is well grounded in the literature.

Classical antiquity is not the only place in which to find references to humanity's connection to nature; references may also be found in the Bible. In addition, the significance of nature in the Bible is augmented by a particular view of nature which often describes it as a place to fear and where danger is ever-present. Roderick Nash describes wilderness as "any place in which a person feels stripped of guidance, lost and perplexed" (Nash Wilderness 3). Indeed, people are often afraid of what they cannot see (darkness), of what they do not control or understand. According to the Bible, it was possible to be swallowed by a whale or killed by a flood that covered the whole earth. God created nature and He shaped its power to his own design. The biblical view or perception of nature was dominant for hundreds of years and remains with us today.

As Pat Jasen writes, "[i]mages of wilderness have served for millennia as the necessary counterpoint to notions of civilization, safety, and order in western culture" (Jasen 14). In addition, for generations there has been discussion of "how wild a region must be to qualify as wilderness, or conversely, how much of the influence of civilization can be admitted" (Nash Wilderness 4). Curiously, most western analyses of wilderness erase the aboriginal presence in regions considered "natural." Essentially, the question is one of degree: how much encroachment of civilization can be permitted before the wilderness is seen as "desecrated"? Because of this subjective assignment of degrees, images of nature become largely a state of mind; each person will have a different
perception of what constitutes wilderness and what does not. "Wilderness and civilization become antipodal influences which combine varying proportions to determine the character of an area" (Nash Wilderness 6). The Arctic is considered to add special character to Canadian nationalism. The question is, does the special character necessarily imply the appropriation of an imagined "wild" landscape. There is no universally accepted definition of wilderness. Its meaning has been both simple and complex but it has always been connected to ideas of landscape, culture, and ideology. Yi-Fu Tuan, a celebrated landscape theorist, argues that wilderness "cannot be defined objectively, it is as much a state of mind as a description of nature" (Tuan Topophilia 111). Despite its elusiveness, most people would attest that the Arctic is considered wilderness.

The idea of wilderness as a "place beyond civilization" originated in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chauncey Loomis notes that the idea of the Arctic wilderness as empty was prevalent in the nineteenth century. The public would expectantly read journals in which explorers often indicated how the Arctic was not lifeless at all. It was rich with plants, animals, and of course the Eskimo (Inuit) people (Loomis 104). However, the idea of the Arctic wilderness as empty, frozen, lifeless, and full of icebergs and glaciers, continued to influence the imagination of the public. The continuity of the idea of wilderness as empty is also a result of sixteenth and seventeenth-century images of the Arctic as mysterious and vast (Loomis 96).

Through the centuries, differing interpretations such as those described above, waxed or waned in popularity, enhancing the variability of our conceptions
of nature and wilderness. Of course the world of art experienced dramatic changes over time as well. These changes reflect that humanity and nature are intertwined and therefore inhibit the delineation of conceptual distinctions (Kemal and Gaskell 3). The specific 'idea of landscape' and the landscape in image production, "might only date from the Renaissance but both what have come subsequently to be termed 'landscapes' and also ideas about landscapes existed centuries earlier" (Baker 2). Cultural productions such as landscape imagery reflect the ideas and feelings associated with changing conceptions of nature and wilderness.

To deconstruct any landscape is "to reverse the imposing tapestry in order to expose, in all its un glamorously dishevelled tangle, the threads constituting the well-heeled image it presents to the world" (Eagleton qtd. in Baker 9). It was recognized that in most conceptions of nature, even mythological ones, there is the search for purpose and order (Glacken 3). This order could manifest itself in many ways but it was most significant that visual images became part of a collective memory bank and interacted with our responses to our contemporary environment (Osborne Iconography 162). One could argue that we privilege sight over all other senses. The visual appreciation of nature raised painted landscapes to a new and greater level of interpretation and invested in them a discourse of symbolism.

Many authors have researched the connections between landscape and imagery from various standpoints. One of the most influential books on this research particularly because of its hypothesis, is Gina Crandell's Nature
Pictorialized: 'The View' in Landscape History. Although Crandell concerns herself primarily with landscaped gardens and the British tradition of landscape aesthetics, important ideas can be extrapolated from her work and applied to the high eastern Arctic. Crandell explains perception of place and landscape as a result of imagery thus:

In powerful ways, pictures influence, and perhaps even help to constitute, our perception of places. For example, today pictures often first induce us to visit various places, and then encourage us to photograph these places when we get there. There is a specific set of pictures that, whether we have studied them or not, have helped to mould our conception of the landscape and have thereby played a crucial role in the objectification, or pictorialization, of nature: landscape paintings (and photographs of them). (Crandell 1)

Essentially, the thesis of this research seeks to test the validity of this statement in the high eastern Arctic.

Yi-Fu Tuan defines landscape as "[an integrated image]...a construct of mind and feeling." (Tuan Topophilia 89). Landscape is an ambiguous term that has layers of meaning; for example, it can be applied to architecture, land surfaces, urbanization as well as natural scenery (Meinig 1). Landscapes represent the continuous interaction of humans with nature. In addition, every study of landscape transforms meaning, adding another layer of cultural representation (Daniels and Cosgrove 1). In specific reference to the Arctic, Ned Franks views images of wilderness as intellectual constructs and also as both felt and imagined responses to the land (qtd in Grant 6). As the above ideas suggest, landscape induces notions of value and form that relate to a certain "pictoral" manner of seeing the land (Crandell 6). Landscape representations can influence thought, opinion, and behaviour (Ross 4).
Beau Riffenburg and Ian MacLaren have noted that exploration of unknown areas involves identification, expectation, illusion, and the facts of empirical reality (Riffenburg 11, MacLaren Aesthetic 19). For explorers and adventurers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the conventions of the sublime and the picturesque served as vehicles for representing the Arctic to the world. Eventually these conventions became accepted as accurate representations for little known areas of the world.

The beginning of British literary and visual depictions of the high Arctic began with the now famous poem Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner by Samuel Coleridge and the equally famous novel Frankenstein by Mary Shelley (Grant Wilderness 30). Indeed, these works set a precedent of how the high Arctic would be interpreted for decades to come. As Grant notes, the publication of Shelley’s Frankenstein also coincided with the British admiralty’s renewed efforts to find the Northwest Passage through the high Arctic islands (Wilderness 30).

The sublime and the picturesque were two modes of interpretation of the Arctic landscape. In particular, the sublime came to define nature “both in its actual state and as portrayed in art, architecture, and literature” (Riffenburg 12). Similarly, the picturesque came to represent scenes or landscapes that were easily identified with what a person had previously viewed in art (Riffenburg 12). The picturesque was unique for combining harmonizing features and controlled views. Often the paintings were similar to sedate British landscapes.34

places were represented according to familiar objects and conventions. Instead of portraying fear in imagery the one way people were able to control the amazing forces of nature was by painting them as ineffectual. This image also displays the what some considered “dangerous” inhabitants in a picturesque and non threatening manner. Often one could find the techniques of "coulisses" or framing which would control the viewer’s gaze by drawing it in to a particular feature (Figure 2). The hills in White’s painting draw the viewer’s gaze to the centre of the battle and reduce the immensity of the landscape to small hills. This image was painted during Frobisher’s third voyage to Baffin Island. It does not specifically represent wilderness. However, it does depict the inhabitants of wilderness in a picturesque manner.

The picturesque was also a significant convention of representation for the Arctic. Prior to the twentieth century, exploration of the Arctic was intended primarily to discover the Northwest Passage. People such as Parry, John Ross, William Baffin, Robert McClure, and John Franklin became well known in England and indeed around the world for their efforts to find the famous passage. When explorers returned they published their thoughts and records of happenings on the expedition.

35 The term 'coulisse' is adopted from theatre. Trees, a natural formation, or buildings are usually placed on each side of an image to direct the viewer's gaze to the centre.
Fig. 2 John White *Encounter at Bloody Point* from Frank Rasky, *Explorers of the North: The Polar Voyagers* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976) 106.
It was

[The literary gentleman wielding a pen, not the pioneer with his axe, [who] made the first gestures of resistance against the strong currents of antipathy. The ideas of these literati determined their experience, because in large part they saw in the wilderness what they wanted to see. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europeans laid the intellectual foundations for a favourable attitude. (Nash Tourism 44)]

At first these Arctic journals included primarily facts and measurements, but increasingly images, sketches, watercolours, and etchings started to appear to augment the narrative, to give colour to or elucidate the experience for the readers. "The narratives of expeditions...became popular reading among the educated public who found in their Arctic explorers the cultural heroes of the great age of European exploration and expansion" (Condon 51).

Often, Arctic features provided reminders or memories of familiar objects (Martin 23). For example, in the landscape painting resulting from one of Parry's expeditions a serpentine is shown in the foreground leading the viewer's eye to the background (Figure 3). The men are cutting ice in order to free their ship.

Although the painting follows the description of the picturesque that MacLaren outlines, that is, variety in shapes and the serpentine fashion of water, more than likely the men were not able to cut the ice in a pleasing formation (MacLaren, Retaining Captaincy 59).

During the years of intensive Arctic exploration, 1818-1884, perceptions of nature and the wilderness were added to and altered to reflect ideas about culture. The development of Romanticism had a great effect on representations of the Arctic. Romanticism refers to an enthusiasm for the “strange, remote, solitary, and mysterious” (Nash Wilderness 47).
Fig 3 Anonymous The Crews of Hecla and Griper Cutting a Passage Through the Ice to Winter Island 26 September 1819 from Ian Bunyan et al. No Ordinary Journey: John Rae Arctic Explorer 1813-1893 (Toronto: McGill-Queen's UP, 1993) 17.
Nature offered the possibility of an escape from society. The Romantic period in history, including North American history, was characterized by the sublime. The sublime offered the possibility that the representation of nature in art need not be comfortable and well ordered. Indeed, Immanuel Kant described the sublime as a convention that allowed natural features and chaos to be aesthetically pleasing (Nash Wilderness 47). Loomis notes that the sublime suggested “the immensity of creation...” and “reminds him of his own responsive vastness of soul, and of his mortal smallness in the universe” (98). This definition of the sublime was particularly well employed and popularized by the authors Samuel Coleridge and Mary Shelley.

Edmund Burke helped defined the sublime with his publication *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Riffenburg writes that Burke made the sublime a coherent and unified theory and with time, it became ingrained as a type of scenery which people expected. The use of the sublime created and reinforced stereotypical views of the Arctic for many years. The Arctic in particular was considered “an exotic background for adventure stories, closer to fiction than reality” and represented power, mystery, and terror (Riffenburg 14).

Examples of sublime Arctic imagery are simply too numerous to list. Suffice it to say, that one would be hard pressed to open an exploration journal, article, or popular book of the period without finding one. Exploration for wealth and glory was at the forefront of national agendas; England was particularly eager to find a northwest passage to the riches of Cathay. Throughout the
fruitless search for Sir John Franklin's last, and lost expedition, the sublime assumed force and power. Anything depicting vast geography, extreme nature threatening human welfare, cliffs, avalanches, tempests, floods, or anything inspiring feelings of horror and fright, gained popularity (Figures 4 and 5).

The romanticism of this period manifested itself not only in art, but also in the literary works of Wordsworth and of Alfred Lord Tennyson, who had an interest in the Arctic through his friendship with Lady Jane Franklin. Renewed exploration and Franklin's disappearance transformed the Arctic into an emotionally and philosophically charged realm. Reverence and revulsion now characterized perceptions of the Arctic; the tension derived from its awe-inspiring landscape and its life threatening qualities (Lopez 351) (Figures 6 and 7). *Man Proposes, God Disposes* by Landseer (Figure 6), blatantly portrays “the bitter satire on the vanity of human effort...” (Martin, Toward 22). Perhaps Landseer was haunted by the fate of the Franklin expedition as the painting connotes cannibalism and displays part of the Union Jack. Friedrich’s *Die gescheiterte Hoffnung – The Wreck of Hope* (Figure 7) also reminds man of his insignificance in the cosmos – “dwarfed by floating ice castles...” (Martin Toward 23). The singularity of man in the world is emphasized in Friedrich’s painting as it is apparent that nature at any point could destroy whatever man strives for. Moreover, this painting reveals how the Arctic was perceived by many people.

The European era of Arctic representations displays the influence of the sublime and the picturesque. The Arctic acted as an inspiration for sublime interpretations as it was marvellous, awe-inspiring, a landscape reflecting “nature
at its extreme, beyond human control and inspiring fear and wonder" (Riffenburg 12). The massive search effort for Franklin and his men answered many questions about the geography of the Arctic. In addition, after some of the mysteries of the region were solved, cultural productions started to change. However, these changes did not eliminate the sublime as a mode of representation for the Arctic. The interest in the Arctic was now becoming more popular in North America along with the sublime and the picturesque.

Images of nature and wilderness effect a great deal of influence on perceptions of landscape. Although ideas about nature and the perception of nature have changed over time, landscape continues to affect nationalism as well as perceptions of places not often visited. However, when one deconstructs a landscape such as the high eastern Arctic, certain trends appear. These trends would continue to be highly influential for many more years amidst changes in the social and political structures of the western world.
Fig. 4 Samuel Cresswell Gurney *Critical Position of the H.M.S. Investigator on the North Coast of Baring (Banks) Island, August 20th 1851* from Ian MacLaren "The Aesthetic Map of the North 1845-1859" *Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings* (Copp, Clark, and Pitman, 1989) 38.
Fig. 5 W.H.J. Browne The Biouvac (Cape Settings): The Party, under command of Lieutenants Robinson and Browne, at Dinner on the Ice, after the First Southern Deposit of Provisions, May, 1849. Temperature Forty Degrees from Ian MacLaren "The Aesthetic Map of the North 1845-1859" Interpreting Canada's North: Selected Readings (Toronto: Copp, Clark, and Pitman, 1989) 25.
Fig. 6 Edwin Landseer *Man Proposes God Disposes* 1864 from Campbell Lennie Landseer, *The Victorian Paragon* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976) Illustration 15.
North American Representations

Occurring concurrently with the massive effort to find Franklin and his men, was the development of nation states around the world. British North America was witnessing increased urbanization, and the new nation broke the bonds of colonialism with Confederation. As in Europe, noted American authors and philosophers, such as Thoreau and Emerson, began to value the wilderness in terms of spiritualism and transcendentalism. In this period, the United States housed a burgeoning nature movement which would eventually manifest itself through the art of the period across North America. Wilderness was declared a symbol of America's uniqueness in the Western World (Novak 4). Pride in nature came from the conquest of wilderness. In addition, "by the middle decades of the nineteenth century wilderness was recognized as a cultural and moral resource and a basis for national self esteem" (Nash Wilderness 67). Added to this new national pride in wilderness were developments in art production. One such development was the experience of nature becoming an inseparable condition of the artist's own existence (Greenwood 6). Many of these new developments and interpretations of nature and wilderness would later affect Canadian perceptions of landscape.

In the United States the "Romantics [had already] invested it [wilderness] with value while nationalism proclaimed its uniqueness" (Nash Wilderness 74). In a great period of nation building, wilderness, or more importantly the idea of wilderness, invoked a nostalgia and sentientality for nature that was disappearing in certain areas of the world. Indeed, "[T]he romantic sensibility,
especially when infused with nationalism, encouraged an appreciation of those
scenes in which landscape and history...were blended together" (Jasen 10). It
also fostered an aesthetic of nature deemed not superior to but distinct and
unique from that of Europe.

The romantic sensibility and nationalism related to nature developed in the
United States also affected conceptions and representations of the Arctic. With
the link between romanticism and nationalism, writers and artists soon found a
use for wilderness. These new writers and artists, such as William Cullen Bryant
or Thomas Cole, never completely abandoned the conventions and
characteristics of cultural productions previously established in Europe:
they and others simply adapted the conventions, characteristics, and techniques
to fit the new territory and idea of "wilderness" in the new world (Figures 8 and
9). For example, Frederic Edwin Church, a student of Thomas Cole, painted a
series of famous Arctic scenes following the disappearance of Franklin's
expedition (Nash Wilderness 82). In the paintings The Icebergs and Aurora
Borealis it is possible to understand Church's dream that the Arctic was a place
of sublime grandeur (Figures 8 and 9). Church's painting is more than
spectacular scenery; it reflects the influences of old master painting, his teacher
Thomas Cole, and the landscape as a powerful, evocative medium of
communication (Kelly and Gould 32).

36 Church completed Aurora Borealis by combining his travel experiences in northern
Labrador as well as sketches and verbal descriptions provided by Isaac Hayes who was a
member of an expedition to the North Pole 1850-1861. See Franklin Kelly and Stephen Jay
Fig. 9 Frederic Edwin Church *Aurora Borealis* 1865 from Franklin Kelly et al. *Frederic Edwin Church* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1989) 115.
With increasing urbanization in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, wilderness appreciation groups were established across Canada and the United States such as the Sierra Club and various Fresh Air Funds which provided healthy day trips for mothers and children. Instead of going to major urban centres for vacations, more people started to experience the land (Jasen 105). Essentially, going to the "wilderness" became a novelty for many as civilization "progressed" on the North American continent. A result of this renewed appreciation of nature was a different emphasis in landscape art: "[I]nstead of 17th or 18th century castles, fortresses, and temples employed as symbols of fortitude, courage and purity, we have the 19th century substitutes of natural forms" (Martin Toward 35).

After the disappearance and the massive search effort to find Franklin's last expedition, literary and visual productions of the high eastern Arctic became very popular. The Americans republished British exploration narratives and began creating new works of fiction embellishing man's fortitude against the powerfully sublime wilderness of the high Arctic (Figure 10). Indeed, it was “American writers and illustrators [who] raised the drama and imagery to great heights after their own countrymen joined the race for the pole” (Grant Wilderness 30). This image, titled "Tennyson's Monument" which appears in Kane's narrative Arctic Explorations in Search of Sir John Franklin (1894), from his 1852-1854 expedition, clearly represents the power of the Arctic wilderness and how it was reproduced.
Fig. 10 Anonymous *Tennyson's Monument* c. 1852 from Elisha Kent Kane *Arctic Explorations in Search of Sir John Franklin* (London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1894) 132.
Kane writes,

Cold and sick as I was, I brought back a sketch of it, which may have interest for the reader, though it scarcely suggests the imposing dignity of this magnificent landmark. Those who are happily familiar with the writings of Tennyson, and have communed with his spirit in the solitudes of wilderness, will apprehend the impulse that inscribed the scene with his name. (132)

The combination of the narrative written by Kane, cold and sick, with the obvious sublimity of the image emphasizes the drama Americans closely associated with the high Arctic landscape.\(^{37}\)

There can be little doubt that by the time of Confederation in 1867 a national consciousness was developing among English-speaking Canadians. One attribute of the new Dominion of Canada was a great expanse of land: so great in fact that few areas had been explored, either physically or metaphorically. There was a great deal of interest in the region's economic possibilities. An example is the Yukon gold rush. The gold rush also alerted the Canadian government to the strategic importance and significance of the country's northern territory. In addition, the Alaskan Boundary Dispute also caused the Dominion government concern about territorial concerns with the United States. However, it was not until well after the 1880s that the Canadian government found it desirable to fund Arctic expeditions to establish sovereignty in the region (Condon 59).\(^{38}\) Canada wanted not only to lay claim to the region, but also to demonstrate the value of the region to the nation.

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\(^{37}\) This image is also referred to by a participant on the Adventure Canada tour to the floe edge. Please see Chapter Four page 128.

\(^{38}\) Nationalism created the modern nation-state, and in turn, modern nation-states often
Significantly, American adventurers were also interested in finding the elusive North Pole. To do so of course, they would have to travel through Canadian territory in the Arctic archipelago. This new focus after the disappearance of the Franklin expedition also reinforced the drama of man against the unyielding landscape and wilderness of the high Arctic. The American explorer Robert Peary made repeated attempts for the North Pole, and in 1909, he claimed to have reached it and firmly planted an American flag (Coates Colonies 155).

Peary was just one of many intrepid explorers lusting after the North Pole. Indeed, there was an international race for the North Pole and it increasingly became part of the popular media.\(^{39}\) To reach the geographical end of the earth would bestow glory on both the explorer, as well as the nation he represented. Peary himself stated,

> The discovery of the North Pole on the sixth of April, nineteen hundred and nine by the last expedition of the Peary Arctic Club, means that the splendid frozen jewel of the North, for which through centuries men of every nation have struggled and suffered and died, is won at last, and is to be worn forever, by the Stars and Stripes. (Rawlins 10)

Obviously a statement such as this one raised concerns for the Dominion government. Essentially, the government decided that Canada would have to make an assertion of sovereignty over the region.

\(^{39}\) The Norwegian Otto Sverdrup claimed Axel Heiberg and Ringnes Islands for Norway between 1908-1902 (Coates Colonies 155).
Government expeditions to establish Canadian sovereignty in the high Arctic were dispatched sporadically beginning in 1897 with William Wakeham until the creation of the Eastern Arctic Patrol in 1922 (Coates Colonies 156). Three of the more famous of these sovereignty expeditions were led by J.E. Bernier (1909-1911). Bernier was charged by the Canadian government, in an effort to prove Canadian sovereignty, to patrol the waters of Hudson Bay and the eastern Arctic Islands. Essentially, Bernier, and others charged with exploration in the name of Canadian sovereignty, were to take note of the places they visited, make observations on the resources present in the region, and generally make the argument that there was a long history in the region, ostensibly a British history adopted by Canada, and that there were indigenous people present who were now Canadian citizens.

There are many images included to augment Bernier’s 1910 account. Interspersed with a historical narration of exploration in the region, ethnographic, and scientific explanations of various occurrences are some are sketches, but the majority of images are photographs. The purpose of these photographs was not aesthetic appreciation. They were intended to document and prove an essential point for the Canadian government: we have sovereignty in this region, albeit inherited from the British, and the Inuit who live there are now Canadian citizens.

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40 William Wakeham, Report of the Expedition to Hudson Bay and Cumberland Gulf in the Steamship Diana (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1898).
Indeed, it would be difficult to argue any aspect of aesthetic appreciation with the photograph taken from his ship entering Lancaster Sound (Figure 11). Photography did provide a more convenient means of representation, however, it was intended primarily for documentation. The flatness and lack of colour in the photograph dulls the landscape, but serves the purpose of proving something is in the Arctic that indeed does belong to Canada. As Shelagh Grant argues, the sovereignty expeditions added an arctic dimension "to the nationalist rhetoric linking the wilderness ethos to Canada's unique identity as a northern nation" (Grant Wilderness 31). Bernier's expeditions in particular, allowed the Canadian government to make a sweeping claim on the entire Arctic archipelago (Coates Colonies 155).

Despite the advances in technology, transportation, and image production after World War One, the eastern Arctic remained quite inaccessible. The sub-Arctic and the near North remained the most popular destinations for "frontier" experiences. It was also during this period that photography was used more readily to document trips and other highlights of life: "these first decades that the relationship between an increasingly visual society and an evolving photographic technology established new ways of seeing the world" (Schwartz, Geography 18). To that end, the Arctic appeared more frequently in photographs as well as in magazines.
Fig. 11 Hennessey Entering Lancaster Sound 1910 from J.E. Bernier Report on the Dominion of Canada Government Expedition to the Arctic Islands and Hudson Strait Made on Board the D.G.S. Arctic (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1910) 27.
However, these photographs were produced more as documentary fact.\footnote{The theory surrounding photography will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. For decades the photograph was considered “documentary” evidence of the essential reality of what was pictured in the photograph. As John Tagg states: “What the photograph asserts is the overwhelming truth that ‘the thing has been there’: this was a reality which once existed, though it is a ‘reality one can no longer touch’ (76, 87).}

Andrew Birrell notes that for a brief period in the 1860s and 1870s there were at least five men avidly photographing the Inuit and the surrounding countryside at Hudson’s Bay Company forts (Birrell 10).

Landscape photography was present in the 1890s and early 1900s, however, the photographs were black and white and therefore did not clearly define the snow covered landscape. After the development of the somewhat easier dry plate process the number of photographers working in the North increased (Condon 54).\footnote{Prior to the dry plate process, photography was a time consuming and very cumbersome process, especially in the field. Exposure times were very long and all equipment had to be carried with the photographer, including the developing materials.} Photographic collections from this period document Arctic whaling at its height (Condon 54). The whaling industry and along with it the photography documenting the industry, reached their apex in the 1890s in the eastern Arctic. The photographs taken in the Arctic during this period were neither meant to attract tourists to the Arctic, nor were they to act as a surrogate for travel. These photographs were used to illustrate non-fiction and autobiographical books of the region, magazine and newspaper articles, and were also part of government and scientific records. As part of these publications, they acted as surrogates for travel allowing viewers to see what was not materially in sight.
Photography did not immediately dominate the tradition of painting. In fact, there was a transition period. This transition occurred between the invention of photography and the development and mass marketing of the Kodak Camera. The daguerreotype and calotype were invented in 1839, the collodion wet plate process began around 1851, and the revolutionary dry plate process made its way to Canada in 1867. Initially then, "[E]arly attempts to make use of the photographic medium in visually documenting the landscape and cultures of the Arctic were severely hampered by a cumbersome and time consuming photographic process..." (Condon 46). More significantly, the introduction of colour film acted to displace landscape painting in the Arctic. Despite the influx of more documentary based photos from this period and into the early twentieth century, many people still associated the Arctic with mystery. The romantic Arctic remained accessible through exploration journals, books written about explorers, fictional adventure stories, or maybe the occasional romantic magazine article.

With a long heritage of European landscape painting, as well as a growing national consciousness, the Group of Seven started on a quest to define

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43 Koltun notes however that "[a]lthough most interested in factualism, many 'scientists' and straight photographers who exhibited [amateurly] did not necessarily ignore compositional balance, lighting, and other considerations commonly associated with art. These photographers, however, had a more traditional idea of what actually constituted art, involving the 'picturesque' and 'sublime' in landscape, and the anecdotal in figure studies" (Robertson 40).

44 In his article "The New Amateur 1885-1900," Private Realms of Light: Amateur Photography in Canada 1839-1940 ed. Lily Koltun. (Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1984). Andrew Birrell notes that "Magazines of the era provided a modest outlet for the subjects favoured by amateurs. In September 1888, the editors of the Dominion Illustrated believed that when Kodaks and other cameras are in everybody's hands...we should have views of every occurrence of any note...pouring in on us...so that the amateur would have the satisfaction of having his work reproduced,' and over the next three years the magazine published halftone reproductions of landscapes by several Canadian amateurs"
landscape and Canadian nationalism as two integral elements in the production of a Canadian identity. Landscapes may be "expressly used for symbolic purposes, where specific places may be identified...or where archetypal symbols such as sea and forest may be used more generally to reflect the...perception of the human condition" (Porteous 12). The conventions of the sublime and the picturesque as well as the amalgam of nature perceptions, including the romantic movement, and developments of nationalism in the United States connected to nature, served to inform the Group of Seven. Indeed, Roald Nasgaard identifies the Group as the "final stage of nineteenth century northern Romantic landscape painting" (Nasgaard 8). "They felt themselves part of the movement towards the direct imaginative confrontation with the North American landscape which, for them, began in literature with Thoreau and Whitman" (Frye ix).

Past movements and conventions allowed the Group to probe the relationship of mind and place in Canadian nationalism. The Group identified the possibility of inscribing their own interpretations of Canada on the palimpsest of Canadian nationalism. In his essay, "The True North Strong and Free," Carl Berger declares "[i]f Canadian nationalism is to be understood, its meaning must be sought and apprehended not simply in the sphere of political decisions but also in myths, legends, and symbols..."(Berger 19). In Arthur Lismer's words:

[O]ne of the reasons that landscape painting is the typical expression of new movements in new lands is the fact that the artist is, intuitively, the medium through which this knowledge (so essential to growth) of environment must flow into consciousness...Today...wilderness is understood as a source of power. (qtd. in Nasgaard 158)
A.Y. Jackson and Lawren Harris and their respective trips to the Arctic represent the increasing identification of Canada with the North, including the Arctic, the rapid industrial and urban growth in the country, an emerging new “wilderness ethos”, Canada’s sovereignty in the Arctic archipelago, and continued polar exploration (Hjartarson 70).

Jackson made two trips, one in 1927 and one in 1930 with Lawren Harris. With time, Harris’s Arctic landscapes became the more recognized work of the two artists. However, Jackson’s paintings and sketches also make the Arctic come alive (Figures 12 and 13). In an interview prior to his 1927 journey, Jackson connected exploration, artists, and Canadian nationalism: “There is a country to the north of us which is unique and distinctly Canadian. Let our artists turn explorers: let them go up into this territory and interpret it for Canadians” (Adamson 189). While on the trip (1927), Jackson described Bylot Island in his journal as “a sombre impressive looking country” (Groves 114). His sketches and paintings accordingly reflect this sentiment. Significantly, the paintings by Jackson included here are taken from Al Purdy’s North of Summer: Poems from Baffin Island, published thirty years after Jackson completed them. His “sombre impressive country” evidently had a lasting effect on perceptions of the region.

Lawren Harris represents an integral development of eastern Arctic landscape art and the valuation of wilderness.
Fig 13 A Y Jackson Shore Line Frobisher Bay c. 1925 from Alfred Purdy North of Summer. Poems from Baffin Island
(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967) 11
As Brian Osborne states, the Group documented their periods and places; they have projected the perceptions and values of their sponsoring society; and some artists, mindful of the cultural and national implications of their work, have consciously expressed a corporate sense of cultural or national identity. Whatever their original purpose or meaning, some pictures of places, peoples, and events have become part of this corporate identity and some have become central to it. (Iconography 162)

Moreover, Lawren Harris embodies Douglas Porteous' claim that mind and landscape interpenetrate and essentially become almost interchangeable (Porteous 104).

Within the Group of Seven, Lawren Harris was the consistent "devotee of the sublime as embodied in the northern romantic tradition..." (Greenwood 7). Harris transcribed spiritual values, as did the American romantic artists when rendering the sublime, to create canvases of grand epic scale and balanced tension (Figures 14 and 15). In particular, Icebergs in Davis Strait represents and reminds us of the power of nature and how it can shape such a unique mysterious natural form (Larisey 110). The popularity of Harris' Arctic landscapes "suggests that a reverence for the Arctic sublime persisted deep in the Canadian psyche" (Grant Wilderness 32). Larisey accurately notes, that it was Harris who made a concerted effort to include the Arctic in the Canadian landscape tradition (111). The art resulting from his trip increased Lawren Harris' reputation, helped establish the basic symbols of national identity, and reinforced the romantic image of the high eastern Arctic held by southern Canadians. Fine art is often not included as part of a nationalist imagination.
However, "[V]isual communication [of] the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has witnessed the direction of visual symbols to the promotion of particular ideologies -nationalism being one of them" (Osborne, *Interpreting* 232). Obviously, the Group of Seven challenges the idea that fine art cannot become an integral part of the nationalist imagination.

Initially, the success of the Group can be attributed to the awareness of a discrete nationalism propagated by various cultural and political agencies that were neither American nor British in nature (Osborne, *Iconography* 173). It may be significant that at the greatest time of their popularity the Group was exhibiting in a more traditional manner, but it was the later development of an ideology related to their art and of northern distinctiveness in Canadian iconography that propelled them into the realm of popular visual discourse:

> [T]o be effective proselytizers of ideologies, however, works of art should be considered as modes of communication interceding between the imagination of the artist and the imaginations of those who read, hear, see or touch them. They are communicators of meanings that are a complex mix of the artist's intentions, the audiences' interpretations and the stylistic conventions and preferences of the day. (Osborne, *Interpreting* 242)

Therefore, the Group started their expression of Canada in the arena of fine art, but their creations and ideas were quickly adapted beyond the confines of the fine art arena to become an integral element in popular Canadian nationalist discourse. Lawren Harris eloquently describes the connection of the group to the Canadian landscape and nationalist discourse thus:

> The Canadian artist serves the spirit of his land and people. He is aware of the spiritual flow from the replenishing North and believes that this should ever shed clarity into the growing race of America and that this.

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45: As noted previously in this chapter, this idea correlates with Ramsay Cook's ideas on the importance of nationalism.
working in creative individuals, will give rise to an art quite different from that of any European people. He believes in the power and the glory, for the North to him is a single, simple vision of high things and can, through its transmuting agency, shape our souls into its own spiritual expressiveness. (qtd. in Wadland, Seton 48)

Harris' and the group's vision has had a great impact on how Canadians perceive their country. If one were to enter an art gallery gift shop he or she will be confronted, and at times inundated, with images painted by the Group on mugs, mouse pads, calendars, pencils and any other marketable item one could dream of.

The Group of Seven wanted to create distinct and unique Canadian art, but at the same time they could not dispense with hundreds of years of landscape painting traditions or historically developed perceptions of nature. Ramsay Cook argues, along with many other critics, that the Group of Seven established an all new approach to landscape painting in Canada both in form and content. True, what the Group produced was distinct from any other Canadian art produced before, but it is at the same time crucial to acknowledge the established conventions within which the Group worked - namely the sublime and the picturesque developed earlier in Europe. To claim that the Group created absolutely new content and form in Canadian landscape art constructs a deified position for them in the art world:

[Throughout the next decades, the principal works of the Group of Seven and Emily Carr abide by the basic compositional ground rules that were established in Europe during the 1890's. as they were an unconscious but continuous dialogue with a set of inherited principles. (Nasgaard 202)
It would be more plausible, especially in terms of Arctic landscape art, to credit Lawren Harris and A.Y. Jackson with adapting artistic conventions to the high eastern Arctic and making the region more accessible to southern Canadians.

The greater use of photography in the high eastern Arctic, as well as the inclusion of landscape in Canadian nationalist rhetoric for the most part defines the pre World War Two period in Arctic history. With the greater ease of movement romantic perceptions and their connections to nationalism were reinforced. The images produced of the Arctic in this period firmly placed the sublime, and in part, the picturesque in the imagination of southern Canadians as the ultimate convention of representation.
Chapter Three: Images Present

Changes in the Arctic occurred at an alarming pace after World War Two. Yet paradoxically, many people hold to the idea that the Arctic remains a place that “time forgot.” Although there are some aspects of life in the Arctic that have not changed for hundreds, even thousands of years, the region has developed rapidly in the past fifty years, playing “catch up” with the rest of North America and the world. For example, as recently as fifty years ago motorized vehicles were seldom seen on Baffin Island and in other more remote regions of the Arctic. Today, snowmobiles, quads, trucks, vans, and cars are all over the Arctic. Dog teams have been discarded and the “iron dog” - the snowmobile - has taken the dog team’s place in society. Satellite television, computers, and the Internet now also span the Arctic landscape connecting the region to the rest of the world.

Another form of technology that has made its imprint on the North is the camera. By way of the photograph, millions of people have seen the awe-inspiring beauty of the Arctic, its unique culture, and the people who call it home through images published in magazines, tourism promotional materials, and even more recently over the Internet.

The “North” and Modern Photography

With the conclusion of World War Two, social change and economic development throughout the North also increased at a dramatic pace. The strategic significance of the Arctic became increasingly apparent. A second result of the industrial boom and social changes, was a new generation of researchers examining exactly how this encroachment of technology would affect the Inuit. "Photography provided an ideal medium for the visual documentation
of these marked and irreversible changes" (Condon 80). Furthermore, "No longer was the goal to photograph the traditional activities of northern peoples, but the creation of a record of the meeting of two distinct cultures" (Condon 80).

Increased accessibility to the Arctic regions through communication and transportation allowed more travellers and tourists to go to the Arctic. It remained, and remains, quite expensive, but freelance photographers and adventurers started to journey farther north to get the perfectly sublime photograph and present the breathtaking beauty of the little known region to the public. Amateur and professional photographers alike wanted to show the changes appearing in the Arctic landscape (Condon 80). However, photographs still emphasized the life of the Inuit rather than the Arctic landscape.

For most of this century, "Canadians, and certainly most government agencies, have treated the real northern parts of the country - be they provincial norths, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, or the Arctic - with benign neglect punctuated by bursts of economic exploitation, resource development, or political interference" (Grace 1). Indeed, after the end of World War Two, the North was viewed mostly as a region from which great profit could be extracted in the form of natural non-renewable resources. Many new projects were planned in the decades following. Photographs resulting from these large resource projects served as testaments about government activities and intentions. The Canadian government quickly realized the advantage of photography as a tool of science and political persuasion. Many photographers were able to make the journey north at the taxpayers' expense. One of the projects undertaken was the Distant
Early Warning (DEW) line, a joint project between Canada and the United States to provide warning of a northern attack (Figure 16).

Paradoxically, as Canada was preparing to mine the North, conservation and environmental movements were also growing in popularity. More and more Canadians were becoming aware of the many unique natural areas Canada had to offer. They were becoming alarmed particularly at the lack of protection for these places of natural heritage in the face of rampant resource development. In addition, the conservation and environmental movements resulted in the accumulation of information on the more remote regions of the country. With air travel becoming more regular to high eastern Arctic, the region was no longer left in splendid isolation and its beauties were soon published for the world to see. Canadians and people around the world were awakening to the unique environments and cultures of the Arctic. In an industrial world, the North was quickly becoming a natural mecca for visitors in search of "the last true wilderness."

Tourism and Photography – A Love Hate Relationship

Photography has been one of the most significant forces in travel literature and publicity. Probably more than people realize, we rely heavily on photographs to explain persons, places, and things. During the war years and thereafter, photographs assumed even greater importance. John Berger argues that one of the functions of the traditional landscape painting was to speak about a traveller's view of landscape.
The photograph followed the landscape painting as a mechanically produced image often used to “inspire tourists to travel long distances...” (Crandell 166). Obviously, this development to inspire tourists to visit came much later to the Arctic Islands, but of late, tourism is a quickly growing revenue generator for the region.

Photography is an extremely interesting field of study not only because of its social and cultural properties, but also because of its relations with other media and the variety of roles it performs (Trachtenberg vii). Particularly with reference to tourism, photographs become “part of a process of maintaining and confirming ideas...they also act as a surrogate for travel and at times even act in the place of memory” (Schwartz We Make 42). Photography and the development of mass tourism share histories to the point that it is difficult to separate their development (Markwell 131). However, to establish the connection between tourism and advertising photography it is essential to consider briefly elements of the theory and history of photography.

One of the most contentious debates regarding photography, and a debate particularly relevant to this thesis, is that of the relationship between art, photography, and advertising. What constitutes art? Can a photograph be art? Are there any significant differences between using paintings or photographs for advertising purposes? For years scholars, amateur and professional photographers, artists, and art historians have debated this and many other issues related to it. The list of notable authors and scholars who have entered the debate would have to include: Walter Benjamin, John Berger, Roland Barthes, Susan Sontag, and Marshall McLuhan.
With its discovery, photography instantly changed the medium of visual imagery forever. It was thought that because of the scientific and mechanical nature of the photograph, the imagination of the “image taker” was no longer a necessity as it was in an artist painting on a canvas. As Alan Trachtenberg notes, “the medium [photography] represented to its earliest commentators both science and communication: a decidedly modern device, a sign and prophecy of changing times” (Trachtenberg ix). John Berger argues that there is a direct continuity between oil painting and photograph publicity as (1) sometimes the photographic image is a “frank pastiche of a well known painting,” (2) paintings and photographs lend authority to their own message, (3) photography relies on the language of oil painting, and (4) both media use nature to create “a place” (Ways 134). In today’s scholarship, it is accepted that the photographer, in some way, manipulates the photo. Despite this recognition of the change effected by the photograph, there has been little notable effort to address the medium itself, to examine its evolving character, its social and cultural properties, its complex relations with other media, and the great variety of roles it performs (Trachtenberg vii).

Of particular relevance to this research is photography’s social and cultural properties, as well as the significant role it plays in tourism publicity.

Cultural productions cannot be objective. There are always “filters”, or at a minimum, the opinions and values of at least one person are involved in the production of a painting or photograph: “[O]ne can no longer view them as the productions of [an] individual: they have become collective images…” (Benjamin 212). As New states, cultural productions related to the Canadian “land”, or anywhere, visually involve a “process of constructing, questioning, and
confirming assumptions about social reality” (New 8). For Canada in particular, cultural productions or representations of the land “illustrate many of the socio-cultural and socio-economic issues raised by post-colonial theory: the issues of colony and empire, wealth and power, centre and margin, the opportunity to speak and the likelihood of being heard” (New 11). John Berger and Roland Barthes indicate that the photographic medium must be recognized as a medium of persuasion and a carrier of ideological messages in everyday life (Trachtenberg xiii). Photographs demonstrate how people relate to the world and how they situate themselves in it.

Photographs, and specifically tourism advertisement photographs, construct ideas of “place.” In Canada the most consequential ideas of “place” or “land” contribute to nationalism and national identity. Therefore, it is crucial to examine exactly what some photographs or images are portraying as Canadian, and furthermore, how they are being used to promote places. The promotion of a place involves not only commodification, but also the dissemination of particular ideas represented or constructed about it through particular media, such as photography. Teymur argues that photography acts as a “highly selective filter, eliminating, absorbing, transforming whatever goes through it” (Teymur 6). What is presented in the imagery about a place is highly significant; yet, what is not presented, or excluded from the larger reality or context of the image, is equally significant.

Joan Schwartz maintains that photographs can be considered documents; that is, they have a will, a purpose, a message, and an audience (We Make 42). In addition to considering photographs documents, Schwartz concludes that how
a photograph is circulated and the meaning generated about it are also significant in assessing the effect of a photograph (We Make 43). Photographs provide information such as the values and beliefs of a society and they also offer places of imagination. One must always consider the purpose behind photographic production. Technology, culture, and history will always affect how an image is produced.

It is not only the purpose behind the production of a photograph that is significant; equally important is the format in which the photograph is presented. The format within which an advertisement is presented will ultimately affect its message. For example, images advertising the high eastern Arctic can be presented in a myriad of formats: sales catalogues, tourism brochures, web sites, television programs, movies, documentaries, exhibits, books, or advertisements in magazines (Figures 17 and 18). Of particular interest for this research is the format of photographic advertisements and their link with historic landscape paintings.

The commercial photograph seen in an advertisement is intended to attract people to a certain place not as much through realism, as through the imagination. The photographer, not unlike explorers painting landscapes hundreds of years before, takes photographs with a set of values, ideas, and pictorial conventions in mind.46

46 Jasen comments that in the Niagara region in particular "repeated attempts to prove one’s quest for transcendent experience travel writers quickly fell into a set of hardening rhetorical conventions" (33).
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Therefore, it can be argued that the picturesque and the sublime, derived from historic landscape paintings, became part of a rhetoric of visual conventions for photographers of the Arctic and particularly of the high eastern Arctic. This rhetoric of conventions has also influenced contemporary publicity photography intended to attract tourists to the region. “[P]ublicity makes all history mythical, but to do so effectively it needs a visual language with historical dimensions” (Berger Waves 140). The perceptual lenses of the past have imparted a lasting effect on contemporary publicity photography intended for tourism marketing purposes.

Tourism and photography, whether it means photographs taken by tourists or photographs taken for tourists, are intimately linked and are inherently part of any travel experience. Indeed, “[P]hotographs are a key component, if not the key component of contemporary tourism, not just because of their omnipresence, but also because of photography’s ability to influence without appearing to do so” (Nelson 63). Crandell explains that we become consumers of landscape, seeing what we expect to see from the inheritance of the “scenic view” (Crandell 166). Photography and tourism contribute to social processes and interaction on many levels. Photographs taken by tourists may also influence family and friends to travel to the same destinations.

Williamson notes that advertisements “are constantly translating between systems of meanings, and therefore constitute a vast meta-system where values from different areas of our lives are made interchangeable” (qtd. in Nelson 63). Moreover, advertisements borrow ideas and inspiration from history and nature. They can affect an individual by influencing behaviour, opinions, and attitudes,
and society in general by promoting general ideas and beliefs (Dyer 73).

Advertising can have at least five objectives: (1) to communicate information; (2) to highlight specific features; (3) to build a brand image; (4) to reinforce behaviour and; (5) to influence intermediaries (Prentice 119). Tourism advertising is generally directed at the decision-making process. The object of the advertisement aimed at a potential tourist is to convert unawareness to awareness of a region, to convert awareness into knowledge about a region, or to increase interest (Prentice 119).

Photography fosters the perception that all things are similar.47 As has been explained, the underlying assumption of this research is that images influence and help form our perceptions of places (Crandell 1). Landscape paintings and sketches either from Arctic exploration journals. or pieces that artists created with expeditions in mind. demonstrate the impact of the sublime and the picturesque. It is precisely these two conventions that continue to be employed in contemporary photography used for tourist publicity. A comparison of paintings and sketches from Arctic exploration journals and contemporary photography demonstrates the continued use of the sublime and the picturesque.

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47 The following discussion of photography is derived loosely from Karen Brown’s thesis “From Travel to Tourism: The Relation of Photography to Social Change in Nineteenth Century America.” Diss. (New York University, 1992).
Fig. 19 John Dunn *Iceberg* from *Canadian Geographic* 115.8 (December/January 1996): 78-79.
Essentially, the images used for publicity purposes remain familiar to a memory bank of stored images as most people will not have the chance to visit the high eastern Arctic (Figure 19).

As soon as a place is "pictured" it becomes an object of exchange. Historical images of the high eastern Arctic were published in books that many people read and exchanged. Furthermore, both amateur and professional photography involves the exchange of images. Photographers may be commissioned to take photographs or they often sell their handiwork to the territorial and federal governments, private marketing companies, publishing companies, photograph supply companies. On the amateur level, people who travel to the region may enter their photographs in contests or exchange them with other visitors. Photographs are easily exchanged and consumed and photographs of the high eastern Arctic are all the more precious because it is a remote, mythical, unique tourist destination.

Related to the commodification of images is the public nature of photography. Photographs are everywhere. Because people easily exchange photographs, images inundate everyday life and the popular media. Images of the high eastern Arctic may be more rare than others, but they are included in publicity and marketing ventures aimed to attract visitors to the region, coffee table books about the region, magazine advertisements, as illustrations for magazine and newspaper stories, and even on web sites. Unlike travel literature, photographs open up the region pictured or visited for all to "see" and

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46 Please compare to Figure 14 Lawren Harris Icebergs, Davis Strait pg.76.
experience. Indeed, photographs hold great influence over travel decisions and may even act as a surrogate for travel itself.

An important aspect of photography which deserves consideration is how viewing a photograph affects a person. Viewing photographs establishes a person as a spectator rather than as a participant. Images become "the basis for our experiences, and these images are increasingly the consequences of someone else's participation" (Brown 47). This aspect also raises issues of power when considering the picturing of the high eastern Arctic in the popular media and tourism industry. As the photograph does emphasize the spectator rather than the participant it must be asked, as was indicated earlier in Joan Schwartz's work, what is the will, the purpose, the message, and the audience of a photograph (We Make 42)? A participant in the photographic process would be the photographer or another person pictured in the photograph itself. A spectator on the other hand is not involved in the creation of an image. John Moss accurately notes that with photographs of the Arctic you do not observe or regard or survey: you are positioned. the content is positioned. you are led into the picture as text and see what the author wants to be seen. as he wants you to see it. And everything else is spectral (Moss 145)

One must consider who took the photograph, its intended market, its initial and evolving purpose, what type of message it was supposed to convey, and for whom it was intended. For example, the context of an advertising photograph commissioned by the federal government, is entirely different from that of a photograph posted on a personal website or used by an outfitting company. In the hands of the federal government, photography and tourism advertisements
become tools for science, exploration, and political persuasion (Schwartz, We Make 48).

As the Arctic became more accessible, photographic essay books about the region became more prevalent. The photographers who provided photographs or wrote these books endeavoured to find visually striking images of the changing landscape. These books allowed many people to see images of the Arctic for the first time. However, the books also continued to represent the Arctic in very romantic terms. For example, Douglas Wilkinson's book, The Arctic Coast, includes a prologue entitled "A World for Dreamers" which despite the fact that the book focuses on the natural history of the Arctic coast, begins: "The Arctic coast of Canada is a world for dreamers, a land few Canadians have ever seen or will ever see, a region about which we have come to know much but, as yet, understand little" (Wilkinson 8). Amongst information about glacier formation, the wildlife of the Arctic Coast, meteorological patterns, and geology, the book includes photographs of snowdrifts, a solitary man standing in an immense landscape, people hiking up glaciers, and a full page, disorienting sublime image of mountains on Baffin Island (Figure 20).

Fred Bruemmer is another photographer who has made a career out of publishing images of the Arctic. It is evident from his books that he has great respect for the Inuit, their culture, and the land of the Arctic. However, Bruemmer also holds a romantic view of wilderness:

The vast lands of the north are our last great wilderness... In our increasingly artificial world, we need a place of wildness and loneliness: a place where wolves run free; a place where the water is pure and the air is clear; a place where nature is still master and where we can feel awe of her might. (Bruemmer, The Arctic 76)
Figures 21 and 22 illustrate Bruemmer's romantic view of the high eastern Arctic land. Both portray the might of nature but in different ways. The cross marking a whaler's grave indicates the harshness of the climate and the presence of people in what many considered a "no man's land" (Figure 21). The iceberg connotes the power of nature as well, but the power of nature to create something beautiful – a natural sculpture (Figure 22). Bruemmer's images of the Arctic have made their way into countless homes and onto many coffee tables. His images have also become part of a collective memory bank which influences perceptions of the region.

Figures 23, 24 and 25 are images from a photographic essay by Mike Beedell. Mike Beedell is just one of many professional photographers now travelling to the high eastern Arctic. Although The Magnetic North, the book from which these images are taken, is not an overt advertisement for travel in the high eastern Arctic, it nonetheless publicizes the region. The landscapes pictured in these images are sublime and awe inspiring. In Figure 23 a tiny bird is perched on the lower end of the iceberg indicating the immensity of the berg, the water, and the sky. Figure 24 similarly emphasizes the immensity of a castle-like mountain. With the quote by John Moss in mind, it is clear that the spectator is positioned to view these photographs as text. Or as Brown points out, the spectator views the result of someone else's participation (Brown 47). The next figure, a photograph from one of Mike Beedell's Arctic photograph books, demonstrates the impact of history and historical memory on the picturing of the high eastern Arctic. The photograph is of a cross on a hill behind the village of Pond Inlet, Baffin Island, NWT. The Cross itself symbolizes the imperial and
Fig 21 Fred Bruemmer Whaler’s Grave at Cape Fullerton from *The Arctic* (Montreal: Infocor, 1974) 45
Fig. 22 Fred Bruemmer *Strangely Shaped Iceberg* from *The Arctic World* (Toronto: Key Porter Books. 1985) 79.
Fig. 25 Mike Beedell Pond Inlet Crucifix from The Magnetic North (Toronto: Oxford UP 1983) Photograph 4.
religious presence of the Roman Catholic Church in the community. Moreover, the image incorporates a sublime iceberg and the colours of the awe-inspiring beautiful sky and water (Figure 25). Although the primary influence behind these images is not to “sell” the high eastern Arctic to potential tourists, they could inspire curiosity and a desire to learn more about the region.

If similar images are repeated - that is images using the historical conventions of the sublime and the picturesque - spectators will continue to receive one “type” of message about the high eastern Arctic to the detriment of many other potential perceptions of the region. “Photography, by its very nature, presents a fragmented view of the world” (Brown 107). It may be argued that the spectator has the option of turning away from a repeated image. However, one will only encounter more of the same in the popular media and the tourism advertising industry.

Photography also provides a means to preserve experience in a form that promotes nostalgia and sentimentality. Quite often, photography intended for tourism advertising purposes contains elements of nostalgia and sentimentality at its centre. The nostalgia and sentimentality engendered by tourism advertising photographs may relate to a historical landscape painting from the exploration era or the nostalgia may belong to the photographer who wishes to transfer some of the experience of the region through a photograph to the potential tourist. “New advertisements do not exist in a vacuum. They acknowledge and refer to what has gone before them” (O’Barr 3). With nostalgia and sentimentality at hand, photographs tend to turn into symbolic objects. Like Lowenthal and
Schwartz, Brown agrees that photographs allow us to arrange, organize, and construct memories of perceived landscapes (Brown 52).

As stated previously, photography and travel maintain an intimate relationship. Photography affects not only travel decisions, but also acts in some cases as a surrogate for travel. Everyone has heard of an "armchair adventurer." Tourism enterprises, when using photographs, must "appeal to the tourist's fond desires and imaginative associations": "[t]o do so they have to draw on myths, histories, and fantasies, either ones associated with the locality or others taken from the universal cultural domain" (Sternberg 951). Sontag goes as far as to claim that "they [photographs] trade simultaneously on the prestige of art and the magic of the real" (Sontag 69). Photographs are an intermediate step between the viewer and the viewer experiencing the landscape (Schwartz, Geography, 19).

The North, specifically the high eastern Arctic, has almost a mythical quality as a tourist destination. "That the North could be lethal to the early explorers and still can be to contemporary explorers, adds credibility to the travellers vision of the region" (Coates and Morrison 8). Although the sublime is not a term or aesthetic often referred to today,

its legacy persists in the importance many tourists still place on dramatic encounters with the natural world, and in their search for transcendent experience through the illusion (or carefully controlled reality of personal danger). (Jasen 153)

The definition of the sublime has evolved since the days of the nineteenth-century explorers. Today, and especially in the field of advertising, it is shaped and altered by the technology of photography. However, the basic element of the sublime remains — the fascination with wilderness.
A landscape "constantly acquires meaning through its presentation in advertising, the news media, novels, planning documents, legal contracts, public displays, [and] architecture..." (Nelson 70). Presentations, particularly visual imagery used in advertising, create landscapes; they are inherently linked with the promotion of ideas, the reproduction of power, and the celebration of beauty (Nelson 71). The assumption is that a photograph is realistic when it is used as an advertisement to construct place; "[C]learly tourism ads do more than encourage visitors to come to a particular place; they come out of and feed into those interpretive practices that make a region visible to itself and others" (Whalen 111). Tourism advertisements inspire travel and serve to define ideas of place and time in the world. and are a tool for communicating the unfamiliar and the unknown.

Tourism and Baffin Island

In the last two centuries, tourism has become a vital component of western and non-western societies (Nelson 108). Recent figures support that tourism is the world's largest industry, growing at a rate of 5-10% per annum (IUCN 1). In 1997, Canadian tourism generated $44 billion, up 5.3% from 1996 (Canadian Tourism Commission http://206.191.33.50/tourism/stats/tp97). Tourism in Canada also generated 503,200 jobs (Canadian Tourism Commission http://206.191.33.50/tourism/stats/tp97). Tourism is at once big business, cultural/social interaction, and a manifestation and agent of cultural change. It also plays an essential role in shaping the landscape and the manner in which it is perceived.
In their book, *Polar Tourism: Tourism and the Arctic and Antarctic Regions*, Michael Hall and Margaret Johnson recognize that "[T]he poles have become highly attractive places to visit because of improvements in technology, the end of the cold war, changes in consumer preferences, increased accessibility, and the never ending search for new marketable tourist products" (Hall and Johnson 1). The continued growth of the environmental and conservation movements and the increase in special interest tourism, have bolstered the polar tourism markets. In 1959 approximately 600 tourists visited the Northwest Territories. In 1992, the number of tourists was estimated at 56 000, with 85% visiting in the summer months (Hall and Johnson 12). The Arctic is one of the few remaining tourism frontiers in the world as tourism was generally insignificant until the 1980s when transportation infrastructures were improved and tourism marketing for the region gained momentum (Hamley 389).

The high eastern Arctic offers markets to numerous and diverse types of tourists: adventure tourism, cultural/historical tourism, nature and eco-tourism, sport fishing, and sport hunting (Nunavut Tourism, *Strategy Report 6*). The Baffin region in particular offers many of the markets noted and the possibility of developing many more.

The Canadian Tourism Commission cites promising market trends which match what the Baffin Region has to offer: unique and different experiences, learning experiences, and the opportunity to encounter an entirely different landscape ([http://206.191.33.50/tourism/reports/roundtable/findings.html](http://206.191.33.50/tourism/reports/roundtable/findings.html) 27.05 98). Ironically, it is the difficulty of access, although this aspect is
decreasing, that makes the high eastern Arctic an attractive adventure vacation or outdoor destination.

Most visitors to the high eastern Arctic are drawn to the landscape and people. A 1989 visitor survey conducted by the Northwest Territories Department of Economic Development and Tourism indicates that 60.8 per cent of visitors ranked landscape and scenery most important to their visit. 13.7 per cent the culture and the architecture, 11.5 per cent fishing and hunting, and 8.7 per cent the wilderness and nature (O'Barr 393). In 1989, visitor spending in the Baffin Region alone totalled $5.09 million (O'Barr 393).

The Northwest Territories government has realized the economic potential of tourism. Moreover, community involvement, sustainable tourism, and the development of products and services have been stressed. As each year passes, more and more attention is devoted to the possibilities tourism has to offer communities in the high eastern Arctic. More importantly, with the establishment of Nunavut as a new territory, communities and the planned new government of Nunavut have taken a leading role in decisions regarding tourism in the region. This type of local active involvement will allow the people more control over what is publicized about their land and life to the world.

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4 The category “wilderness and nature” defines visitors who were more interested in pursuing activities in direct contact with the land, such as whitewater canoeing or hiking, rather than a trip where they would take on a spectator role.
Chapter Four: Baffin Island Case Study Results

The theories employed in this research provide the context for the application and comparison of field work to the thesis. However, it is the field work in this study that explores the implications and impacts of tourism advertising imagery and their connection to historical visual representations of the region.

As stated in Chapter One, field work was completed with a participant observation strategy on an Adventure Canada trip to the floe edge between Bylot and Baffin Islands. The trip combined natural and cultural history with the simultaneous experience of landscape in the high eastern Arctic. The format of the trip, as well as participatory observation, gave me first-hand contact with other tourists who reflected freely on their experiences. Some conversations between the researcher and participants were recorded with the participants' permission. Other participant observations were included as journal entries or recorded notes by the researcher.50

Additionally, questionnaire was mailed to participants after the trip. These questionnaires were designed to elicit responses regarding motivation for travel to the high eastern Arctic, any influence tourism advertising may have had on participant travel decisions, and general demographic information such as where the members of the tour were from, and their age and education level. Participants' understanding of Arctic history and their knowledge of historical contemporary Arctic imagery were also addressed in the questionnaire.51

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50 See Appendix Two for personal journal entries.
51 Please see Appendix One for sample questionnaire.
No attempt was made to analyse the questionnaires quantitatively as the sample is too small for this to be accomplished effectively. However, it is precisely the size of the Adventure Canada group that has generated the more frank and personal responses in conversation or from the questionnaire. The questionnaire and its results were then compared to *Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile* (TVN). Finally, recorded conversations, recorded notes both verbal or written, and personal observations supplement the questionnaire to express more of the participants' perceptions of the Arctic landscape and its imagery.

The North, and more significantly the high eastern Arctic, is no longer an inaccessible travel destination. The participants included in this field research were a few among thousands who have visited the high eastern Arctic in the last fifteen years. In general, Arctic tourists have a unique profile which emphasizes a certain type of travel experience. Despite the apparent uniqueness of the "Arctic tourist," which will be discussed later in the chapter, the influence of advertising remains constant.

**Questionnaire Results**

The participants who completed the questionnaire were from the Greater Toronto area (3) and Rochester, New York (1). One participant came from Florida. All participants were between the ages of forty and sixty and all but one held post-secondary degrees.

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53 I am not profiled in the summary of these questionnaire results for reasons of objectivity.
Some of the questions on the questionnaire were intended to determine the participants' knowledge of the high eastern Arctic, as well as whether tourism advertising had had any affect on their travel decisions. Most participants noted a desire for adventure in a new physical environment or the desire to experience a different culture. What is readily apparent from this questionnaire is that more adventure or "eco" based tourist experiences seem to be associated with the high eastern Arctic. For many, the high eastern Arctic remains a place of adventure and imagination. In most cases, general knowledge about the Arctic was derived from personal interest and research rather than academic study. Some participants even collect rare books and cultural products, such as soapstone carvings, from the region.

Personal interest and research in the high eastern Arctic also affected how the participants chose to seek out information regarding Baffin Island. Most participants noted books, either from the library or from personal collections, as a good source of information. Photograph essay books likely numbered among those consulted prior to the participants' trip with Adventure Canada and Toonoonik Sahooonik Outfitters to the floe edge. Also noted in the responses was a poster and the Baffin Handbook, as well as books on the Group of Seven. Information provided by the Northwest Territories Department for Tourism and Economic Development was also cited.

Participants were also requested to note whether any of the Arctic visual imagery they viewed included tourism advertising or historical or contemporary landscape paintings, as well as whether they had seen images of the high eastern Arctic in particular. Unfortunately, the question seems to have been
unclear to the participants; most indicated the influence of tourism advertising but did not identify the type. Although participants were not asked to, it was hoped they would indicate whether the tourism advertisements were government produced, either federally or provincially, or whether they were for a private venture.

When asked directly if any visual images affected travel decisions, three out of five participants indicated yes. Despite the three positive responses to the question, not much detail was provided by the participants. One participant stated that images affected his first trip to the Arctic in the 1960s more than his most recent trip. Another participant noted the influence of advertising imagery from Auyuittuq and Katammilik National Parks as well as feature articles in *National Geographic*.

Those participants who answered positively to the effect of imagery on their travel decisions also recognized patterns or conventions in the imagery they viewed. Two responses specifically noted the prevalence of landscape imagery but identified two different conceptions of it. One participant described images as "pure landscape with amazing aboriginal people successfully adapting to the environment before we came" (Participant #1 Questionnaire). The second perception of landscape described by a participant refers more to its physical make-up, colours, and how they are represented in the imagery (Participant #2 Questionnaire). These perceptions reflect the romanticism associated with the sublime and the picturesque.

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54 To maintain consistency in the narrative, participants of the questionnaire and tour are numbered rather than giving their names. Please see Appendix One for participant number/name correlations.
The recognition of trends or conventions in imagery is related to the participants’ familiarity with historical or contemporary Arctic landscape painting or photography. Four participants indicated familiarity with such imagery but answered the question about it with varying degrees of confidence. The most common answer indicated familiarity with Arctic expeditions, explorers, and artists. For example, one participant knew about W.H.J. Browne, Samuel Cresswell, and George Back. This participant also listed significant artists such as Soper, Harrington, the Group of Seven, and photographers Robert Flaherty and Breummer.

The final question asked whether participants experienced what they expected to experience on the trip. The participant who had travelled in the Arctic previously experienced no surprises during the trip. A second participant revealed that since the trip, he realized that the imagery he viewed was not representative of what he had actually seen but he did not supply any details in his response. Finally, the third participant indicated that her perception of the floe edge was only matched in part, when huge ice chunks were pushed up and over each other in mounds and ridges. The origins of this perception derived both from literary and visual images. Overall, participants generally described some differences between images viewed, whether literary or tourism advertising, and their actual lived experience.

**Questionnaire and Profile Comparison**

Demographic and quantitative analyses were possible with such a small sample. However, the data provided would not be statistically significant. Consequently the publication, *Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile* (TVN) acts as
a quantitative complement to this research as it provides statistical analysis and poses questions similar to those in the questionnaire designed for this thesis. The TVN profile examines, among other things, where people come from, the general demographics of visitors, their reasons for visiting, what they do in Nunavut, the sources of their information, and the conclusions reached by the profile researchers. Comparisons between the TVN profile and the questionnaire conducted for this thesis will be interspersed with the description and analysis of TVN.\textsuperscript{55}

The TVN profile "represents an effort to combine the findings of a number of surveys and studies related to tourism in the Nunavut region of the Northwest Territories" (Department of Economic Development and Tourism 5 (DED&T)).\textsuperscript{56} The report is organized into two sections: (1) a profile of tourists who visit Nunavut as well as historical information on visitors, and (2) an overview of possible trends and target populations for new tourism marketing ventures (DED&T 5).\textsuperscript{57}

Although the TVN profile, which is derived from exit surveys, does not directly address, in great detail, whether tourism advertising affects visitors' decisions, the information provided does relate to the influence of visual imagery

\textsuperscript{55} The questionnaire for this research was developed prior to the knowledge of how Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile was organized. This was in part the result of time. The Trent Ethics Board had to approve the questionnaire months in advance of the actual fieldwork. The TVN was also brought to the researcher's attention after the questions were developed. Despite the slightly different questions and focus of TVN and the questionnaire, the information they provide is complementary.

\textsuperscript{56} DED&T stands for the Northwest Territories Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

\textsuperscript{57} TVN is largely based upon the 1994 Northwest Territories Exit Survey and the 1994 Visitor Centre Survey.
Survey studies focused specifically on the influence of imagery on perceptions and travel decisions have been completed by John Marsh of Trent University. It stands to reason that visitors to the high eastern Arctic do some personal research before a trip. More specifically, the type of vacations associated with the high eastern Arctic and Baffin Island, i.e. eco and adventure trips, involve some knowledge, whether historical or contemporary, of the region because of the uniqueness associated with travel in the region.

In the questionnaire designed for this thesis, basic demographic information was requested of participants. Results from the questionnaire compared favourably to the statistics provided in the TVN which identified that 87% of visitors to Nunavut come from Canada and the United States. In 1994, 72% of visitors to Nunavut were from Canada and 15% were from the United States (DED&T 6). A second demographic question asked in the questionnaire was the age of participants. The average age for participants on the Adventure Canada tour was between 40 and 60 years. This number compares to the statistics provided for the Baffin region where most visitors, 88% in 1995 were 35 or older (DED&T 11).

Directly related to the age factor for tourists surveyed in TVN and on the trip is the level of education. All but one participant in the questionnaire held a post-secondary degree. Again, this correlates with the data presented by the TVN profile. In 1994, 64% of all Nunavut tourists had some post-secondary

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education. By 1995, 77% of Baffin visitors had a university degree (DED&T 11) (Figure 26). With this information in mind, it is probable that visitors to the high eastern Arctic have knowledge of the region prior to their visit. Post secondary education would also imply the increased ability of participants to critically assess visual representations of the high eastern Arctic. In addition, post secondary education increases the possibility of visitors' knowledge of Arctic history whether through academic study or personal research as well as the possibility of the financial means to travel to the region.

Tourism has predictably increased along with accessibility to the high eastern Arctic through infrastructure development and more advertising. For example, in 1985 business travel to Baffin was 64% of total visits. Merely 29% of visitors reported visiting for vacation purposes (DED&T 16). By 1995, 81% of visitors in the Baffin region were there for vacation purposes and only 14% for business (DED&T 18). The 1995 statistics reflect a steady increase in tourist flow not only to Baffin Island, but also to the Northwest Territories.

The new territory of Nunavut will be established in April of 1999. This historic establishment will bring more visitors to the region either for business or pleasure. The new capital of Nunavut will be Iqaluit, and most government activity will be based there. It would be of great interest to conduct another exit survey after the establishment of Nunavut to gauge the number of visitors and their purposes for visiting.

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56 The Department of Economic Development and Tourism of the Northwest Territories notes that these numbers should be viewed with some caution because of variations of methodologies between studies.
Fig. 26 Education Levels of Nunavut Tourists from Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile (Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1996) 11.
It could happen that the expanded visibility of the new territory through media coverage will increase tourist activity and change the focus of the activity towards the Inuit culture and away from nature and aesthetic appreciation.

Business visitors to the Baffin region have identifiable purposes. However, tourists are subject to different influences and depend on different sources of information. Although the data provided by TVN is not extensive in this area, they do highlight the main sources of information for tourists. Most of the information visitors received, 49%, came from friends and family (DED&T 18). An additional reason given by participants at 19.7% was simply “to see the Arctic” (DED&T 18). Unfortunately, there is no further description of this category, so it is not clear what this phrase means. Does this phrase mean that a person sitting on the couch at home, working at a desk, or jogging down the street might suddenly decide, “I want to see the Arctic?” This conclusion is highly unlikely. There must have been prior interest piqued for a person to want to travel such a great distance.60

The next most significant influence listed is magazine journalism. TVN treated the influence of magazine articles and that of advertisements as separate categories. It could be argued that the two influences are similar and should be considered together. As suggested earlier, magazine articles featuring the high eastern Arctic may be considered publicity similar to a tourism advertisement. Although many magazine articles may not intend to direct travel to the featured place, they may still be considered a significant influence. If the magazine article

60 Other influences listed were: 1-800 numbers (.7%), Explorer’s Guide (2%), Magazine Ad (7%), Magazine Article (10.9%), On the Map (4.8%), Word of Mouth (6.1%), Lived Here Before (2.7%), and Travel Agent (1.4%) (DED&T Tourists Visiting 18).
presents an attractive story, provides information, or highlights cultural aspects of a place, it is essentially working in the same manner as an advertisement. Images for magazine stories are carefully selected to provide illustration, either historical or contemporary. They are meant to complement the text and draw the reader's attention.

When one combines the percentage of tourists reporting the influences of magazine advertisements and stories to get a total of 17.9% one gets an even stronger indication of the power images hold (DED&T 18). In addition, when one considers the previous category, "to see the Arctic," and how indeed this may subsume advertising or magazine stories of the high eastern Arctic, the percentage climbs even more dramatically to 37.6%. The Department of Economic Development and Tourism of the NWT also conducted a Baffin Region Tourism Industry Overview survey in which different companies and outfitters in Nunavut were asked to detail their marketing ventures and indicate which were successful. Sixty-seven companies responded to the marketing section of the survey. Forms of marketing listed are: consumer shows, trade shows, magazine advertisements, the Explorers Guide, a marketing programme, media/family, newspaper advertisements, direct mail, and other (word of mouth, internet, slide show, yellow pages, television, and lecture tours). In 1996, 35 of the 67 companies placed magazine advertisements and 15 of them rated results from this form of marketing as good (DED&T Marketing Results 3).

The analysis of influences on tourist travel decisions from TVN correspond with responses given by tour and questionnaire participants. Most participants
cited books, either from the library or personal collections, as influences on travel
decisions as well. One participant remembered a poster that caught his
attention. This participant also cited the popular Baffin Handbook and various
works on the Group of Seven (Participant #1 Questionnaire). Also noted by a
participant was a Government of the Northwest Territories advertisement
information campaign about the high eastern Arctic (Participant #2
Questionnaire).

Data available from two separate studies in 1988 and 1995 list the areas
of interest for tourists in the Baffin region as: (1) arts and crafts (2) hiking or
backpacking (3)cultural history (4) nature observation (5) camping (6) fishing,
and (7) hunting (DED&T 18). Between 1988 and 1995, however, percentages
changed for each of these activities. Most notably, hiking and backpacking
surpassed arts and crafts, and camping made a huge gain on over nature
observation and culture/history (DED&T 18) (Figure 27). Topping the list for
activities in Nunavut were hiking and backpacking followed by camping. These
changes may reflect an increased interest in outdoor activities or an increase in
the availability of these activities in general (DED&T 20).

Questionnaire participants indicated interest in almost all the activity areas
described in TVN. Four out of five participants reported a combination of
pleasure, education, and adventure as the purpose of their trip. Indeed, most of
the activities listed in TVN were included in the Adventure Canada trip to the floe
edge.
Fig. 27 What Visitors Do in Nunavut from Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile (Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1996) 19.
The only activities not directly included in the Adventure Canada tour were fishing and hunting. Significantly, TVN notes that 41% of the many tourists to the Baffin region, started to plan their trip more than three years in advance, on average. Less than 10% of visitors began planning their trip within the same year they travelled. It is highly unlikely that those who planned their trip for a year or more in advance would not come across some type of tourism advertising or magazine article featuring the region. All members on the Adventure Canada tour had either had prior experience in the Arctic or had learned about some aspect of the region.

The previous discussion, analysis, and comparison of tourism aspects in the high eastern Arctic are interrelated. How one learns of a region, researches or plans a trip, the information one considers, and the types of activities in which one engages all combine to create an overall impression of a place. This impression consists as much of what is experienced as of what is expected. In the 1988 Baffin Visitors Survey, many visitors suggested improvements to the infrastructure elements of the tourist industry, particularly improvements in the quality of hotels and restaurants and in transportation facilities. Despite the suggestions for better infrastructure to support the tourist industry, visitors still believed the best features of the Baffin region were the landscape and the scenery (DED&T 24) (Figure 28).

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61 Participants of the trip did witness the hunt of a seal and caribou.
Fig. 28 Best Features of the Baffin from *Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile* (Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 1996) 25.
Although the picturing of the high eastern Arctic landscape is not addressed directly in *Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile*, it appears when one examines motivation for travel and activities which occur around it. Landscape is an integral element in the tourist experience of the high eastern Arctic.

**Participant Observation Results**

In addition to the tour participant questionnaire, information was recorded in verbal and textual form (with participants' consent) during the Adventure Canada tour. I recorded the textual information in a if a participant did not wish the conversation to be recorded. Formal interviews were not conducted. Rather, information was obtained in conversation with participants. The results, although of a limited number, are quite candid. One of my specific goals for these conversations was to get an impression of the tour participants' knowledge of Arctic history, to determine whether they had any knowledge of Arctic landscape imagery, and to learn whether what they were experiencing was what they anticipated prior to their trip.

The most relevant information from this material will be discussed in this section. What became apparent when speaking to the tour participants was that their range of knowledge about the high eastern Arctic varied greatly. Despite this range in knowledge, and in the type of knowledge, their impressions of the landscape were not contradictory.

Three tour participants held an expectation of the appearance of the ice at the floe edge and also what it would be like to travel by the floe edge. They noted that, contrary to their expectation, the ice was quite flat; they had been under the impression that the ice "would be piled up" or that the ice would be
more like pressure ice – broken and jagged (Participants #2 and #5 Personal Interviews). Obviously, such ice would make to travel by snowmobile and komotik quite difficult. All three participants expressing surprise at the flatness of the ice seemed to have prepared themselves for difficult travelling, for example anticipating a need to haul komotiks over ridges of ice (Participants #2, #3 and #5 Personal Interviews).

The impression that the ice would be difficult to traverse is a curious one. Somewhere participants must have viewed an image in which the ice was broken and piled up, possibly even an image of explorers hauling sledges over such ice conditions (Figures 29 & 30). Where did this impression come from? This impression directly relates to the influence of both popular culture and images, as well as to general knowledge of the high eastern Arctic. To have gained this impression, participants may have viewed historical imagery, read about such conditions in a magazine article or book about an expedition, seen such an image in film, or had such a description of the ice passed on to them orally. Perhaps this expectation can also be traced to the fiction and non-fiction accounts of the race for the North Pole. The romance of the place draws people to the Arctic. But once visitors arrive, they soon notice that the landscape seldom resembles the constructed visual images representing others perceptions of the North.
Fig. 29 W.W. May Sledges in a Fair Fresh Wind. Going Over Hummocky Ice 1855 from
One participant described her surprise at the vibrant colours in the landscape, especially the blues, greens, and whites of the ice. The general consensus was that the colours were much more vibrant than expected. One participant noted that the ice can be blue even when melting, or when the sky is overcast (Participant #2 Personal Interview). Therefore, the water from the melting ice is not reflecting the sky. This same participant commented more on the colours of the landscape saying that often there is a "striping effect" with greys, whites, and blues. As a result, it is often difficult to discern where the sky or water begins and the land or ice ends. One can compare this participant's experience of colour and the landscape to Lawren Harris's Icebergs, Davis Strait. Harris effectively, and deliberately, uses many shades of grey, blue and green to create a monumental iceberg. There is also a sense of "striping" in the painting; horizontal stripes run across the water to the sky and vertical ones through the iceberg. Harris's technique mirrors the tourist's gaze. Or, is it that the tourist's gaze mirrors Harris's technique? Harris and the participant interpreted the landscape around them similarly.

General discussion on the tour also often revolved around the immensity of the landscape. One could almost imagine the cliffs and mountains as castles. Some of the rock formations looked like turrets. When travelling past a particularly striking cliff, one participant commented on its resemblance to Tennyson's Monument, a painting from an Arctic expedition journal. It is difficult to hear this participant on the cassette because of wind and noise from

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\(^{62}\) See Figure 10 pg. 63.
the snowmobile, but the implication of the conversation about this particular image was that it was hard to accept until one had viewed something similar.

The immensity of the landscape was shared by the entire group: “the big thing was also this vast distance when you try and take a picture. You get only 1% of the whole thing” (Sylvia Reynolds Personal Interview). Many participants remarked that they often thought they were seeing land on the horizon when it was actually water. I myself observed a melding of the horizon where ice met the sky. It was difficult to discern where the ice/water ended and the sky began.

There is] “this feeling that you are on the edge of the earth. It just stops and there is only water for miles and miles and miles.” (21.05.97).

The tour involved various activities such as exploring an ice cave, hiking, bird watching, whale watching, climbing icebergs and mountains. At the final campsite, before our return to Pond Inlet on the 24th of June, two participants and I climbed a mountain above an ancient Thule site and whaling station on Bylot Island. After reaching the summit, all realized that the landscape was now altered by their presence. One participant remarked that this alteration changed our perceptions of the landscape—it was no longer “pure” in our minds regardless of whether we were the first to climb the mountain. This implies that “part of the lure of the place and the landscape is in its ‘purity’ and ‘wildness’” (Participant #4 Journal Entry 24.07.97). Prior perceptions of the landscape were quickly altered by the trip whether as a result of the ice conditions or of the introduction of a human presence in the landscape which was in contrast to western civilization’s general definition of an empty wilderness.
Related to this realization is a curious phenomenon commented on by most tour participants and recorded in my field journal. "It's really strange, but the longer you're out here the more you notice the slightest colour variation in the snow or ice. Anything. It could be a gum wrapper and you'll notice it because it's out of place" (21.06.97). Similar to climbing a mountain and altering the landscape, a gum wrapper or tea bag was very easy to identify on the ice because it altered the make-up of the landscape. These "intrusions" on the landscape are not represented in historical or contemporary imagery of the high eastern Arctic as "[T]he eco-tourism industry promotes the vision of an unspoiled natural world to attract thousands of visitors northward..." (Grant Wilderness 29).

One participant discussed how "the picturesque would lend itself to painting the landscape from a distance... mountains, rivers... do look 'controlled' or semi-ordered. It is only when closer that you realize the power the land holds and how quickly it could take your life if you do not respect it" (Participant #4 Journal Entry 24.06.97). The significance of the landscape in tourist advertising is also linked to what is not pictured in the imagery. As one participant commented, "[tourism advertisements] do not show the bitter cold, [the] fog, [the] snowstorms, dropping your snowmobile down an ice crack, or the remains of a narwhal on the floe edge" (Participant #4 Journal Entry 26.06.97).

A general conclusion based on recorded conversations, recorded notes, personal observations, and journal entries is that, despite the range of knowledge held by participants about Arctic culture and history, perceptions of the Arctic landscape were similar for many of them. Moreover, when one considers the questionnaire results and recorded conversations, whether on tape or as notes,
one notices that the landscape of the high eastern Arctic is a focal point which
generates discussion about exploration, cultural history, the Inuit people, nature,
and wildlife. This research demonstrates that individual tourists display varying
levels of knowledge about the Arctic, yet perceptions of the landscape seem
more. Travelling to Baffin Island and camping on the floe edge was, for most, a
new and exciting experience where the imagination met reality and where seeing
truly became believing. Participants experienced the landscape, the ideal and
the real, and the romantic beauty, which is usually pictured in tourist
advertisements, and the reality that a narwhal carcass and garbage on the floe
edge represents.

Content Analysis

To complement the questionnaires, TVN, and information from
participants on the Adventure Canada tour, a basic qualitative content analysis of
three magazines was completed. This analysis focused on the magazines.
Canadian Geographic, Equinox, and Up Here for the years 1985-1997. Stories
featuring Arctic themes or tourism advertising were charted primarily in the North
(both Arctic and sub-Arctic). General observations regarding the frequency of
stories and advertisements, the types of advertisements and stories, as well as
the incidence of historical or stereotypical themes in the imagery are noted.63

The content analysis for each magazine covered the years 1985-1997 to
indicate the increase in attention to the region as well as to reflect the growing

63 Canadian Geographic, Equinox, and Up Here were chosen as magazines which
publish images and stories on different regions of Canada. These publications are also
significantly well known to the Canadian public. Up Here, although produced in the western
Arctic, also publishes images and stories about the high eastern Arctic. It acted as a comparison
to the southern Canadian publications.
tourist industry after approximately 1985. In addition, the content analyses were stopped in 1997 with the recognition that by continuing the analyses into 1999 I would have to address the new group of people moving “North” in anticipation of the establishment of Nunavut.

**Canadian Geographic**

*Canadian Geographic* [CG] is a widely circulated popular magazine. Its format loosely follows the famous *National Geographic* in that it provides information on Canada’s geographic make-up, culture, people, achievements, and history. It is environmentally aware and focuses equally on adventure, history, culture, and natural science. It is published by the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, a reputable organization with an established history of its own. When people read CG they are presented with glossy attractive photographs depicting adventure, history, and information about many places in Canada, places of which many readers are often unaware.

Stories focused on the Arctic are considered a form of awareness raising in this research. The stories, and the imagery which accompanies them, are not intended to sell a service or a product. The story “sells” a place or an activity which did or could occur in that place. The images used in stories of the Arctic attract readers’ interest and may inspire travel.

The content analysis was set out in tables for easier accessibility. Categories were created to identify patterns emerging from stories and advertisements in the magazines. The easiest manner to summarize these charts is to look at the more relevant categories and then reach some general
conclusions. Some comparison of the Arctic stories and advertisements in each magazine will also be included.64

For the years 1985-1997, stories concerning the Arctic have often centred on adventure travel and its relation to exploration history. The next most prevalent types of stories are either about Inuit life and culture or about natural features and environmental issues in the Arctic. Twenty-three stories are profiled in this content analysis. Of the twenty-three stories which feature Arctic content, eleven contain images which focus almost exclusively on landscape with or without people. More often than not, when the landscape images include people, these people are engaged in some sort of outdoor activity such as hiking, canoeing, or kayaking.

An additional important category which can indicate general interest in the Arctic is the number of stories written in any year between 1985 and 1997. Six stories were written about the Arctic in 1991. These stories include a profile of Pond Inlet, an examination of global pollution, the story of the Geological Survey of Canada, the exploration history of the Northwest Passage, Inuit perceptions of geography, and a natural history of the narwhal. Of these six stories, only one focuses specifically on the high eastern Arctic (Pond Inlet). The other stories are related to but not focused on the Arctic.

Consideration must also be given to the photographers who provide photographs for these stories. Quite frequently, the author of an article also provides the photos for illustration. Most often these trips are the "eco-adventures" profiled in the tourism information earlier in this chapter. Since the

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64 See Appendix Two for Canadian Geographic content analysis chart.
high eastern Arctic, in relative terms, is still a mysterious travel destination, it can be argued that the number of photographs of this area which are available for magazines and advertising is not as high as a tropical destination such as Hawaii. Some publications may see the usefulness of buying photographs from experienced Arctic photographers to illustrate stories. Between 1985 and 1997, Fred Bruemmer and Mike Beedell are the two most published photographers in CG. The photos attributed to Mike Beedell most often accompany stories about the high eastern Arctic, whereas, photos by Fred Bruemmer often accompany stories on natural science. Significantly, these two photographers have also published coffee table books about the Arctic.\textsuperscript{65} Unfortunately, one cannot determine which photographers supplied advertisements about the Arctic. However, the sponsor of an advertisement could be considered the author in such cases, for example, the federal or territorial government, or some type of private sector venture.

The photographs used to illustrate stories and advertisements in CG each have a \textit{will a purpose, an audience, and a message} (Schwartz \textit{We Make} 42). Ostensibly the photograph’s purpose is to excite interest in the Arctic and maybe draw the adventurer out of his or her armchair to experience the Arctic landscape. The audience for the photographs generally remains constant. What changes is the message intended for dissemination. A specific message conveyed by “A Few Travelling Tips” which pictures tourists looking at a sublime

\textsuperscript{65} Mike Beedell, \textit{The Magnetic North} (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1983) and Fred Bruemmer, \textit{The Arctic} (Montreal: Infocor Limited, 1974).
iceberg. In another story in CG, entitled “Quest for the Northwest Passage,” the history of the high eastern Arctic is highlighted by the accompanying photographs (Figures 31 & 32). What is similar about these two examples are the sublime images used to elicit interest. The image with the iceberg connotes the beauty of the Arctic and suggest that this region is accessible and safe to visit. Safety is not at the centre of the second image, which implies the power of nature to upset a tourist’s best laid plans to explore the world.

What does this brief content analysis demonstrate about the images of the high eastern Arctic in Canadian Geographic? Many of the stories about the Arctic included in the publication are centred on adventure and environmental issues as well as on the history of Arctic exploration. The images accompanying these stories tend to be landscapes. Moreover, a preponderance of the photographs used in the stories are the work of two specific photographers. This is not necessarily a negative observation, rather it should simply be recognized that the perceptions of the Arctic landscape that these photographers hold are being used to illustrate more than one story to a large general readership which for the most part has limited knowledge of the region.

These photographs, then, enter the popular media and become part of collective memory. Also clear is that certain photographs are used more than once for tourism advertising, even when the accompanying message is changed slightly.
A Few Travelling Tips.

Take in the highs and lows of beautiful Baffin. From the breathtaking landscapes of Kiviuq to the enormous icebergs of Pond Inlet on Baffin Island and the unique Inuit art of Cape Dorset - the Baffin has tours to suit every travel enthusiast. Take flight from the top of the world for a round of North Pole Golf. Take a dip in the local hot springs or go on a tour of the Ice Cap. Then unwind in the comforts of modern accommodations where you can savour country cuisine and enjoy local hospitality.

You can get to Baffin with First Air. Same day connections to Baffin are available from most major North American cities. For more information call your local Adventure Canada office or visit their website.

Fig. 31 Anonymous A Few Travelling Tips from Canadian Geographic 110.1 (February/March 1990): 91.
Fig. 32 Mike Beedell *No Title Listed* from "Quest for the Northwest Passage"  
*Canadian Geographic* 111.4 (August/September 1991): 42.
What remains constant is that use of a wonderfully sublime photo illustrating what people want to see about the high eastern Arctic – simple, pure, majestic, natural, and an increasingly accessible yet mythic landscape.66

**Equinox**

*Equinox* (EQ) is a magazine similar to *Canadian Geographic* (CG) but it places slightly more emphasis on science. It also includes world travel features. Essentially, it is less defined by the discipline of geography. In comparison with CG, *Equinox* has only sporadically featured information about the Arctic over the past twelve years.67

Between 1985 and 1997, nineteen stories about the Arctic have been published in the magazine. In the years 1988, 1990, 1991, and 1996 no major articles or advertisements about the Arctic appeared. In all the other years examined an average of two stories per year were published. The total number of Arctic tourism advertisements in EQ from 1985 to 1997 was ten. During at least two consecutive years there were no Arctic advertisements.

The stories detailed in the content analysis of EQ are similar to those found in CG. Most stories in EQ highlight either adventure travel and its connection to exploration history, environmental issues (including animals), or occasionally information about Inuit life and culture, past or contemporary. Significantly, three stories are devoted to high eastern Arctic communities – Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, and Grise Fiord.

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66 Please see other examples such as those analyzed above in the *Canadian Geographic* content analysis chart. For example, April/May 109.2 (1989) "Arctic Spring in the Baffin," February/March 110.1 (1990) "Ice Trek: Crossing Baffin Island's Penny Ice Cap," and November/December 115.5 (1995) "Northern Exposure: Traversing Baffin Island's Icy Reaches".

67 See Appendix Two for the *Equinox* content analysis chart.
Prior to 1990, there are only two notable advertisements about the Arctic in EQ. One advertisement is for a forthcoming feature article and the second is for a specific type of camera and uses Mike Beedell as spokesperson. After 1990 there are a total of seven advertisements, all sponsored by the Government of the Northwest Territories and various regional tourism programmes or offices.

Photographers for story photos are not listed as often in EQ as in CG. Despite this fact, similar trends can be found in the frequency with which certain photographers provide photos for story illustration. It often happens that if the story recounts an “eco-adventure” type of story, members of the trip provide photographs. Photographs by Mike Beedell and Fred Bruemmer also appear frequently in EQ. Unlike CG, EQ between 1985 and 1997 used images from a photograph supply company. Images taken by Mike Beedell and Fred Bruemmer are also available through this company.

The images illustrating stories in EQ include reproductions of historical paintings, portraits, animals, landscapes with and without people, images for scientific illustration (i.e., archaeological digs, technology in the Arctic), Arctic settlements, or the Inuit who call the Arctic home. Perhaps the greater variation in images is a result of EQ’s less geographically based focus. The magazine also singles out the natural sciences and technology, which are topics prominent in the high eastern Arctic but are not as prevalent in the more culturally based

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Please see Appendix Two for content analysis charts. Note that the following story in Equinox includes photo(s) by Mike Beedell purchased through The Stock Market Inc., photo supply company: Richard Brown, “Icy Voyage from Greenland to Bermuda: The Long Lonely Drift of the Iceberg” 20 (March/Apr 1985). A photo by Fred Bruemmer is also used from this company to illustrate a story by Barry Lopez titled “Arctic Innocents” 28 (July/August 1986).
CG. This observation may also explain the smaller number of landscape photographs in EQ than CG.

Interestingly, a photograph used in an advertisement in CG is also found in *Equinox* in a different advertisement, "Life Looks Different on Top of the World" sponsored by the Government of the Northwest Territories (Figure 33). The photograph now accompanies text about the western and eastern Arctic and does not specifically note the accessibility of the regions through First Air but rather highlights accommodations and outfitting companies available across the North. In addition, in the top left hand corner of the advertisement there is an inset picture from a previous advertisement campaign by the Government of the Northwest Territories. The picture shows a clearly western sub-arctic place with trees.

Two striking advertisements included in EQ are titled "Picture This" and "The Accessible Arctic" (Figures 34 and 35). The first advertisement depicts a hiker looking through binoculars. Around the hiker is a field of wildflowers, with a lake and mountain in the background, looking through binoculars. The title of the advertisement "Picture This," is somewhat ironic since the person and the landscape in the photograph are pictured or framed for the reader of the magazine. The person in the photograph is looking through binoculars, picturing/framing the landscape, while the text, "Picture This," beckons the viewer/reader to imagine him/herself in the landscape. The text and the photograph imply that the landscape is so compelling and powerful that it is desirable to be there even to begin to apprehend its romantic beauty.
Fig. 33 Anonymous Life Looks Different on Top of the World from Equinox 74 (March/April 1994): 3.
Set your sights on the wild blue wonder below the earth's soul-heated wonder. Whatever your point of view, Alaska Summer has the view for you. Click your camera. Take your picture. Visit the National Parks. Catch the train to Santa Fe. Mainline your camera at Grand Canyon. Strap on your skis and head to the North. The fantastic Nature hikes will thrill. The rugged and remote snows and peaks, mountains and the intimate valleys, lakes and waterfalls. All this under the 24 hour Alaska sunsets. Then picture yourself in a room with a vista - a room with a window. Features featuring theArctic and the warm native hostesses.

You can get to the Baffin with First Air, Same day connection to the Baffin available from most major North American cities.

For information on Full colour brochure and flight schedule please write the following:

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
Canada
The West Next Door

BLACK FEATHER
Baffin Island
FIRSTAIR

Fig. 34 Anonymous Picture This from Equinox 50 (March/April 1990): 16.
Baffin's parks reward visitors with some of the most spectacular scenery in the world. And it's only a jet flight away.

Call: 1-800-661-0788 and ask for the Best of Baffin information kit.

Fig. 35 Anonymous The Accessible Arctic from Equinox 63 (May/June 1992): 115.
The second striking advertisement is titled "The Accessible Arctic." With such a title one could imagine a picture of a plane, boat, or some form of transportation, an image breaking the notion of the historic barriers of inaccessibility, especially of the high eastern Arctic. Instead the viewer sees two hikers superimposed on a photograph of mountains and water. The message is straightforward. It is possible to get to this beautiful place. The Inuit, who call this place home, are excluded from the frame of reference. For them, the Arctic has always been accessible. Indeed, in both the advertisements discussed, the federal government, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism for the Northwest Territories, Baffin Island, and First Air are trying to relay a very specific visual message – come here, it is accessible, the landscape is unbelievable. The knowledge of who is sponsoring these advertisements begs the question of Inuit involvement in the decision-making process regarding representations promoting their home as a place to visit.

Some of the same conclusions can be made about images used to illustrate stories about the Arctic and images used in the tourism advertisements of Equinox and Canadian Geographic. The images used continue to foster a romantic perception of the high eastern Arctic. Some go so far as to erase people from the landscape or manipulate the photograph to position people in it as tourists who are obvious outsiders. A more significant question is whether the Inuit have erased themselves from the landscape. However, this question assumes that they are part of the decision making process regarding which images are chosen to represent the region.

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69 First Air is an airline company that serves, almost exclusively, the eastern Arctic.
Up Here

*Up Here* (UP) is a northern publication designed primarily for Northerners. Therefore, its focus differs slightly from that of *Canadian Geographic* or *Equinox*. In general, the articles written for UP are shorter and highlight contemporary northern life. The coverage of contemporary life is all inclusive, with stories about mining to stories about berry season. With this said, the stories featured in UP also correspond to stories in the two other publications in that they also often focus on adventure or “eco” travel, environmental issues, historical exploration, or aboriginal and Inuit culture. There are also more stories devoted to Arctic topics than in the other two publications examined. Unlike *Canadian Geographic* and *Equinox*, it is not as revealing, in comparison to the other two publications, to break down the number of stories written about the Arctic in the twelve year window because the magazine is about the north. It is, however, interesting to examine the regions of the Arctic which are featured in the magazine.

Between 1985 and 1997, a total of twenty-two stories directly featured the Arctic. Of those twenty-two stories, thirteen highlight the high eastern Arctic, six cover the Northwest Territories in general, two are about the high Arctic, and one focuses on the circumpolar Arctic. Before either *Canadian Geographic* and *Equinox*, UP devoted significant space to stories about the high eastern Arctic.

The images which accompany the stories in UP, particularly the stories of the high eastern Arctic, do not differ from those in the other two publications discussed. The sublime landscape photo depicting diminutive people in an

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The Arctic as defined earlier in the thesis does not include the provincial Norths and the sub-arctic.
imposing setting predominates. Although UP does not have as wide distribution, it still publicizes the Arctic in the same manner as the other larger publications. Photographs illustrating stories in UP are provided by photographers like Mike Beedell and Fred Bruemmer, as is the case with *Canadian Geographic* and *Equinox*.71

An even stronger connection can be made between Mike Beedell, and all three magazines *Canadian Geographic*, *Equinox*, and *Up Here*. Images accompanying stories about the Arctic need to strike the imagination of the reader/viewer. Arguably the best way to do this is by providing a stirring photograph. Some photographs will also obviously have a stronger impact than others. Perhaps some photographs, especially if a reputation is gained, will be reproduced in various publications. This fact becomes even more apparent when a geographic region is a relatively new tourist destination. Four photographs which appear in UP stories by Mike Beedell are similar to one which appears in his book, *The Magnetic North*. The photographs depict Mount Asgard, Baffin Island at slightly different angles and with different light (Figures 36-39). The appearance of two or three similar photographs by Beedell demonstrates that certain types of images of the high eastern Arctic are routinely repeated. Tourism advertisements figure prominently in UP. This fact may imply that the magazine is trying to extend its readership beyond the north. Between 1985 and 1997 there are fourteen advertisements directly aimed at the tourism market.

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71 There are also photographs in *Canadian Geographic* and *Equinox* by Stephen Krasnerman. However, photographs by Mike Beedell and Fred Bruemmer appear most often in each of the three publications.
Fig. 36 Mike Beedell *Mount Asgard* from "Landscape to Ponder: Ski Tounng Auyuittuq"
*Up Here* 3.3 (April/May 1987): 44-45
SPECTACULAR!

That's the word for the wilderness North.

Our vast outdoors offers adventure amid unparalleled beauty, from the great stillness of the tundra to the craggy reaches of Arctic mountain ranges.

The North has many kinds of spectacle: you can view magnificent wildlife, get swept up in the sound and colour of traditional dancing, stare wonder-struck at the spires of glittering icebergs.

This issue, we explore some of the greatest spectacles of all: thundering Virginia Falls, the sweeping cliffs of Great Slave Lake's East Arm, one of Canada's newest Heritage Rivers, the lush splendours of Alexandra Island, the awe-inspiring movement of a half-million canoers to calving grounds on the limitless Barrens.

Join us for an unforgettable tour of our Spectacular North.

Fig. 37 Mike Beedell Spectacular – Mount Asgard from "Special Section: Spectacular" Up Here 6.3 (May/June 1990): 27.
Fig. 38 Mike Beedell *Mount Asgard* from "In the Shadow of Thor" *Up Here* 13.1 (January/February 1997). 33.
The majority of these advertisements are sponsored by the government of the Northwest Territories and are similar to advertisements found in the other two publications.

In addition to advertisements which aim to elicit the interest or strike the imagination of the viewer, there are also a few which are selling something other than the destination itself. These advertisements sell not only the high eastern Arctic, but also a service related to the tourist industry.

Two examples of tourism industry advertising are a promotion for Toonoonik Sahooonik Outfitters, titled "Rush Hour in Pond Inlet," and another placed by Inns North, "Where Hospitality is a Tradition" (Figures 40 & 41). The "Rush Hour in Pond Inlet" advertisement is interesting. Many ideas and perceptions of place converge in one photograph. Although one sees no members of the outfitting company, it is clear that they are selling Pond Inlet as a tourist destination and themselves as the company to arrange everything for you. The advertisement can be read on visual and visual/textual levels. Visually the advertisement emphasizes the sublime. A grand iceberg with a clear blue sky provides the background to a small snowmobile and komotik travelling across the ice. Tradition meets technology in the juxtaposition of a solitary snowmobile and the komotik in the same photo. Furthermore, the text, "Rush Hour," and, "for more information on how you can cure those rush hour blues," implies that the town of Pond Inlet is very small or that one can find a place where seeing a solitary snowmobile and komotik will seem like rush hour after one has been there awhile. Once again, certain stereotypes of the high eastern Arctic predominate.
Rush Hour...
...in Pond Inlet

For more information or to... can cure those rush hour blues, visit...
Toonoonik Sahooonik Outfitters
(819) 899-8366 Fax: (819) 899-8364
General Delivery, Pond Inlet, NU X4M 1X0

Fig. 40 Anonymous, *Rush Hour in Pond Inlet* from *Up Here* 12.6
Fig. 41 Anonymous. *Inns North: Where Hospitality is a Tradition* from *Up Here* (November/December 1996): 55.
The second advertisement by Inns North is also an interesting example of how to sell a tourist service as well as a place to potential visitors. It features two people in a double kayak on crystal clear, blue water with snow capped mountains in the background. Underneath the photograph is a map of all the Inns North locations in Canada and information concerning how to reserve a room. The advertisement in itself is not unusual. What is unusual, even ironic, is that the kayakers are obviously going to be camping on their trip and not staying at an inn unless it is at the beginning or end of their journey. Clearly Inns North advertises the Arctic in the same manner as countless other sponsors. The Arctic is beautiful, there are not many people, you can engage in great outdoor activities such as kayaking, and at the end of the day Inns North will be there to provide you with accommodation.

Advertising the place, tourism industry services, and adventure vacations, are all part of Arctic imagery in UP. However, over the years UP has also included stories on contemporary landscape artists such as the Group of Seven, Toni Onley, and Allan C. Collier. Each story includes paintings by the artists and some information on how they became interested in painting the Arctic landscape. These artists represent the connection between historic landscape painting and contemporary Arctic imagery. The story about the Group of Seven, A.Y. Jackson and Lawren Harris confirms the influence of their perceptions and ideas about the high eastern Arctic and the landscape. The testament to this influence is found in the art of Toni Onley, who cites the Group of Seven as an

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inspiration and also connects his art to those even further back in history by mentioning his training in nineteenth-century British watercolour techniques, the same techniques which can be found in the art of exploration journals.

Although **Up Here** has a different format, with its inclusion of contemporary northern life, than either **Canadian Geographic** or **Equinox**, many of the stories are “eco-adventure” stories. In addition, similar advertisements are found in **Up Here**, for example advertisements sponsored by the Government of the Northwest Territories. Significantly, the same photographs appear in advertisements and stories in all of the magazines. Each time one of these images is repeated it excludes another perhaps less romantic or stereotypical image of the high eastern Arctic. These excluded images would add to the perceptions of the Arctic as it really is, not as people want or imagine it to be.

As stated previously, **Up Here** emphasizes contemporary northern life. In spite of this focus, the representations of the romantic landscape remain, but images of massive industrial development are also given space in the magazine. A second difference between UP and the other two publications is the increased amount of advertising for the tourism industry or related services. These advertisements are selling the place, but they are also selling its services.

Overall the content analysis of these three publications demonstrates the continuity of Arctic landscape imagery. This conformity could be the result of many factors some of which are the Arctic’s relatively new designation as a travel destination, the type of photographs which are produced from “eco-adventures” (i.e. the participants submit their own photographs to illustrate stories), or

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analysis chart Appendix Two.
professional photographers supplying particularly stirring photos to more than one story. Tourism advertising also shows the multiple use of photos and the repetition of romantic landscape perceptions whether visually or through the accompanying text.

What remains constant through all of this analysis is that romantic perceptions of the high eastern Arctic continue to dominate and are reinforced by magazine articles and tourism advertising. Evidence of this has been provided by information from tour participants, *Tourists Visiting Nunavut: A Profile*, and by examining three different publications. It is obvious that advertisers and editors of magazines know what sells – beautiful land, history, and adventure. These aspects of the high eastern Arctic have become intertwined, each affecting the other and how people perceive the region. The images produced in magazines and the images used for publicity purposes enter into collective memory and are often repeated to the exclusion of many other aspects of life in the high eastern Arctic.
Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Study

General Conclusions and Summary

In Canada, our sense of place and how we define ourselves is intimately connected to the landscape around us. This fact is not only important when one considers how it affects our interpretations of our landscapes, it also bears on how our landscapes are presented to the world. To fully understand the stereotypes surrounding the high eastern Arctic landscape one needs to address the imagery that was and is used to represent it.

The thesis of this research is that there is an historical continuity involving cultural and ideological hybridization in the picturing of the high eastern Arctic, and furthermore, that this pictorial tradition contributes to misconceptions, distortions, and illusions about the region, while it simultaneously serves to attract tourists. Information presented in this thesis demonstrates that there are firmly established links between the historical and contemporary picturing of the high eastern Arctic. Moreover, these links can be traced through perceptions of nature and wilderness, exploration history, the development and implications of photography as a visual medium, the development of a Canadian identity and the importance of "the land" to the character of the nation, and the influence of images in tourism advertising.

Perceptions of nature and wilderness demonstrate that how one "sees" the landscape is inherently linked to one's personal experiences and cultural background. What is necessary to recognize is that certain approaches of interpreting the landscape are more revealing than others. Although different
definitions of nature, wilderness, and landscape assessment exist, the romantic perception dominates when interpreting the high eastern Arctic region.

Exploration literature and the images included in it reveal both how the landscape of the region was perceived and interpreted as well as how the conventions used in representing the landscape influenced perceptions for many years after the explorers made their famous journeys. Most notably, the conventions of the sublime and the picturesque made their way to the high eastern Arctic. These conventions, which were also used in other areas of the world as methods of representation, eventually came to characterize the Arctic. Indeed, a special category of the sublime seems to have been created for the Arctic, with its awe-inspiring yet threatening landscape.

The Arctic landscapes that artists chose to present to the world from this era have had a lasting impact. Images from the romantic period of exploration in the high eastern Arctic are not inherently different from contemporary tourism advertisements. One needs only to dispense with examining images as disconnected documents and acknowledge the ideas, values, and history surrounding them. The picturesque and the sublime remain the dominant conventions employed in contemporary images of the region.

The development of photography has also played a great role in the picturing of the Arctic. In effect, it democratized the picturing of the region while it allowed anyone with the right equipment the ability to take an image. Images could then be circulated through many means, including friends and family and the popular press. However the early history of photography in the Arctic differs from regions in the south. Photography in the Arctic was used for ethnographic
purposes and to document what many thought would be the disappearance of the Inuit culture and life-way. Photographic images taken in the high eastern Arctic well into the 1950s were not primarily intended for aesthetic appreciation. In this period, photographs of the Arctic were meant to be viewed as documentary evidence. Particularly around the turn of the twentieth-century, the Canadian government consistently used photographs to demonstrate sovereignty in the Arctic.

A pivotal point for visual representation in the high eastern Arctic in Canada is the art of A.Y. Jackson and Lawren Harris, members of the famous Group of Seven. Scholars have often debated the influences of the Group and exactly how they developed their interpretation of the Canadian landscape. The whole group was connected with nature and had their own perceptions of what nature and wilderness was. They understood nature and wilderness as a source of power which could lend itself to the development of the nation’s identity.

Both A.Y. Jackson and Lawren Harris identified the Arctic as a place uniquely Canadian. They also used the sublime in their paintings to interpret the Arctic and its position in Canadian identity to the world. Indeed, it could be argued that they were the last practitioners of the northern romantic landscape painting tradition. Their images of the high eastern Arctic later became some of the most famous ever produced. The images became part of collective memory and have captured the imagination of Canadians for decades. Eventually Jackson’s and definitely Harris’s Arctic landscapes became part of Canada’s popular visual discourse.
The introduction of colour photography to the Arctic created new opportunities to take non-documentary images and ethnographic photographs. The sublime in particular could be employed more effectively in colour photographs. Despite the increased resource development and conflicting definitions of what truly defined wilderness, and if it could still be found in the high eastern Arctic, colour photographs keep the sublime alive through coffee table books and tourism advertisements.

The Arctic, through colour photographic essay books, much like exploration journals, came to represent an almost mythical place where many emotions could co-exist while one was experiencing the landscape. Increased accessibility to the Arctic permitted more visitors than ever to view first hand the wilderness seen in landscape paintings and the more documentary black and white early photographs of the region. These images are meant to encourage not only the purchase of more books, but also to inspire people to travel to the region.

Tourism advertisements also impel people to travel to the high eastern Arctic. Indeed, evidence is presented in this thesis that tourism advertisement photographs are directly related to photographic essay books. Publicity photographs used in the tourism industry construct ideas of "place." The commercial photograph is intended to attract visitors but not so much through realism as through imagination. What better way to achieve this goal than to draw upon previously established ideas of nature and wilderness and conventions such as the sublime? Although the sublime of the past has evolved, its new form in contemporary society focuses on wilderness as an antithesis to
urbanity. The urge to escape urbanity is then translated into a desire for an experience in nature, thereby inserting the traveller into a myriad of Arctic histories. Photographs are a key component in tourism advertising because of their ability to influence perceptions and ideas about a place so much it inspires travel. The high eastern Arctic is considered a spectacular travel destination and is associated with very dramatic images. These two factors most often play the dominant role in what images are taken and indeed presented to the world about the region.

The historical and contemporary imagery of the high eastern Arctic, combined with the literary tradition of the region, reveal its lure as a tourist destination. The north was lethal to explorers and the possibility of danger remains today. Obviously this adds credibility to the region as a wonderful, adventurous place to visit. However, what is beyond the sublime images presented in tourism publicity? What is beyond the photograph with brief accompanying text?

There are many different types of tourism in the high eastern Arctic. As stated previously, it would have been difficult to assess the impact of imagery on each of these different tourism sectors. However, a question that was generated when considering various tourist activities, was if the focus of tourism in the region has changed in recent years. Do tourists continue to seek out the wonderful landscape as their primary experience in the Arctic, or is the focus of tourist activity, particularly with the impending establishment of Nunavut, now Inuit culture and their life-ways?
To gain an impression of the possible changes that are perhaps taking place in the tourism field, I spoke to three people who each have different experiences in the region. John Moss has written about his experiences in the Arctic and written reports on Baffin Island community tourism. Shawn Hodgins runs a whitewater canoeing and kayaking outfit that organizes trips to Baffin Island. Kim Whytock is director of external relations for Parks Canada and was instrumental in establishing Auyuittuq National Park.

Shawn Hodgins and Kim Whytock believe that the focus of tourism is shifting, or has been shifting, in the high eastern Arctic. Both Shawn Hodgins and Kim Whytock are involved in the tourism field at opposite ends of niche market tourism (i.e. "eco-adventure" tourism). However, both see the changes in tourism coming from above: the impetus for changing the focus more toward the Inuit and their life-ways is coming from government. The establishment of Nunavut will continue the move for change from above, but there will be a new bureaucracy. Nunavut Tourism will take on a larger role and endeavour to improve services and incorporate communities more in the development of tourism activities (Kim Whytock Telephone Interview 26.02.99).

As a person who has travelled to, written about, and worked in the Arctic, John Moss does not believe the focus of tourism will change substantially from landscape appreciation. He regards tourist appreciation of Inuit and their culture as superficial. Moreover, he considers it difficult for tourists to appreciate Inuit life within the brief period that they are in the high eastern Arctic (John Moss Telephone Interview 06.02.99).
Despite differing opinions regarding the nature and focus of tourism in the high eastern Arctic, when one examines publications that include Arctic tourism advertising, trends can be immediately identified. As stated earlier, the romantic interpretation of the landscape continues to dominate. Moreover, it is apparent that images of landscape number far more than say images of new technology or pollution problems. One cannot help but notice that some photographers supply many of the images used in magazine articles and sell their images to photograph supply companies for resale. Are these photographers then somehow exerting greater influence on perceptions of the region? Are we only to see their interpretations, or at minimum, the often repeated sublime photograph of the landscape to the exclusion of many other possibilities?

Assessment of Methodology

In general, the methodology employed for this research was successful. Secondary sources necessarily provided most of the information in this study. The images used to obtain information for the tourism component of the research also draw upon the established traditions of picturing the high eastern Arctic represented in the secondary literature.

In retrospect, the methods used to obtain information from visitors to the high eastern Arctic could be improved. For example, although the participant observation format was ultimately successful, it at times made it more difficult to ask directed questions relevant to the research. If a semi-formal arrangement were followed perhaps more pointed questions could be introduced into conversation. One question which could be directly addressed, outside of a questionnaire, would be how any imagery of the region affected travel decisions
in any way. The smallness and intimacy of the Adventure Canada group tour in the summer of 1997 did permit frank and honest answers to questions about landscape perception. If it were possible to speak to a larger group of people more perceptions of the landscape could be recorded. The data from a larger group could indicate that perceptions for the most part are uniform in nature or demonstrate more differing perceptions.

The questionnaire issued to participants after the tour could also be improved. First, adding questions concerning nature and wilderness perceptions would be beneficial, as these would give a better sense of a visitor's background and approach to experiencing the landscape. Secondly, the questions regarding the impact of tourism advertisements (# 8 and 9) could be made more specific by directly asking if particular types of images affected travel decisions. Finally, more demographic questions would provide a better overview/idea of who is travelling to the region. An increase in the number of participants in a study would also aid a demographic profile. The interviews and questionnaires completed for this study were not intended to act as a definitive sample of high eastern Arctic tourists. The smallness of the sample provided the possibility of a micro analysis. The information included in the narrative of this thesis describes the influences, expectations, and experiences of a small group in the hopes of gaining a better understanding of the influence of visual imagery on travel decisions.

Although it was beyond the scope of this study, perhaps it would be beneficial for a researcher to make a questionnaire available to outfitting companies, tour operators, and tourism bureaus for visitors to complete. Visitors
could then be asked if they would be willing to be contacted for a follow up interview regarding their landscape perceptions and the impact of any previously viewed imagery.

A successful aspect of this research was my participation on the Adventure Canada tour. As a first time visitor myself, seeing and experiencing the landscape enabled me to interpret and analyze the topic with greater insight. I understood what visitors were feeling because I was experiencing it all for the first time as well. Studying this topic as an "outsider" to the tourist/visitor experience would be extremely difficult. Many of my own ideas about the high eastern Arctic landscape were confirmed. However, many new thoughts and ideas were also realized when, for example, some of the mythic quality of the place was removed by seeing garbage at the floe edge. Many of my own ideas about nature and wilderness were challenged not only by what I viewed but by what the people who lived there related to me. The most significant idea to change permanently in my mind was the significance of human presence in the landscape. I truly realized the impact of the erasure of the Inuit people from their own landscape in imagery and literature about the region.73 The high eastern Arctic is not empty, devoid of people, and a so called barren wasteland – many people call it home and have a completely different relationship with the land than I do. The best I can do is interpret these images as a non-Inuit person.

Recommendations for Further Research

The inherent value of research is realized when more questions arise from a project. Recommendations for further research related to this study mostly reflect the production of contemporary high eastern Arctic landscape images. The historical aspect of this research, although unique in its linkage of ideas, has been completed elsewhere. It is through contemporary images that issues of exclusion, market influences, as well as cultural impact reveal themselves.

The most significant recommendation addresses the issue of exclusion. It would be beneficial to conduct a project asking both southern and northern Canadians what they believe should be pictured. Obviously, images employing the sublime to represent the high eastern Arctic will not disappear. Most likely by asking people, different perceptions of the landscape will become apparent and these will aid in reflecting the reality of northern life.

A second recommendation related to exclusion would be to investigate who decides what images are used to illustrate magazine stories and tourism advertisements. Moreover, are Inuit people involved in the decision making process? Such a study might attempt to address why romantic images are privileged over others. From the content analysis completed in this research, it appears that southern Canadians, as Coates and Morrison identified, continue to define how the Arctic is perceived. The Inuit should be involved in the picturing of their home for the world.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ As Shelagh Grant outlines in her article “Arctic Wilderness and Other Mythologies,” the Inuit have a different perception than southern Canadians of landscape and wilderness. She argues that “[t]he onus lies on southerners, as outsiders, to change the focus of their vision. Only by placing the Inuit people at the centre of the Arctic landscape can all Canadians truly venerate their northern identity” (39).
Market influences and the tourism industry should also be addressed. Evidently, "eco-adventure" vacations are the most popular in the high eastern Arctic. A study of the number of eco-adventure trips, their participant demographics, and the impact on the environment and communities would reveal a great deal of the impact of tourism in the region. Questions that could be addressed are what the Inuit people see as benefits and detriments of tourism activities in their communities and whether they feel they are contributing to the tourist industry. Such a study would also present the possibility of analyzing tourist advertising images in greater detail.

An interesting aspect of the tourism industry in the high eastern Arctic is the demographics of visitors. Although accessibility has improved significantly in the last ten years, it remains expensive to travel to and plan a trip in the region. Visitors are generally more affluent and have the means as well as time to experience the landscape and culture. With this fact in mind, one must ask if these visitors are exerting more influence on the representations and perceptions of the region in the popular media. In addition, are those who cannot afford to travel to the high eastern Arctic less likely to truly "understand" the region?

Finally, it would also be very interesting to assess perceptions of the high eastern Arctic landscape after the establishment of Nunavut. Perhaps with increased media coverage and information about the history and culture(s) circulating about Nunavut, attitudes and perceptions will change. A significant question to ask is if the establishment of Nunavut will be reflected in imagery. The addition of a new territory to Canada is an exciting and momentous event. To assess this change through images would be equally as dramatic.
For many people the Arctic will remain a place in their imagination. Stereotypes and certain types of images reinforce popular perceptions of the high eastern Arctic which emphasize imagination rather than reality. The problem is not that these images exist. What must be considered is how we view them. If we continue to view them as discrete objects disconnected from ideas and values which surround them we will never fully understand their meaning and importance. The world is becoming increasingly visual and indeed virtual. As it becomes more visual we must acknowledge and accept the responsibility of not taking everything we see as reality. What are beyond the borders of the sublime high eastern Arctic landscape image? Where are the problems? Where are the triumphs? Where are the people? Where are the communities? Must seeing always be believing or can we attach ideas and values to the images in front of us and recognize them for what they are? When one looks beyond the borders of historic and contemporary high eastern Arctic landscape images, one finds a great deal of additional information than what is provided in the images themselves. This information allows us to understand, in part, the history of the region and how it is transmitted to the rest of the world through artists and photographers eyes, ideas of nature and wilderness, nationalism, Canadian identity, advertising, and tourism.
Appendix One
SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH LICENCE

ISSUED TO: Jeralyne Manweiler
Trent University
38 Baxter Crescent
Whitecourt, Alberta
T7S 1E6 Canada
403/778-3256

AFFILIATION: Trent University

TITLE: Symbolic landscapes & enduring ideas: the politics of high Arctic Landscape imagery

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

To examine historical landscape images laid down by artists of the British & American polar expeditions as a basis of comparison for images portrayed in twentieth century. To analyze Arctic landscape imagery as a cultural and ideological hybridization of successive ideas and values, some of which are so enduring they contribute to misconceptions, distortions and illusions as related to publicity created for the tourism industry.

TERMS & CONDITIONS:
Copies of the final report must go to Nunavut Tourism, Municipality of Iqaluit, and the Municipality of Pond Inlet

DATA COLLECTION IN THE NWT:

DATES June 18, 1997-August 30, 1997
LOCATION Pond Inlet, Iqaluit

Issued at Iqaluit, NT on 6 June 1997

Bruce Rigby
Science Advisor
Dear Ms. Manweiler,

Members of the Committee on Human Research have approved your research proposal "Symbolic Landscapes and Enduring Ideas: The Politics of High Arctic Landscape Imagery".

Your "Yes" response to question 6.a) of the application form is interpreted to mean that research participants will be given the opportunity to preview any identifying information from their interview before it becomes part of the public domain, even if they have indicated on the consent form that there are "no conditions" on use of that information.

Ron Settenington
Chair, Committee on Human Research
Mail: RSetterning@TrentU.Ca
748-1451
Informed Consent Form

Title of Research Project: Symbolic Landscapes and Enduring Ideas: The Politics of High Arctic Landscape Imagery

Description of Project: To examine historical landscape images of the high Arctic laid down by the artists of the British and American polar expeditions as a basis comparison for images portrayed in the twentieth century. In addition, this research will analyze Arctic landscape imagery as a cultural and ideological hybridization of successive idea and values some of which are so enduring they contribute to misconceptions, distortions, and illusions as related to the tourism advertisement industry.

Name of Researcher and Address: Jeralyne Manweiler #38 Baxter Cresc.
#66 Aylmer Street North Whitecourt, AB
Peterborough, ON T7S 1E6
K9J 3J3 (403)778-3256
(705) 743-7025
Jmanweiler@Trentu.ca

Name of Participant:

I, the undersigned, agree that I have been fully informed of the objectives of the project being conducted. I understand these objectives and consent to being interviewed for the project. I understand that steps will be undertaken to ensure that this interview remain confidential unless I consent to being identified. I also understand that, if I wish to withdraw from the study, I may do so without any repercussions. Any and all data that I provide may be withdrawn at my request. In addition, I am aware that the means of observation for this interview will be tape recording and note taking. The researcher may use any information (notes, citations, tapes) provided by me in this interview/questionnaire conducted (insert date), subject to the following conditions:

(A) no conditions 

(B) guarantee my privacy/confidentiality 

(C) other conditions (please specify)

Signed, Dated, 

Signature Witness,
Sample Questionnaire

Interview Questions

Jeralyne K. Manweiler
M.A. Candidate
Frost Centre for Canadian Heritage
and Development Studies
Trent University
Peterborough, ON
Canada

1. Where are you from? (The region you live in will suffice if you do not wish to indicate the city in which you live.)

2. What is your age?
   20-30 ( )
   30-40 ( )
   40-50 ( )
   50-60 ( )
   60-70 ( )

3. What is your level of education? (Please indicate if you hold any degrees and what they are.)

4. What was the main factor that led you to your decision to take a trip to the Baffin Island region?

5. Do you have knowledge of Arctic history? If so, is this knowledge a result of personal interest and research, academic study, or a combination of both?
6. From what source did you obtain information about the Baffin region?

7. Did the information you looked at include visual imagery such as tourism advertisements or historical or contemporary landscape paintings?

8. Did any of the visual imagery affect your travel decisions?

9. Did you recognize any trends or conventions in the visual imagery you may have viewed?

10. Do you have any knowledge or familiarity with historic or contemporary Arctic landscape painting or photography?

11. Was what you saw on your trip what you expected from the visual imagery you encountered?

12. What was the purpose of your trip?
   - pleasure ( )
   - education ( )
   - adventure ( )
   - combination of above ( )
Questionnaire Results

1. Where are you from? (The region you live in will suffice if you do not wish to indicate the city in which you live).

Participants on the tour were from the Greater Toronto Area, Waterloo, Rochester New York, and Apkoka Florida.

2. What is your age?

All participants/respondents were in between the ages of 40 and 60.

3. What is your level of education (Please indicate if you hold any degrees and what they are.)

All but one respondent/participant held degrees. They varied from Bachelor of Science in Math, Bachelor of Arts with honours in Geography and Library Science, Bachelor of Arts with honours in Art History and Master of Arts in Museum Education, and a Doctorate in Philosophy.

4. What was the main factor that led to your decision to take a trip to the Baffin Island region?

Responses to this question varied yet most participants/respondents indicated a desire for adventure and to experience the culture of the region. One respondent simply wrote “love the north”.

5. Do you have knowledge of Arctic history? If so, is this knowledge a result of personal interest and research, academic study, or a combination of both?

All but one respondent indicated that their prior knowledge of the region resulted from personal interest and research rather than academic study. However, some participants indicated that they had devoted years of personal study to the Arctic often collecting rare books and other interesting cultural productions related to the Arctic.

6. From what source did you obtain information about the Baffin Island region?

The answers to this question varied greatly. Most participants/respondents noted books as a good source of information - including library books as well as personal collections. One participant/respondent stated a poster initially attracted his attention and since then his interest has been fuelled by the
Nunavut Handbook, other Arctic related books, and books on the Group of Seven. A second respondent, noted the information she received from NWT Tourism as well as reading a book by Franz Boas.

7. Did the information you looked at include visual imagery such as tourism advertisements or historical or contemporary landscape paintings?

This question appeared to be not clear enough. Most respondents simply indicated the presence of tourism advertisements and not the kind of advertisements they were. However, two respondents noted the advertisements in the Baffin Handbook as well as Arctic paintings by members of the Group of Seven.

8. Did any of the visual images affect your travel decisions?

Three of the Five respondents indicated that the advertisement images in some way affected their travel decisions. For one respondent, the influence of the images did not relate to this particular trip, rather to his first completed in the 1960’s. A second respondent noted that photos of the landscape of Auyuittuq and Katammilik as well as photos from National Geographic of pools of blue water on ice particularly reinforced decisions. The third respondent simply indicated that the images affected travel decisions and gave no specific details.

9. Did you recognize any trends or conventions in the visual imagery you have viewed?

Once again, three out of five respondents noted some trends or at least made observations about the imagery they had viewed. One participant noted that many times the visual images portrayed a “pure landscape with amazing aboriginal people successfully adapting to the environment before we came”. The second respondent simply indicated “yes” they had noticed trends but did not provide any detail. The third respondent stated “the landscape is often portrayed as a flat, white expanse, quite different from the blue shadows of the snow, colours of all sorts even in the rocks”.

10. Do you have any knowledge or familiarity with historic or contemporary Arctic landscape or photography?

Four respondents answered this question to varying degrees. One respondent indicated more knowledge after the trip. A second respondent noted familiarity with Arctic explorers/artists and photographers such as Browne, Cresswell, Back, Soper, Harrington, Bruemmer, Flaherty and the Group of Seven. The third respondent simply indicated yes with no further explanation. Finally, the last respondent noted knowledge of Dr. John
Ross's expedition.

11. Was what you saw on your trip what you expected from the visual imagery you encountered?

All five participants responded. One indicated no surprises as they had travelled in the Arctic previously. The second respondent noted (the respondent that indicated earlier of not having seen any imagery prior to the trip) that since then they have viewed some imagery and did not find it representative. The third respondent noted that the ice in Eclipse Sound was very much like the National Geographic photos they had viewed. In addition, expectations of the floe edge for this respondent were shaped more by reading than images but the only place the literary images matched the experienced landscape were on the southern edge of the floe where huge ice chunks were pushed up into mounds and ridges. The fourth and fifth respondents simply indicated that the imagery and what they experienced matched.

12. What was the purpose of your trip?

pleasure ( )
education ( )
adventure ( )
combination of the above ( )

Four out of five respondents indicated “combination of above”. The fifth respondent noted pleasure and adventure.
Adventure Canada Tour Participants
Cited in Thesis Text

Tony Baron – Participant #1
Judith Slein – Participant #2
Sylvia Reynolds – Participant #3
Carol Heppenstall – Participant #4
Barry Goldstein – Participant #5
Appendix Two
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Type of Image</th>
<th>Story or Ad</th>
<th>Type of Story</th>
<th>Type of Ad</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Photographer</th>
<th>Historical Imagery/ Stereotypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug/Sept 1985 vol 106 no 4</td>
<td>landscape and portrait with small people and animals; landscape without people, land with people, animals, people</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>general interest, geography, nature, circumpolar north</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>circumpolar</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>vol 107 no 2 &quot;The Arctic Realm&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ap/May 1987 vol 109 no 1</td>
<td>landscape with people, caribou, tent ring, tent ring and cabin</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history of Back River, canoe trip, historic route, excerpts of Back's journal</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>central Arctic mainland</td>
<td>William Templeman</td>
<td>William Templeman</td>
<td>Back's encounter with Inuit (1826) from sketchbook; very detailed image (etching)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Canoing the Formidable Back&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1989 vol 109 no 1</td>
<td>landscape with people</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>federal government and NWT</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
<td>high eastern Arctic – Baffin Island</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Other side of ad Inuit in a komotik with dogs background; sublime</td>
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<td>&quot;Under the Midnight Sun: Arctic Spring in the Baffin&quot;</td>
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<td>Ap/May 1989 vol 109 no 2</td>
<td>landscape with &amp; without people, map, titanic</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>icebergs, general interest, history, fascination with</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>world</td>
<td>Richard Brown (marine biologist Bedford Institute of Oceanography)</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer Mike Beedell John Foster</td>
<td>Titanic</td>
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<td>&quot;Big Berge and Bergy Bils and Growlers from Baffin to Bermuda&quot;</td>
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<td>Ap/May 1989 vol 109 no 2</td>
<td>land with people (sailing)</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>federal government and NWT</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baffin</td>
<td>NWT Tourism Information</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>working on exploration motif, ecotourism stereotype</td>
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<td>&quot;Arctic Spring in the Baffin&quot;</td>
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<td>June/July 1989 vol 109 no 3</td>
<td>landscape with &amp; without people, map, animal, just people, house</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>general interest on region, travel (end of Dempster start of Arctic adventure (35))</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Yukon, NWT</td>
<td>Larry Pynn</td>
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<td>&quot;The Dempster&quot;</td>
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<td>Type of Ad</td>
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<td>Author</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>Historical Imagery/Stereotypes</td>
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<td>June/July 1989 vol 109 no 3 &quot;Siltska's most Segacious&quot;</td>
<td>animal close-ups</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>animal interest</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>Fred Bruenmer</td>
<td>J. R. Page, Fred Bruenmer, Gary Alt</td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>Feb/Mar 1990 vol 110 no 1 &quot;Ice Trek: Crossing Baffin Island's Penny Ice Cap&quot;</td>
<td>travel shots - sleds and dogs, skiing, map, crossing ice fissures, sublime background landscapes, one ice fissure, always human presence in the shots</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Ice trek across Baffin's Penny Ice Cap - adventure</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Baffin east central Baffin</td>
<td>Richard Weber (expedition member)</td>
<td>Richard Weber</td>
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<td>Feb/Mar 1990 vol 110 no 1 &quot;A Few Travelling Trips&quot;</td>
<td>boat load of people viewing iceberg</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>federal, Baffin, NWT, and First Air</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Baffin</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>could be compared to Harris' Icebergs in Davis Strait</td>
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<td>Oct/Nov 1990 vol 110 no 5 &quot;Odyssey in the High Arctic: The Trans-Edsmere Expedition&quot;</td>
<td>travel shots - sleds and skiers, map, huge cliff, arctic hare</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>adventure</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Ellesmere</td>
<td>John Dunn</td>
<td>John Dunn</td>
<td>huge cliff could be compared to the Blouvac painting...any sublime natural feature with small humans in front, slogging over ice</td>
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<td>Publication</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
<td>Story or Ad</td>
<td>Type of Story</td>
<td>Type of Ad</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>Historical Imagery/Stereotypes</td>
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<td>Feb/Mar 1991 vol 111 no 1 &quot;Pond Inlet: An Inuit Community Caught Between Two Worlds&quot;</td>
<td>Inuit beaching a boat, shot of the town, children in front of building, landscape with person (iceberg), examining artefacts, boat on the water mountains in the background</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>information on the community</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Pond Inlet</td>
<td>David F. Pelly, Mike Beedell,</td>
<td>Donna Barrett, Mike Beedell</td>
<td>iceberg and boat shot...one human in a huge landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1991 vol 111 no 1 &quot;The Not-So-Pristine Arctic: From Plankton to Polar Bears, the Food Chain is Contaminated by Global Pollution&quot;</td>
<td>boy eating whale, scientific illustrations, landscape shot to show Arctic haze, kids with &quot;southern&quot; food, harvesting a whale, polar bear</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>scientific report on pollution</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Arctic in general but more specifically high Arctic - Baffin and Ellesmere</td>
<td>Karen Twitchell, Mike Beedell, Ian MacPherson (NRC), Richard Weber, Dan Guravich</td>
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<td>Publication Canadian Geographic</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
<td>Story or Ad</td>
<td>Type of Story</td>
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<td>Year</td>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>Historical Imagery/ Stereotypes</td>
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<td>Aug/Sept 1991 vol 111 no 4 &quot;Quest for the Northwest Passage&quot;</td>
<td>2 landscape only, portrait shots of Roald Amundsen and John Franklin, one Inuit child, aurora borealis, map, musk-ox, Inuit hunting camp, icebreaker, painting of ship stuck in ice from Parry's 1821 expedition, man next to wrecked mast (present day)</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history of quest for the NW Passage, expeditions</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>high Arctic</td>
<td>Edward Struzik</td>
<td>Mike Beedell</td>
<td>painting from Parry's 1821 expedition, mast shot could be compared to maybe Church's &quot;Arctic Shipwreck&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug/Sept 1991 vol 111 no 4 &quot;How Inuit Find Their Way in the Trackless Arctic&quot;</td>
<td>traditional western style dogeared, maps, Inuit hunter standing alone, one landscape with person standing on a cliff</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Inuit perception of geography</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>generally high Arctic</td>
<td>David Pelly</td>
<td>David Pelly, Mike Beedell</td>
<td>one small landscape with a person on a cliff</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct/Nov 1991 vol 111 no 5 &quot;Unicorns of the Sea&quot;</td>
<td>narwhal swimming, in ice fissures, Inuit hunter with tusk, group of hunters harvesting a whale, map</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>scientific and wildlife interest</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>surrounding narwhal areas around Baffin Island</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>Flip Nicklin, Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1992 vol 112 no 1 &quot;The Eyes Have It&quot;</td>
<td>mirrored Mount Wilson in lake with small canoe</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT Tourism</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Nahanni, Yukon, Western NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>sublime overtones</td>
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<td>Mar/Apr 1992 vol 112 no 2 &quot;Do In a Day What Took Some Men a Lifetime&quot;</td>
<td>waterfalls with mountains in the background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT Tourism</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>doesn't indicate</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>maybe similar to George Back's waterfall watercolours</td>
</tr>
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<td>Publication</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
<td>Story or Ad</td>
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<td>Type of Ad</td>
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<td>Author</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>Historical Imagery/ Stereotypes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar/Apr 1993 vol 113 no 2 &quot;Dawn of Nunavut&quot;</td>
<td>two landscape shots, one with a transport ship in the background, one with inukshuk, more photos of people, one of a hunter and a seal, 40 year old photos of relocations, map, airplane at Iqaluit airport, Inuit children around a pinball machine, Nanavik</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history of the new Nunavut region and how it was negotiated and how it will be implemented</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Nunavut region</td>
<td>David F. Pelly</td>
<td>Mike Beedell, Wayne Lynch, Pierre St. Jacques, W. Doucette (National Archives), S.J. Bailey (National Archives), Nansavik Minea, Hans Blohm, David F. Pelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1994 vol 114 no 1 &quot;Northern Oasis: Polynyas, Where Arctic Waters Meet with Wildlife&quot;</td>
<td>open water and ice, walrus, map, bird cliffs on Prince Leopold island, arctic Fox, Whaler etching off of Greenland, Inuit hunter, polar bear, elder ducks, seals.</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>wildlife in the Polynyas region between Ellesmere and Greenland where the water never freezes</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Between Ellesmere and Greenland</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer, A. Lynch, Janet Foster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1995 vol 115 no 6 &quot;Northern Exposure: Traversing Baffin Island's Icy Reaches&quot;</td>
<td>24 hour sunlight, huge mountain (Sillern Island in Gibbs Fiord), map, hiking, sledding through water, &quot;elegant lines suggesting the artistry of a master sculptor, an iceberg&quot;, setting up camp, caribou, food cache, 5 landscape without people, 2 landscape with people</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>traverse adventure on Baffin Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>eastern coast of Baffin Island</td>
<td>John Dunn</td>
<td>mountain shot, iceberg very traditional and reminiscent of other art</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
<td>Story or Ad</td>
<td>Type of Story</td>
<td>Type of Ad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar/Ap 1995 vol 115 no 2 &quot;Aulavik&quot;</td>
<td>campers with tents on the land, canoe with hitlocks, map, purple saxifrage, musk-ox, arctic willow, waterfowl, Mercy River falls, snowdrifts, marsh marigold, orange lichen. One landscape with no people, two with people, artefact from Franklin's expedition</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Aulavik National Park on Banks Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Banks Island</td>
<td>Wayne Lynch</td>
<td>Wayne Lynch</td>
<td>waterfall shot quite picturesque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar/Ap 1996 vol 116 no 2 &quot;Hot Springs, Cool Fels, Warm Smiles&quot;</td>
<td>canoers with waterfall in background, children, mountain goats</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT Tourism</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>doesn't indicate but probably western NWT by dress on children (flowered bead work), birchbark basket</td>
<td>NWT Tourism - Department of Economic Development and Tourism</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar/Ap 1996 vol 116 no 2 &quot;Barren Oasis&quot;</td>
<td>two landscape one without people, one with animals but no people...river, map, wildflowers, musk-ox</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Thelon Game Sanctuary</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Thelon Game Sanctuary</td>
<td>David Pelly</td>
<td>David Pelly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar/Ap 1997 vol 117 no 2 &quot;Meet the Family&quot;</td>
<td>walrus on the floe edge</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Nunavut Tourism</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sep/Oct 1997 vol 117 no 5 &quot;Dangerous Liaisons&quot;</td>
<td>polar bear and cub, polar bear and dog playing, map</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>breeding pure-bred dogs in Manitoba near Churchill and the control of polar bears</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Churchill, Manitoba</td>
<td>Pauline Comeau</td>
<td>Galen Rowell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May/June 1997 vol 117 no 6 &quot;Track 'em Down, Round 'em Up, Herd 'em In, Rawhide!&quot;</td>
<td>lassoing caribou, caribou herd running, map, looking for caribou up top a hill, caribou in a chute</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>new venture the Inuit using a traditional staple of their culture – the caribou</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>north-eastern Quebec, Ungava Peninsula</td>
<td>Emmanuel Lowi</td>
<td>Emmanuel Lowi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1997 vol 117 no 6 &quot;Mussel Bound&quot;</td>
<td>climbing under ice to get mussels, seaweed, digging under the ice, mussel beds, displaying mussels, aerial shot of Ungava, map, eating mussels</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>harvesting mussels under the ice of a northern Quebec village when the tide goes out, traditional activity</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Wakeham Bay, north-eastern Quebec, Ungava Peninsula</td>
<td>Augusta Dyer</td>
<td>Patrice Halley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Content Analysis Chart

**Equinox 1985-1997**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Type of Image</th>
<th>Type of Story</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Photographer</th>
<th>Historical Imagery/Stereotypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept./Oct. 1985 vol 10 &quot;The Arctic Fox: Following the Footsteps of Dr. John Rae...&quot;</td>
<td>painting depicting Rae and Inuit in search of Franklin (from HBC Archives – Charles Comfort), portrait of Rae and Sir George Simpson, voyageurs painting (L.L. Fitzgerald HBC Archives), map, Ship Nonsuch (Norman Wilkinson HBC Archives), Sir John Franklin and Lady Jane, paintings have landscape mountain background with people in front</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Hudson Bay to high eastern Arctic, Mackenzie River and coast of Beaufort Sea</td>
<td>excerpted from Peter C. Newman's <em>Company of Adventurers</em></td>
<td>na</td>
<td>paintings from HBC archives – unclear if they are from journals or not, portraits of explorers, photographic portraits of John Rae and his wife Catharine Jane Alicia Thompson, Inuit and other people small in comparison to mountains in the background of the paintings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb. 1985 vol 19 &quot;Forthcoming: Ice Voyage&quot;</td>
<td>kayaker in ice water with iceberg in the background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Greenland to Grand Banks</td>
<td>Richard Brown</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>sublime image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar/Apr 1985 vol 20 &quot;Icy Voyage From Greenland to Bermuda: The Long Lonely Drift of the Iceberg&quot;</td>
<td>landscape shots of icebergs without people, one industry shot with a transport ship, person in foreground of icebergs</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>historical, environmental, culture</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Greenland to Bermuda</td>
<td>Richard Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May/June 1986 vol 27 &quot;Icebound Eden&quot;</td>
<td>hiking with landscape background, fossils, petrified stumps, working on archaeological digs, map, illustration of fifty-five million years ago in the region</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>science, environment</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Ellesmere and Axel Heiberg Islands</td>
<td>Harry Thurston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July/Aug 1986 vol 28 &quot;Arctic Innocents&quot;</td>
<td>musk-oxen alone and with landscape background</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>environmental, nature awareness</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Arctic in general</td>
<td>Barry Lopez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March/April 1987 vol 32 &quot;People of the Seal&quot; part of Canada Journal: Pond Inlet, Northwest Territories</td>
<td>cross on the hill overlooking the village in winter, hunter and a komotik</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history, culture, information on the village</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Pond Inlet, Baffin Island high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>John Goddard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1987 vol 36 &quot;Me and My Olympus...Mike Beedell&quot;</td>
<td>dog team with komotik and two people crossing ice and open water</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>for olympus cameras</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>sled journey to Greenland</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1987 vol 36 &quot;The Qildiarssuaq Chronicles: Five Canadian Adventurers Retrace the Epic Journey of One of the Last Great Inuit Shamans&quot;</td>
<td>western style dog team and rider, person fishing a komotik, pulling komotiks through pack ice, standing at a grave, map, using a radio, dog harness, stop at a large iceberg (small dogteams and people, dog team travelling over swept ice from drivers perspective, mother and child, pulling dogs out of water, hunting seat, catching dovekies, inside an igloo, building an igloo, dogs sleeping in snow, sun dogs shot</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>recreation, adventure, recreation of a historic journey, history, culture, exploration history</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Igloolik (Baffin Island) to Devon Island, to Grise Fiord (Ellesmere Island) to Thule Air Base (Greenland)</td>
<td>Renee Wissink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1989 vol 43 &quot;Rites of Passage&quot;</td>
<td>Icebreaker from above, shots of people on the ship, sunbathing on an iceberg, coast card helicopter, cleaning garbage at the old HBC post Fort Ross, icebreaker Martha L. Black – scientist auguring</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>tour of duty on an icebreaker, lives of the crew</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>general arctic</td>
<td>Wayne Grady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1989 vol 48 &quot;Arctic Oasis: Exploring the Secrets of the Mysterious Ice Holes Called Polynyas&quot;</td>
<td>Polar bear in a &quot;Hot Spot&quot; of a polynya, ice sheets, harvesting a whale on a polynya, thule dwelling, studying a walrus, bird cliffs, iceberg with reflection in water, final landscape shot from inside a polynya</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>science, information, wildlife and nature</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>all Arctic</td>
<td>Ed Struzik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar/Apr 1990 vol 50 &quot;Picture This&quot;</td>
<td>Hiker looking through binoculars in a field of wild flowers... lake and mountain in background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Canada, NWT, Baffin Island, First Air, Black Feather</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>text focuses on Baffin and other high eastern Arctic areas, national parks</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May/June 1992 vol 63 &quot;The Accessible Arctic&quot;</td>
<td>Mountains and water with two hikers placed in front of the landscape</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Canada, and NWT (The Best of Baffin)</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Baffin Island</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Equinox</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1993 vol 67 &quot;Trek Round the Top of the World&quot;</td>
<td>mountain and fast flowing stream...vertical emphasis in the photo...three hikers on the side of the frame</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar/April 1993 vol 68 &quot;Some of Our Biggest Attractions Cover a Wide Range&quot;</td>
<td>Musk-oxen</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May/June 1993 vol 69 &quot;In Franklin's Footsteps&quot;</td>
<td>painting of Franklin's men hauling a boat...dying...Thomas Smith National Maritime Museum of London (1995), photo of the author, partner and author hauling a feed cart, map, button, jaw bone, skull, daguerreotype of Franklin</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>expedition history, retracing steps of Franklin, using science for investigation of what happened to Franklin's expedition</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>King William Island</td>
<td>Barry Ranford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July/Aug 1993 vol 70 &quot;Nanook Passage&quot;</td>
<td>canoeing, hauling canoes, Victoria Island landscape with tents, eating in the tent, paddling through a partially frozen lake, musk-oxen, hiking to huge hoodoos, arctic fox kit</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>adventure canoeing, report of the trip, some history...explorers that were in the region</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Victoria Island (high eastern Arctic)</td>
<td>Ed Struzik</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1994 vol 73</td>
<td>See Above Entry</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar/April 1994 vol 74</td>
<td>people in a boat looking at an iceberg. Inset photo of previous marketing campaign</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history, retracing Franklin's expedition, using science to settle the issue of cannibalism on Franklin's expedition</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>King William Island high central Arctic</td>
<td>Barry Ranford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May/June 1994 vol 75</td>
<td>skull, archaeological dig, bones, expedition members in front of a tent</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>information on Ellesmere Island National Park Reserve, landscape beauty, cultural history, science</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Ellesmere Island (high eastern Arctic)</td>
<td>Bart T. Robinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1995 vol 78</td>
<td>same photograph as listed above under &quot;Life Looks Different On Top of the World&quot;</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Northwest Territories, lodges, outfitting companies</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1995 vol 79 &quot;Lessons from the Loneliest Lab&quot;</td>
<td>icebreaker going to the north pole, experiments (oceanography, hydrology)</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>circumpolar</td>
<td>Wayne Grady</td>
<td>Stefan Nitolslawski</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mat/April 1995 vol 80 &quot;Quench Your Thirst for Adventure&quot;</td>
<td>waterfalls and canoers on the shore</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Western NWT (sub-arctic), Yukon</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>May/June 1995 vol 81 &quot;Healing Pang&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;In His Mother's Steps&quot; print</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>about printmaking in Pangnirtung</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island</td>
<td>Alison Shuff</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>May/June 1995 vol 81 &quot;Art and Soul&quot;</td>
<td>print artists in a circle, prints, artists creating prints</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>print making in Pangnirtung</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island</td>
<td>John Houston</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb 1997 vol 91 &quot;A Coat of Many Winters&quot;</td>
<td>Inuit hunter hunting seal, photo of a caribou parka</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>skin clothing</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>Heather Grace</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer (Canadian Museum of Civilization)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1997 vol 91 &quot;Exceed Your Limits&quot;</td>
<td>inset caribou, children, a person on top of a mountain (arms raised), tundra</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April/May 1997 vol 92 &quot;Arctic Ghost&quot;</td>
<td>photo of Baymaud, marine archaeology, historic photos of the ship, crew of the ship</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>marine archaeology of an Arctic shipwreck, last command of Roald Amundsen</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Cambridge Bay</td>
<td>James Delgado</td>
<td>Vancouver Maritime Archives, Micheal Paris,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Content Analysis Chart

### Up Here 1985-1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication</th>
<th>Type of Image</th>
<th>Story Type</th>
<th>Type of Story</th>
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<th>Author</th>
<th>Photographer</th>
<th>Historical Imagery/Stereotypes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1985 vol 1 no 2 <em>Measure the Mystery of Canada's Other Coast</em></td>
<td>tundra with lake or bay in background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Northwest Territories and The Arctic Coast Tourist Association</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>high central Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>text in particular recalls the social history of the region i.e. explorers and the Northwest passage, Inuit... uses words such as majestic and memorable... photo not really that outstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June/July 1985 vol 1 no 4 <em>Birds of Bylot</em></td>
<td>birds</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>natural history there is some mention of exploration in the region</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>high eastern Arctic - Bylot Island</td>
<td>Wayne Spencer</td>
<td>Wayne Spencer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct/Nov 1985 vol 1 no 6 <em>Taking on Tanquary</em></td>
<td>trekkers skiing in front of mountains, camp, on the side of a mountain</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Trekking on Ellesmere Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>high eastern Arctic - Ellesmer Island</td>
<td>Pat Morrow</td>
<td>Pat Morrow</td>
<td>recalls historical expedition images... small people in the face of &quot;great&quot; nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec/Jan 1986 vol 2 no 1 front cover of magazine</td>
<td>two hikers on top of a peak with a huge sky in the background</td>
<td>front cover</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>NWT</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>similar to Northwest Territories ad - &quot;Big River&quot; sublime</td>
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<td>Publication</td>
<td>Type of Image</td>
<td>Story or Ad</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Author</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1986 vol 2 no 2 &quot;A Splendid Look at the Arctic World&quot;</td>
<td>iceberg, window of a wooden house in Siberia</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>the Northeast Passage of Arctic Russia emphasis on a circumpolar Arctic partial review of The Arctic World</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>circum-polar Arctic</td>
<td>Rosemary Allerston</td>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>iceberg reminiscent of many exploration images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June/July 1986 vol 2 no 4 &quot;Look in Our Direction&quot;</td>
<td>inukshuks and Inuit children inset under an inukshuk</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>partial review of The Arctic World</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Northwest Territories Pavilion (Expo 86) and Petro-Canada</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>April/May 1987 vol 3 no 3 &quot;A Landscape to Ponder: Ski Touring Auyuittuq&quot;</td>
<td>huge mountain overpowering a small human figure, pulling equipment through rough ice</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>ski trip from Pang into Auyuittuq</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Baffin Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Robert Henderson</td>
<td>Mike Beedell, Robert Henderson</td>
<td>photo by Mike Beedell is one that appears in his book The Magnetic North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June/July 1987 vol 3 no 4 &quot;Baffin's Inuit Culture: Step Into Another World&quot;</td>
<td>sketch of traditional Inuit camp with hunting equipment and komotik, sketch of dogteams and komotiks, people looking at the landscape</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>partial review of The Arctic World</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Qaumm-aarviiit Historic Park - high eastern Arctic Baffin Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>Dec/Jan 1987 vol 3 no 1 &quot;Kayaking Ellesmere's Coast&quot; (Part of &quot;The Possible Dream&quot;)</td>
<td>kayaking through ice, bones, walrus, mountains with fog in the background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>high eastern Arctic - Ellesmere Island</td>
<td>Steve Barnett</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec/Jan 1987 vol 3 no 1 &quot;The Possible Dream&quot;</td>
<td>kayaking through ice and water... mountains with fog in the background</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>The Possible Dream an annual travel supplement to Up Here published by Outcrop - The Northern Publishers</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>Steve Barnett</td>
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<tr>
<td>May/June 1988 vol 4 no 3 &quot;Arctic Spring in the Baffin&quot;</td>
<td>text superimposed on an Inuit family with a dog team and komotik, skiers in front of mountains &quot;Under the Midnight Sun&quot;</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Township, Territories, and federal Government</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>high eastern Arctic - Baffin Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>Sept/Oct 1989 vol 5 no 5 &quot;Onley in the Arctic: A Painter in the Wake of the Explorers&quot;</td>
<td>landscape painting by Toni Onley</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>feature of artist Toni Onley</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Northwest Territories - high Arctic primarily eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Gregory Strong</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>in the tradition of the Group of Seven (Lawren Harris and A.Y. Jackson's Arctic landscapes) but he was also received training in 19th century British watercolour techniques</td>
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<td>Type of Ad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Up Here Jan/Feb 1990 vol. 6 no. 1 <em>Canada's Northwest Territories Tours</em> Taken from <em>The Possible Dream</em> co-published by <em>Up Here and I Travel Arctic</em></td>
<td>watching birds in the sub arctic, kayaking near icebergs, whole page devoted to tourism ads...The Arctic Coast, Baffin Island, Northern Frontier Country, Keewatin Travel, Western Arctic Visitors Association, Big River Country, fishing, viewing Musk-oxen on rocks, train in Northern Alberta, caribou</td>
<td>stories</td>
<td>adventure and eco tours across the Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Northwest Territories, Northern portions of Provinces</td>
<td>all stories by Pearl Benyk</td>
<td>Travel Arctic, Jerry Kobalenko, (Travel Arctic), GWNT Culture and Communications, Bezel Jesudason, Eric, Wicherts, John Coburn</td>
<td>The stories are obviously completely geared towards tourism publicity, landscape and wildlife shots predominate, advertising the North as a place of adventure and imagination....very little mention or representation of technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>May/June 1990 vol 6 no 3 “Special Section: Spectacular”</td>
<td>diminutive skier with a large mountain in the background</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>highlights of the “Spectacular North” – Virginia Falls, Great Slave Lake, Alexandra Fiord, barren grounds</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Northwest Territories and northern portions of the provinces</td>
<td>front cover photograph – Mike Beedell</td>
<td>same photograph used in his book <em>The Magnetic North</em>, very sublime</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1990 vol 6 no 6 “Go Back in Time”</td>
<td>family travelling on with a dogteam and komotik beside a mountain, Inuk, map, inuit child</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Baffin Island, Northwest Territories, Arctic Hotline</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Baffin Island high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>awe inspiring landscape behind the family travelling on a komotik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1990 vol 6 no 6 “Our Land Claim Agreement: A Landmark for our Future”</td>
<td>hunter travelling on a snowmobile pulling a komotik across the ice toward an iceberg</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Tungavik Federation of Nunavut</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>inspiring landscape i.e. something of which to be proud</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug/Sept 1991 vol 7 no 4 “An Artist’s Love Affair with the Arctic”</td>
<td>one landscape painting by the featured artist</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>feature of Alan C. Collier – artist</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Northwest Territories, Labrador, high Arctic</td>
<td>Fergus Cronin</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1992 vol 8 no 2 &quot;In the Wake of Ghost Ships&quot;</td>
<td>cruise ship and zodiacs with tourists, serving champagne, viewing an iceberg from the cruise ship</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>cruise through the Northwest Passage – following the path of explorers</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Northwest Passage – high Arctic</td>
<td>Janet and Gordon Greene</td>
<td>Gordon Greene</td>
<td>icebergs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb/Mar 1993 vol 9 no 1 &quot;Toonoonik Sahooni Outfitters&quot;</td>
<td>climber on an iceberg, bird cliffs, polar bear on the ice, travelling by mountains in komotiks and snowmobiles, fishing, floe edge</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>private outfitting company</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Pond Inlet Baffin Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed probably David Reid</td>
<td>iceberg is reminiscent of many other sublime icebergs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June/July 1993 vol 9 no 3 &quot;At 25 Years Parks Come of Age&quot;</td>
<td>6 landscape photos one with a person, other photos of park facilities, maps, features in select museums and visitors' centres</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Parks in the Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, Parks Canada</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Author</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>King William Island – high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Rosemary Allerston</td>
<td>Margaret Bertulu (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), Jimmy Porter</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Marble Island – off of western coast of Hudson Bay</td>
<td>Ken Schmaltz</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>King William Island</td>
<td>Jim Green</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>not of landscape but the photograph of the skull represents the stereotype of explorers not surviving the high Arctic</td>
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<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Jeanne L. Patison</td>
<td>Dr. Reginald Auger (Laval University)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>panoramic</td>
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**Publication**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1993/Jan 1994 vol 9 no 6 “Bones and Dead Silence”</td>
<td>portrait of John Franklin, scenes from archaeological dig</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>archaeological investigation of Franklin’s final expedition</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1993/1994</td>
<td>King William Island – high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Rosemary Allerston</td>
<td>Margaret Bertulu (Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), Jimmy Porter</td>
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<tr>
<td>March/Apr 1995 vol 11 no 2 “On Franklin’s Trail of Error”</td>
<td>skull, filming artefacts, using radar to find artefacts</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>what happened to Franklin’s last expedition</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>King William Island</td>
<td>Jim Green</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>May/June 1995 vol 11 no 3 “Unearthing Frobisher’s Time Capsule”</td>
<td>portrait of Martin Frobisher, archaeological digs</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>remains of Martin Frobisher’s 1578 expedition and camp</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Jeanne L. Patison</td>
<td>Dr. Reginald Auger (Laval University)</td>
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<tr>
<td>July/Aug 1995 vol 11 no 4 “Pangnirtung NWT”</td>
<td>aerial photo of the town and the fiord</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>not indicated — local phone number is listed for information</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Baffin Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>panoramic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar/Apr 1996 vol 12 no 2 &quot;Call Before Dark&quot;</td>
<td>kayaker at the bottom of an iceberg, musk oxen, inuk in front of an igloo</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>culture and awe inspiring landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept/Oct 1996 vol 12 no 5 <em>The Group of Seven's Arctic</em></td>
<td>landscape paintings by A.Y. Jackson, F. H. Varley, and Lawren Harris</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>history and art of the Group of Seven in and on the Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Baffin Island – high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Jeanne L. Pattison</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>influence of members of the Group of Seven on visual perceptions of the Arctic. Harris' Icebergs in Davis Strait continues in the sublime tradition of expedition imagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1996 vol 12 no 6 <em>Rush Hour...In Pond Inlet</em></td>
<td>tiny snowmobile and komotik in front of an iceberg</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>private outfitting company - Toonoonik Sahoonik</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Baffin Island – high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed - but most likely Dave Reid owner of the outfitting company</td>
<td>majestic iceberg, awe inspiring landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov/Dec 1996 vol 12 no 6 <em>Inns North: Where Hospitality is a Tradition</em></td>
<td>kayakers in front of snow capped mountains</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Inns North</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Northwest Territories</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>awe inspiring landscape - ironic because it is most likely that the kayakers will be camping rather than planning their trip around available accommodation from Inns North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1997 vol 13 no 1 <em>Exceed Your Limits</em></td>
<td>caribou, children in beaded jackets, hiker with arms outspread on a peak, highway, through tundra</td>
<td>ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>Northwest Territories (Within Reach Yet Beyond Belief)</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Northwest Territories – now only Western with Nunavut indicated on the map in the ad</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1997 vol 13 no 1 <em>In the Shadow of Thor</em></td>
<td>skiing through a mountain pass, cloud capped mountains, sledge</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>adventure trip to Auyuittuq National Park (<em>wanna-be adventurers</em>)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Baffin Island – high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Mike Vliessides</td>
<td>Mike Vliessides, Andrew McCoy, Mike Beedell</td>
<td>sublime mountains...futility of man against nature Mike Beedell's photograph in this article is from his book The Magnetic North</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jan/Feb 1997 vol 13 no 1 &quot;At the Edge of a Frozen World&quot;</td>
<td>setting up camp at the floe edge, hoodoos on Baffin Island, Inuit child next to a komotik, Pond Inlet, polar bear tracks, komotik stuck in water, iceberg reflecting in water,</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>Trip to the floe edge from Pond Inlet</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Baffin Island, Bylot Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Jean Niskanen, Jane George, Randy McLean, Mike Beedell</td>
<td>The iceberg photograph in particular (Beedell) is quite reminiscent of Harris' <em>Icebergs in Davis Strait</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>May/June 1997 vol 13 no 3 &quot;Sledding Ellesmere's Icy Coast&quot;</td>
<td>mountain and water landscape, posing in front of mountains camp on the sea ice</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>adventure trip on the sea ice off Ellesmere Island</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Ellesmere Island - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Keith Morton</td>
<td>Keith Morton</td>
<td>massive awe inspiring landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept/Oct 1997 vol 13 no 5 &quot;Kayaking Koluktoo Bay&quot;</td>
<td>kayaking in front of a huge iceberg, sitting on the side of a hill overlooking a bay</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>adventure vacation - &quot;not your average vacation getaway&quot;</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Baffin Island (northern) - high eastern Arctic</td>
<td>Brett Kullman</td>
<td>Brett Kullman</td>
<td>immense landscape, water, sky, and land meeting</td>
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## Canadian Geographic

### Content Analysis

Tallied Numbers for the Category of "Photographer"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photographer</th>
<th>Number of Times Listed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Templeman</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mike Beedell</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>John Foster</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Patrick Morrow</td>
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<td>Peter Van Rhijn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miller Comstock</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Stephen Krasen</td>
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## Equinox

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## Equinox

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**Content Analysis**

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<td>R. Zanatta</td>
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<td>Bryan and Cherry Alexander</td>
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<td>Peter W. Richardson</td>
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<td>Gail Harvey</td>
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<td>Clifford Morrow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hans de Bruijn</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dawn Goss</td>
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<td>Stefan Nitoslawski</td>
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<td>Vancouver Maritime Archives</td>
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<td>Michael Paris</td>
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1 Photographs supplied by The Stockmarket Inc.

2 Photographs supplied by The Stockmarket Inc.
### Content Analysis

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<td>People (Including Paintings)</td>
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### Content Analysis

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<td>Territorial Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourism Bureaus (Regional)</td>
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### Content Analysis

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<td>Wayne Spencer</td>
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<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
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<td>Mike Beechell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Henderson</td>
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<td>Wayne Spencer</td>
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<td>Pat Morrow</td>
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<td>Fred Bruemmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mike Beechell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Henderson</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steve Barnett</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory Strong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jerry Kobalenko</td>
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<td>Bezel Jesudason</td>
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<td>Eric Whicherts</td>
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<td>John Coburn</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon Greene</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWT Economic Development and Tourism</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Bertulu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Porter</td>
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<td>Dr Reginald</td>
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<td>Keith Morton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brett Kuliman</td>
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</table>
Results from the Marketing Section of the Survey

Q1. A) have own promotional materials
   yes - 50
   no - 17

   B) How?
   Regional Visitor Center - 17
   Inquiries received directly - 30
   Direct mail - 30
   1-800 - 16
   Consumer show - 18
   Trade show - 22
   Purchase mailing lists - 6
   Other - Booking agent/internet/T.V/whole
   salers/slide presentation

Q2. Hosted trade / media
   yes - 30
   no - 30
   don’t know - 5

Q3. A) GNWT assistance programs?
   yes - 25
   no - 29
   don’t know - 6

   B) Rate GNWT programs.
   poor - 5
   fair - 5
   good - 9
   excellent - 5

   C) Easy to access - user friendly?
   yes - 11 why: helpful, not too much red tape
   no - 14 why: too long, should be less paper work

Q4. Projects where assistance was received.
   marketing - 13
   consumer shows - 5
   purchase equip. - 4
   floater suit - 2
   capital grants - 2
   training - 1
   computer - 2

Q5. A) Did the projects help to increase business?
   yes - 14
   no - 3
   don’t know - 6
B) If yes, what percent?
   1-20  - 6
   21-40  - 2
   41-60  - 1
   61-80  - 0
   81-100 - 1

C) If no, why not?
   - too late
   - too soon to tell
   - business increases on its own

Q6 Have marketing plan.
   yes  - 40
   no   - 22

Q7 When start planning for year?
   Sept.  - 7
   Oct.   - 4
   Nov.   - 5
   Jan.   - 4

Q8 A) Joint marketing?
   yes  - 24
   no   - 30

   B) Was it valuable?
   yes  - 17
   no   - 4

   C) Would you consider joint marketing?
   yes  - 23
   no   - 3

Q9 Forms of marketing

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Form of Marketing</th>
<th>1996</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumer show</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trade show</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magazine ad</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Explorers Guide</td>
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<td>T.A. marketing prog.</td>
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<td>Media / Fam tours</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper ad</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct mail</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Other - word of mouth</td>
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<td>Internet / web</td>
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<td>Yellow pages</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>TV</td>
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<td>Lecture tours</td>
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Q10 Rate effectiveness of marketing methods.

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<th>Method</th>
<th>Good Results</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>GNWT magazine ad. prog (co-op)</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Explorers Guide ads</td>
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<td>Zone Association</td>
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<td>Trade Show</td>
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<td>Consumer show</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct mail</td>
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Q11 Tourism Association marketing programs participated in.

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<th>Negative Programs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local trade show</td>
<td>Co-op advertising</td>
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<tr>
<td>Member of Nunavut Tourism</td>
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<td>Arctic Traveler</td>
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<td>GNWT</td>
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Q12 Most important demographic features for marketing initiatives.

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<th>Importance</th>
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<td>Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Country of origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rec. interests/hobbies</td>
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Q13 Countries with largest potential for tourism.

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<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
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<td>Japan</td>
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<td>UK</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Australia NZ</td>
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Q14 Average amount spent on marketing per year

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<th>No</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
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<td>$1000 - $2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt; $3000</td>
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</table>
Q15 Marketing
   do your own? 33
   use an agency? 5
   both 10

Q16 What could be done to assist your marketing efforts?
   - More money from gov't
   - trade show $s
   - easier access to $s
   - Newspaper ads. in larger papers - i.e. NY Times, Globe and Mail
   - Assistance in getting to consumer shows
   - more advertising
   - more cooperation between operators
   - exposure in specific market areas
   - world-wide shows

Q17 What countries have you marketed to in the past?
   Germany 8
   Japan 5
   France 5
   Australia 5
   Italy 3
   Holland 1
   Greenland 1
   Spain 1
   Europe 1

Q18 Magazines advertised in
   Up Here 5
   Explorer's Guide 7
   Above and Beyond 7
   Explore 4
   Arctic Traveler 3
   Canadian Geographic 3
   Outside 3
   Kanawa 2
   Canoe 2
   Backpacker 2
   In Fisherman 2
   * Many other magazines had only one outfitter advertising in them
Appendix Three
Personal Journal Notes

These are selected entries from my personal journal. I have included those I feel are most relevant to the research. As a first time visitor to the high eastern Arctic, it was at times, difficult to separate myself into the ‘researcher’ and the visitor. In the end, I have decided to include some of my experiences, perceptions, and opinions about the place. Although, I may have known a bit more about the region than other tour participants I do not feel this negates my experience in any way. I was experiencing the landscape and culture just as much as the other tour participants. Perhaps I was able to see beyond the romantic at times but I was also attracted to it.

June 15th, 1997 (Iqaluit)

Things are not really organized street wise and right in the middle is a school which looks more like a lunar module with all of the sand and rock. Shelagh was right about the garbage. A little difficult to get used to. On the other hand, the view across the bay is wonderful.

On the way back from dinner we visited dogs, mostly huskies, chained up sadly. Pets are not treated the same here.

June 17th, 1997

Wow, just plain, wow. The last half hour of the flight into Pond Inlet was amazing.

Judy (Judith) and I went out to one of the icebergs in the bay. At first we didn’t want to cross any water but after a while we figured out it was unavoidable and tried it. The water pools are the most amazing blue and vary from 2-6 inches deep. Every inclination you have is to not step in them but you do it anyway. The walk out was deceptively far. We finally got out there and it was magnificent. I climbed up the one side and had Judy take a picture of me. I tried to get higher but just succeeded in sliding down on my bum.

Two men came out and chipped off huge chunks of ice for drinking water. Dave said later at dinner that Inuit are very superstitious about icebergs i.e. where you chip off some ice. He said a few years ago there were some scientists here that were trying to determine the age and core temperature of the icebergs but the elders warned them not to take tests as it would be a bad omen. The scientists took the tests anyway and the following year there were no icebergs in the bay.

June 18th, 1997

We travelled for quite a while and stopped at another iceberg. I climbed this one as well. Lamech (one of the guides) was at the top. He told me the elders say there are little people who live in every iceberg. You are not supposed to shoot the iceberg or something bad will happen. On the other side of the iceberg there
was the most amazing blue water with huge chunks of ice in it. It looked like something out of a Frederic Edwin Church painting.

When we reached the floe edge it was/is amazing. It is like the world simply ends and water extends as far as the eye can see. You would swear you see land far off in the distance but it is of course only ice. I was listening to music as we approached the floe edge; actually the pulp fiction soundtrack. Music does not really belong here. I don’t know how to explain it but it just seemed out of place.

The landscape behind us [the camp] is quite majestic with the mountains but very flat around us. After you are on the ice for a while you start to notice the smallest oddity in the snow and ice. For example, a dropped tea bag, a black button etc... Or this could also be from being acutely aware of your surroundings. Either way, it is amazing.

June 20th, 1997

On the trip we also saw polar bear tracks which are very large. He walks pigeon toed in the front as well. Somehow, it was more mysterious to see the footprints rather than to actually see the bear.

I wish I could capture in words the beauty of the mountains, the water, and the sky, but I think they are simply imprinted on your soul. You rejoice when the sun shines in the morning and quietly rejoice when the fog rolls in after it. The silence is stunning. It is truly amazing how still you can sit and listen to rippling water, or water thundering under the ice. Simple pleasures bringing life down to the common denominator.

June 22nd, 1997

Matthias pused me into a puddle by the komotik and I had to change my boots again We decided my name should be kamik (many boots).

As soon as we had unpacked Matthias asked me if I wanted to walk; he would show me something. We walked for a few minutes and came on a pile or rocks (the area is all moss and rocks really) which is a grave. The next on actually had bones including a skull in it. We went around a ridge and there was a very large grave. He opened it up and I looked inside although every instinct told me not to. The body still had hair but there was a much older skull beside it. When we walked a little further and saw the name Rodger spelled in rocks on the ground. I asked Matthias if he knew the man. He said yes he was from Pond Inlet and about twenty years old. Obviously they treat death very differently here. We walked toward an inlet and all of a sudden we were standing right next to stone ring houses – out of large stones which would have skin roofs over them. You can still discern the sleeping platforms and the entrances. It is a sobering experience to stand near a dwelling at least 2000 years old and know people ate, slept, and loved there.
Looking at this landscape I find it amazing how our aesthetic taste changes over time. The whalers found this desolate and barren, yet we appreciate its beauty because it is so silent and partially because of its desolation. It seems the more comfortable life gets the more extreme we go to find solitude and beauty.

The various histories of the area also complement or seem more enchanted by the severity or extremity of location and weather.

It is a sobering thought to sit in a circle, allbeit on gas cans, eating and contemplating the bones and relics of a whaling station strewn around you.
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