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Filming the "Northern Front": The Motion Pictures of the Canadian Arctic Expedition

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Abstract: The Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE) 1913–1918 was the first Canadian government-sponsored expedition of the Western Arctic. Led by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, two teams were to explore the southern and northern areas. With them was Australian cameraman, George Hubert Wilkins, who took still shots and motion pictures of the expedition. The CAE faced challenges from the start and within a few months the *Karluk*, the ship upon which Stefansson and the majority of the northern team were travelling, got stuck in the ice and later sunk. The CAE was mired in controversy, with the warring expeditions, massive cost overruns, and many deaths. Wilkins filmed thousands of feet of footage and photographs, but this footage was never edited into an official film, and it appears that it was never seen by audiences of the day outside of the Arctic. Placing the CAE official film footage within the context of film in Canada, the First World War, and the controversies surrounding the CAE and its own archival records context, this article explores the history of this official audiovisual record and attempts to answer the question of why the Canadian government did not use this motion picture record to tell and promote the story of the CAE. This article is part of a special collection of papers originally presented at a conference on "The North and the First World War," held May 2016 in Whitehorse, Yukon.

Introduction

"No expedition is complete nowadays without the cinematograph man, and this one will be no exception to the rule."[1] Speaking of the necessity of the motion picture record to the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), an Australian newspaper highlighted the growing importance of the visual record. Film would assist not only in telling the story of the CAE to general audiences but would also serve as visual evidence of the expedition.

The story of northern explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson and the CAE has been well told.[2] It is a fascinating tale, one filled with success, failure, and wild infighting among its members. And while there are a number of books related to the CAE—including a biography of its official cameraman, George Wilkins, that relies heavily on Wilkins's diary to reconstruct his experience as expedition cameraman, and another on his experience as one of the official photographers for the Australian Flying Corps (AFC) in the First World War—there has not been a study on the history of the CAE's existing film record.[3]

And it is this film record at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) that sparked my interest in the expedition and also proved to be a conundrum. Wilkins was reported to have recorded 9,000 feet (2,743 m) of film footage of the expedition, and this amount has been repeated in modern summaries of his CAE footage.[4] But there is only about 3,000 feet (914 m) of Wilkins's film preserved at LAC.[5] What happened to the rest of the footage along the way to the archives? Why is so much missing?

Even more intriguing is that none of this footage was ever made into an official government production, nor does it appear that it was ever seen by contemporary audiences outside of the Arctic—and this despite the CAE being an official government expedition and one that cost Canadians an enormous sum of money. If Stefansson and Wilkins went to the trouble of recording the expedition, and ended up with over two hours of footage, why did the Canadian government not produce an official film from it? Adding to the mystery, also at LAC, is a feature length film connected to the CAE that was produced from thousands of feet of footage not shot by Wilkins, but by unofficial cameramen from an upstart motion picture company.[6]

At the centre of the story of the CAE was Stefansson, who saw himself as a prophet for the Arctic. Robust, opinionated, and driven, Stefansson had previously explored the North with Dr. Rudolph Anderson in an expedition from 1908 to 1912, where he encountered the Copper Inuit,

or Blonde Eskimo as he named them, and was eager to make a name for himself in Arctic exploration.[7] Stefansson, born in Manitoba but raised in the United States, was keen to return to the North to continue his exploration with the idea of living off the land. By that, he meant he would live like the Inuit, eating their foods and hunting their game. He wrote retrospectively in 1924 of his unique approach to northern exploration and the CAE, "others had been compelled to turn back because they ran out of provisions; we could not run out of provisions, because we were not going to have any."[8]

The CAE ran from 1913 to 1918 and was commanded by the Department of Naval Services. It was divided into two separate expeditions. The northern team, led by Stefansson, was to explore unknown areas of the Western Arctic, while the southern team, led by Dr. Rudolph Anderson who was a zoologist with the Geological Survey of Canada, was to conduct scientific and anthropological studies of the Southern Arctic region.[9] The expedition was initially to be funded and sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History and the National Geographical Society, but the Canadian government of Sir Robert Borden, which was concerned with the idea of a US sponsored expedition discovering and claiming land that was a part of Canada, took over the expedition in its entirety.[10]

It was thought that the CAE would cost the government $75,000, but Stefansson would eventually spend half a million dollars over five years.[11] If the First World War had not broken out, with federal spending spiralling into the hundreds of millions, this would have been a major scandal. As it stood, the expedition reported to the Department of Naval Services, which would soon be far busier with fighting U-boats in the Atlantic than paying much attention to this expedition to the North.

In brief, the CAE achieved what it set out to do. The southern team, comprised mostly of men from the Geological Survey of Canada, provided data that enriched the knowledge of the Arctic and its peoples. Most notably, samples were gathered and brought back to Ottawa for further analysis, and knowledge of the peoples of the North was increased through study and interactions, including the sound recordings made by anthropologist Diamond Jenness. The northern team "discovered" new land and extended Canada's knowledge of the North and its sovereign reach, eventually claiming for Canada four islands. But this was also a story of deprivation, death, and disappointment. It saw explorers and scientists pitted against each other during the expedition and in its aftermath.

This article will explore the motion picture record of the Canadian Arctic Expedition—the official footage shot by Wilkins, the "unofficial" footage shot by the American film company, the fate of the film after the CAE ended in 1918, and why the footage was ultimately never made into a major film as Stefansson hoped at the time. It is a story very much shaped by the war overseas.

The CAE

It was 1913, a year before the outbreak of the First World War. The multinational and multidisciplinary CAE teams sailed from Esquimalt, British Columbia, aboard the *Karluk*, an old whaling vessel that many on board considered to be derelict and unsuitable for the Arctic. CAE scientist, William McKinlay, wrote that they "steamed round Esquimalt Harbour to cheers from the entire Canadian Pacific Fleet, lined up on deck and filling the rigging. Good luck signals were hoisted, sirens wailed, and we were off in a glorious sunset."[12] It was all rather picture perfect. The explorers expected the world to wait for news of their Arctic exploration with bated breath, as they had previous explorers like Amundson, Scott, and Shackleton. Stefansson hoped to follow in the same heroic footsteps into the unknown.

But explorers also had to work at stoking the public's interest. Stefansson knew the value of publicizing expeditions. He took no salary for the CAE, but he thought he could support himself through publicity and stories that were sold to newspapers and film companies.[13] In fact, he demanded control over these rights, which angered his fellow expedition members, especially the southern team. Anderson complained that Stefansson purposely delayed the transfer of mail during the expedition because of his publicity arrangements, "in order that there should be no chance of mail getting to Ottawa and distributed from there before the London *Chronicle* should have Mr. Stefansson's stories."[14]

While Stefansson bullied the other members to ensure that he would shape the initial memory of the expedition, he could not control the government, which was paying the costs. Upon the announcement of the Canadian government funded expedition, Prime Minister Borden received a telegram from the *Daily Mirror* in London requesting to send a photographer on the expedition.[15] J.D. Hazen, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, thought to turn down the offer as he felt it was "inadvisable to grant such a request," as "this photographer would displace the scientific observer, and there seems to be no reason why the Canadian government expedition should give the monopoly of photographing the expedition to

the *Daily Mirror*."[16] However, the Cabinet recommended instead that the minister discuss this with Stefansson to see if an arrangement could be worked out.[17] There was also an offer made to Borden from J.S. Willison, editor-in-chief of the Toronto *News,* requesting that Borden consider the addition of a representative of the Canadian Press Service as a member of the expedition. Willison suggested, "H.S. Murton, a barrister of Toronto, a lacrosse player of some distinction and a man who has had some identification with journalism is anxious to go with the Stefansson expedition … he would be, not the representative of a single paper, but of all the daily papers in Canada."[18] However, this arrangement with the *Daily Mirror* and the Canadian press would interfere with Stefansson's ability to profit from the expedition and also to shape the narrative, and so Stefansson seems to have disregarded Ottawa's request. The issue died.

It was Stefansson who would broker his own deal with the newspapers. As he was building his expedition in the spring of 1913, he contracted the film and photography of the expedition out to United Newspapers Limited, a British news company. United Newspapers felt sure that the photos and films of his latest venture would be a hit for their newspaper, the *Daily Chronicle*. By having exclusive rights to the stories and images, they could be assured of getting the scoop. Stefansson signed off on a contract making United Newspapers Limited "the sole agents for the world for the sale and publication of all magazine articles, photographs, cinematograph films, and all other such literary or illustrative matter (except books) which he might write or produce, or may hereafter consent to be written or produced, relating to his expedition to and from the Arctic Regions."[19] Borden's government seems to have not paid much attention to the deal, or was simply too inexperienced in these matters. The government assumed that while the still and cinematographic images would be used by United Newspapers for promotional purposes during the span of the expedition, once the promotional value had passed, these would be turned over to Ottawa. United Newspapers Limited, in turn, contracted with Gaumont, a film company, to supply a cinematographic and still photographer who could accompany the expedition. George Hubert Wilkins, a field photographer who had experience working in the Balkan War in 1912, was selected with his mandate being, according to one contemporary account, to "take moving pictures to give stay-at-home people an idea of Canada's far-away regions."[20]

The expedition, as mentioned earlier, had success, but it was not without catastrophe. While Stefansson was a charismatic figure, he was a poor organizer and there was much discontent between the northern and

southern teams. The members, equipment, and supplies of the CAE were split up randomly onto its three ships with the inefficient plan that the contents and members would be redistributed properly when the vessels met again at Herschel Island (Qikiqtaruk). This did not happen. When the *Karluk*, the ship upon which most of the northern team was sailing, got stuck in the ice shortly after setting off from Alaska in August 1913, the expedition's failure seemed certain.

After weeks of being trapped on the ice-held ship in mid-September 1913, Stefansson, concerned about food stocks, organized a small team to hunt caribou. This hunting team of four included the cine and still photographer, Wilkins, who was an odd choice to bring on a hunting party as there were more experienced hunters left behind.[21] The crew was shocked and mystified that Stefansson seemed to be abandoning them. Later, rumours were whispered around the North blaming Stefansson for leaving his men, and one contemporary newspaper as far away as New Zealand noted darkly that although Stefansson claimed to leave the *Karluk* to hunt, "those who have been along that shore by boat and on foot say there is no hunting there, and of this fact, Stefansson was probably aware."[22]

This is where the film collides with history. Wilkins had recorded the voyage of the *Karluk* from August to September 1913 as it travelled along the Alaskan coast, ploughing through the ice floes, as well as shots of members of the CAE on board. Forever captured on film are images of the doomed ship stuck in the ice and the expedition members fated with it. The last bit of footage he shot is of Stefansson and the hunting party leaving the ship on 20 September 1913.[23] Stefansson and Wilkins never saw the *Karluk* again.[24] Only a few days into the hunting trip, the ice-packed *Karluk* shifted with a storm and drifted out to sea. This could have also marked the end for the visual record of the CAE, as aboard the *Karluk* was Wilkins's "sumptuous outfit of three moving picture cameras and several for still photography" and supplies.[25] A cameraman without equipment was of little value to Stefansson or Gaumont.

The Expedition Continues

Even as the majority of his men forming the northern team were lost on the missing *Karluk*, Stefansson refused to give up on the expedition. He wrote in a dispatch from the Arctic to the *Globe and Mail* in February 1914 that they "must do the work of the Karluk somehow, whether she herself comes or not."[26] And so, he spent the winter of 1914 pulling together a new team and the supplies and equipment to support them,

which included new photo and cinematographic equipment for Wilkins. Stefansson's business as usual approach was not without controversy, and he further incurred the anger and mistrust of the southern team and its leader, Anderson, when he attempted to take members and supplies, including their vessel the *Mary Sachs*, from them in March 1914. Since leaving Nome (Sitŋasuaq), Anderson's southern team had kept largely to its planned expedition, first working from Collinson Point and then eventually moving on to Bernard Harbour (Nulahugiuq) in the summer of 1914 and Coronation Gulf (Qurluktuk) in 1916, surveying and studying the land and its peoples. When Anderson refused this order to hand over his equipment, as he felt it would compromise the objectives of the southern team and the Geological Survey of Canada, Stefansson declared his action as mutinous. This would be yet another chapter in the feud between the two teams and its leaders.

Stefansson found enough equipment and he and his new northern team set off in mid-March 1914 for the first ever journey across the ice travelling from Martin Point up into the High Arctic. This was an extremely dangerous trek. Wilkins was with them documenting their progression until it was decided on March 27 that he should return to shore with the motion picture equipment. A massive storm swept over Stefansson and the ice party (minus Wilkins) and the explorers were set adrift on an ice floe.[27] Stefansson was presumed dead. Others sniped that Stefansson stayed out of contact to fuel the mystery as to his fate.

The "Unofficial" Footage

While Stefansson was on his ice journey and out of contact with Ottawa, the story of the whereabouts of the *Karluk* broke in the summer of 1914 when two of its survivors, Captain Bob Bartlett and his Iñupiat guide Kataktovik, reached Siberia. Bartlett told a grim tale of the *Karluk*'s destruction in the vice-like grip of the ice in January 1914 and the desperate voyage of the survivors to Wrangel Island.

There was much interest in the *Karluk* and the fate of the survivors with several Canadian and American rescue missions put into place. There were cameramen on board a number of the vessels, hoping to get the first shot of the survivors.[28] The weather and the ice conditions impeded the rescue attempts until the *King and Winge*, captained by American Olaf Swenson, who ran a shipping and trading business in Siberia, made it through to the survivors' camps on Wrangel Island on 7 September 1914. Upon the *King and Winge* was a newly-installed darkroom for developing any stills the photographers shot as well as a place to view test strips

of the motion picture footage. Attesting to the excitement of the rescue, the cameramen were purported to be equipped with top-of-the-line equipment, which included two motion picture cameras and 50,000 feet (15,200 m) of film, three still cameras, and films and plates. Fred Leroy Granville, an Australian-born cameraman for the Sunset Motion Picture Company, located in San Francisco, was aboard the *King and Winge*, and got the scoop. Granville had previous experience in filming in various international locales and was reputed to be "one of the world's best natural history motion picture photographers."[29] He was accompanied by George Charles Zalibra of Pittsburgh who also had experience in filming actions around the world, including most recently the Mexican Revolution. Notably absent from the story and the rescue was Wilkins, the official CAE photographer, who was nowhere near the *Karluk* and who after becoming split from Stefansson during the ice journey had eventually moved with Anderson's southern team to film in the areas around Bernard Harbour.

When the few starving survivors were eventually found—eight were missing and presumed dead, two had died from malnutrition, and one had died from a gunshot wound (rumoured to be a murder)—they were greeted not only by the rescuing ship members but by the Sunset cameramen as well. William McKinlay, who was part of the scientific staff and amongst the survivors, recalls being asked to pose for the camera upon their first contact. Granville captured their every move and followed them around as they packed up their meagre belongings.[30] When they were ready to board the *King and Winge*, the cameramen asked that they walk supported by the ship's crew even though they could have walked the three miles themselves. Of this, McKinlay wrote, "I think it made a better picture."[31]

Sunset created an eight-reel feature length film entitled *The Stefansson Rescue: Life in the Frozen North* that premiered in December 1914. The film was advertised under the tag lines, "the entire world knows about this wonderful picture and is waiting to see it" and "the greatest feature ever released."[32] Although it was common for film advertisements to be full of superlatives, it seems that, in this case, Sunset did have a scoop on their hands.[33]

The Sunset film documents the race-against-time rescue. There is also footage of the life, habits, and customs of the inhabitants in Alaska and Siberia.[34] The film is sensationalist with, for example, shots of a topless Inuit girl dancing and fooling around for the camera, and an objectifying image of an Inuit woman breastfeeding her children. The highlight of the film is the rescue sequence of the *Karluk*. From a historical perspective, the

visuals of the ragtag camps and the stark surroundings of Wrangel Island provide evidence of their harrowing experience.

Although the film was titled *The Stefansson Rescue*, Stefansson was little shown in the film since he was, at the time, lost on his ice journey. The film about Stefansson had very little footage of the intrepid explorer, although there was a tantalizing shot of Stefansson gathering supplies. These were billed as the last known pictures of him and one reviewer wrote, "these pictures give us the last glimpse of the man as he was seen among the living."[35] Another advertisement for the film suggested ominously, no doubt to boost and promote showings, that "the party has not been heard from."[36] That the film was billed as having the last known pictures of Stefansson is curious as Wilkins had, by this time, recorded much footage of Stefansson and the CAE including what was truly the last known images of him during the ice journey in late March 1914, before Wilkins was separated from the team and all this footage had been shipped to Gaumont for their use.

Sunset likely secured this footage from a third-party cameraman who had crossed paths with Stefansson on the Alaskan coast and filmed him and his new northern team "securing supplies" before Stefansson's team embarked on their ice journey.[37] The footage is difficult to make out, although the intertitle in the film points out which figure is Stefansson.[38] Even thought this grainy footage is not strong, the quality of the film in general was praised by reviewers, stating that "in its class of pictures this one is truly one of the best. It is almost indescribable, and as is most always the case in scenic pictures, must be seen to be appreciated. If you are looking for an education film, crammed full of the most entertaining and instructive scenes, combined with bits of the tragic story of the great Stefansson, these eight reels will suit the most fastidious, as well as please any audience."[39]

While Stefansson was presumed dead in making his historic trek across the ice, Stefansson's archives reveals that he was invited to see an advance screening of the motion picture in San Francisco.[40] Stefansson obviously did not attend, and likely did not know about the film for some time. However, Gaumont must have heard of the film, although they remained silent on being scooped by Sunset, an indication perhaps that Gaumont had lost interest in the expedition.

Gaumont's Fading Attention

Gaumont's interest had already started declining in early 1914 when they learned from Wilkins that most of his equipment and thousands of feet of film were lost with the *Karluk*. Wilkins wrote to his parents in late fall 1913 that "it is unfortunate for me that I left my cinematograph camera on the *Karluk*," but he felt sure that "the firm will send me another from London when I write by the next mail."[41] The optimistic Wilkins was incorrect.

After having invested significant funds to outfit and send Wilkins from Britain to Canada, Gaumont did not rush to replace his lost equipment. Instead, his manager requested that he return, figuring of course that the northern expedition with no men and equipment could not continue.[42] However, by the time Wilkins received these instructions he had already re-equipped himself using Ottawa's seemingly limitless funds and had started taking on some additional roles, such as collecting samples and assisting Stefansson in re-establishing the northern team.[43]

Gaumont was unhappy with this arrangement—with several angry letters exchanged with Ottawa—as they felt that this additional work, which later includes Wilkins as a team leader in the expedition, would only interfere with his creation of the visual record (which they were paying for). However, Gaumont's waning interest entirely faded when the war erupted in August 1914. All of Gaumont's resources were put towards the war effort, and they were frustrated that one of their best cameramen was stuck on the northern front. As the war overseas deepened with millions of men in uniform, Gaumont's frustration increased and they wrote to Naval Services in March 1915 that "it is evident that he has been of considerable service to the Expedition, and this has somewhat interfered with his photographic work."[44] Gaumont then concluded that their "prospect of receiving any return is very remote in view of the unfortunate happenings culminating in the loss of the *Karluk*."[45] It is likely that the American scoop by Sunset also hurt.

Gaumont's opinion of the CAE did not change. And in 1916, after receiving a shipment of Wilkins's footage, they were more concerned about the additional costs for duty that they were forced to pay, instead of the content of the films. Gaumont's disinterest in the Arctic films was understandable given what was going on in England and Europe, and they wrote, "we cannot at the moment say what the films are like but in any case we do not anticipate that it will be possible for us to put them on the market for some time."[46] Much of Wilkins's footage sat in England. Stefansson's renewed expedition was no longer worthy news and even

in Canada there appeared to be little appetite to hear about northern exploration while Canadian forces were fighting overseas.

Gaumont thought it was only fair that the Government of Canada provide them with some compensation, not only for the loss of their skilled employee during a time when he was needed, but because of the multiple roles Wilkins was forced to take on. Gaumont was understandably frustrated that they did not have their "best cameraman" for service in filming the war.[47] Motion picture footage rapidly became an important tool for communication, propaganda, and documenting the war effort, but there was a shortage of cameramen who possessed the skill, technique, and bravery to carry out the task.[48] Gaumont rather pointedly wrote in March 1916, "the fact that he has been away from London for nearly three years has often caused us to regret our action in sending him, as his services would have been invaluable to us and probably to the British Empire in the War Area."[49] Naval Services was somewhat sympathetic, writing that the difficulties in communicating with the CAE has made the specific details of Wilkins's employment with the expedition difficult to establish; however, George Desbarats, deputy minister of Naval Services, did not think that Wilkins's work suffered, writing in April 1916, "Mr Wilkins is carrying out almost exactly the programme which was mapped out before the expedition left Victoria. He is travelling with the northern party and taking photographs of the various scenes and localities which may be of interest for your purposes. He has also taken photographs and moving pictures at different places visited by the southern party, so that his films will cover a wide extent of unknown territory and should be most interesting."[50]

It is not clear if any of this whining on the part of Gaumont made its way to Wilkins, who remained isolated in the North. Whatever the case, Wilkins continued to film footage of the geography of the land and the Inuit he encountered. The films that Wilkins shot were varied in content ranging from documentation of the expedition and its progress through the Arctic, to films capturing scientific evidence and anthropological study.

In terms of a record of the expedition, Wilkins recorded some of their day-to-day activities. But this was not an all-encompassing accounting of the CAE nor was it a record of the most important events. There would not have been enough footage for him to do this and, being only one cameraman for two separate teams, he physically could not provide this kind of record. Nonetheless, he endeavoured to capture those moments that would be of most interest to a viewing audience.

Shooting conditions were much more difficult than Wilkins expected, and travelling with developed and undeveloped film as well as all the equipment was excessively cumbersome. Wilkins recalled a particular journey with the dogs where they took off and hundreds of feet of film tipped into the ocean. Who knows what scenes were left in the Arctic seas?[51]

Wilkins planned out stories and events that he wished to document, but travel was difficult in the North and he often missed encounters, such as the desire to film a whale hunt at Point Barrow (Nuvuk) in the spring of 1914 after becoming separated from Stefansson. By the time he arrived there, the whales had already moved on. On that journey he had another lost moment for the cinematographic record. His ship had almost been crushed in the ice, and he wrote: "I had missed an opportunity of getting a realistic picture of a Battle for Life but so it must always be, to participate in the exciting moments and dangerous adventure which are the spice of life means that we cannot also stand calmly by, pressing a release spring of a Kodak or nonchalantly grind away on the handle of a cinematographic machine."[52] Wilkins had to make these choices in what to film of the CAE and certain moments would never be filmed due to the sheer danger of them. Stefansson's historic ice journeys are also largely missing from the motion picture record. As noted earlier, Wilkins recorded the beginning of the first ice voyage in 1914 including the ice ridges and the living conditions at the camps, but his cinematographic and photographic evidence ended there when he left the party. Demonstrating that Stefansson played the part of a film director at times, he wrote that, "I had intended first that Wilkins should retain his motion picture camera for fifty miles offshore, thinking he might get some interesting pictures of moving ice and possibly of polar bears, but I now concluded that time would be so precious if we ever got away from the land floe that we could not afford either to stop for pictures or to carry the camera itself."[53]

Wilkins, ever mindful of what would interest Gaumont, but also clearly influenced by Stefansson, sought to capture footage of the Inuit, who were seen as exotic.[54] On this content, his films become more anthropological in nature, illustrating aspects of the Inuit culture and society. And in this way, Wilkins's films take on a very different tone from the footage shot by the Sunset Motion Picture Company. While much of the content appears directed, Wilkins was intent on documenting the Inuit rather than titillating the audience like *The Stefansson Rescue* film of late 1914. Wilkins was also influenced by Stefansson and his Blonde Inuit theory—which supposed that the Copper Inuit were of European descent—and so there is footage

of faces and profiles, probably meant to illustrate some of Stefansson's theories.[55] While it was a challenge for Wilkins not to be caught up in the "otherness" of the Inuit, he also documented their ingenuity, their survival skills, and their abilities to live off the land. All of this was very much in line with Stefansson's main message of the Arctic—that it is, to quote his later book, "friendly" and hospitable.

Custody of CAE Film

In 1916, the motion picture record ended when Wilkins left the Arctic with the southern team, but Stefansson and the CAE continued on until 1918.[56] Stefansson was not ready to return to the South as he felt that the work of the CAE was not yet complete, with more land to explore and more mysteries to unravel. He likely realized that, with the massive cost overruns, the Canadian government would likely never fund him again. And so he ignored the calls to conclude the CAE, even when Ottawa demanded that he return with the others. However, with Wilkins's return south, it was hoped that the cinematographic and still records of the CAE would be sent back to the government in Canada.

In March 1916, in the last few months of Wilkins's work in the Arctic, Gaumont relinquished control over the CAE films, notifying Naval Services "that the film[s] that have been secured should be of service to the Dominion and if you wished it, we would probably agree with other parties interested with us, to turn over to you the rights of the films in Canada subject to our retaining the rights for other countries. We think that the films will be of greater value to Canada than elsewhere."[57] The government rightly expected that at the end of Wilkins's and Gaumont's involvement in the expedition, all of the films would come under its control.

Instead, the film history becomes complicated, and the textual records allow us to fill in the gaps left by the visual records. Upon his return from the Arctic, Wilkins travelled to Ottawa where he worked on various reports for the CAE, including a summary related to the photographs and films.[58] According to this report, he recorded "about 5,000 feet of cinematograph film covering the summer and part of the spring life of the Copper Eskimo" and "about 4,000 feet of cinematograph negative of members of the Expedition and their activities."[59] It is a very brief summary with only approximate figures and it is important to note that he was not writing this with the film record in front of him as "according to contract, … these negatives had to be delivered in London, England, for use of the United Newspapers, and the Gaumont Company, Ltd."[60] Nonetheless, this report

provides evidence of Wilkins's initial description and estimate of the amount of footage shot during his three years in the North.

Wilkins, eager to be involved in the war, travelled to London in late 1916 to meet with Gaumont and to review his film footage, and then home to Australia where he took up a commission with the Australian Flying Corps as an official photographer in May 1917. However, prior to that while in Australia, Wilkins presented a series of lectures in March 1917 on the Canadian Arctic Expedition and used a selection of moving pictures and photographs to illustrate his experience.[61] The films were praised for providing audiences with "a capital idea of the nature of the icebound land."[62] In particular, in his presentation to the Dual Club in Adelaide, the "account of the tribe of Blonde Eskimos was vastly interesting, and an excellent series of moving pictures, taken by himself, greatly added to the enjoyment of his hearers."[63] These lectures marked the first documented occasion that the CAE official film footage was seen by an audience outside of the Arctic.

At this same time, back in Canada, the confused bureaucrats had still not received the films and photographs.[64] It wasn't until June 1917 that the government realized that their "arrangement" regarding the film and photographs was different than what they had been told by Stefansson. In receipt of a recent letter from Wilkins, Dr. Anderson, of the Geological Survey of Canada, learned from him that "all photographic negatives taken by myself while accompanying the Canadian Arctic Expedition are to remain the property of United Newspapers Limited."[65] Stefansson had not only sold off the rights to all the photo and still negatives, but all the originals, even negatives shot by other expedition members, were to remain in London with the *Daily Chronicle* and Gaumont.

The Department of Naval Services and the Geological Survey of Canada scientists from the southern team were predictably furious. Stefansson had profited from a government-funded trip and he had compromised the scientific discoveries of the southern team by selling off their visual documentation. Dr. Anderson raged in June 1917 that Wilkins was seen as the "official photographer of the expedition and that he supposed the negatives taken by him would be the property of the government after the Gaumont Company and the newspapers had taken what prints they wanted for press use."[66] Further muddling the lines between Wilkins's employment as "an official photographer" and Gaumont employee, Wilkins also took a large number of photographs to specifically illustrate Anderson's southern team's work in the fields of science and ethnology. "Many of these pictures we might have taken ourselves, and probably

would have taken many more ourselves, but for economy in the use of the films and plates, as well as the probability of having better work done by a professional photographer."[67] Anderson blamed Stefansson for this double-dealing, and the already wide rift between them grew wider. Anderson urged Naval Services to re-exert authority over the visual records, or at least acquire copies of them, reminding authorities that "the principal reason given for taking a cinematograph outfit on the expedition was the scientific value of the films to be taken mainly for their ethnological interest in preserving records of aboriginal tribes, copies of the cinema film to be furnished to the ethnological department of the Survey by the Gaumont Company."[68]

The bewildered Department of Naval Services turned to its records, hoping to discover who owned the rights to the expedition's visual material. However, as one report noted, the files "do not give clear particulars with reference to the agreements with Mr. Wilkins as a member of the Arctic Expedition."[69] Naval Services could not determine if they owned the visual record, despite paying for Wilkins's new equipment, supplies, and his entire costs while on the expedition.[70]

Before the full revelations of the administrative nightmare were revealed, Desbarats had written Gaumont in July 1917 requesting two copies of the photographs and of the motion picture films, and that the government be given "the full right of their use for technical and educational purposes."[71] Gaumont refused. These were not the terms of the agreement that had been worked out by Stefansson. In fact, Gaumont was not even the main broker of the contract as it had been established by their parent company, United Newspapers Limited. However, after studying their paperwork and after receiving some pressure from Wilkins, Gaumont conceded that they would send a copy of all the motion picture film taken during the CAE to the Government of Canada.[72] Gaumont was pressed by the war effort, short of skilled employees, and had been waiting for Wilkins to return to London so that he could complete the editing and titling work.[73] Wilkins organized the reels into two distinct parts and assigned brief corresponding titles (main titles and sub-titles).[74] It was slow work because he had not seen the material in over three years. Some of it was revealed to be of poor quality. "Unfortunately through lack of facility for early development," he wrote, "the quality of some of the negative exposed on the expedition is not quite so good as it should have been. It had been exposed some two and half years before development and it is generally known to photographers that the image fades from the film if the latter is not placed in the developer within a reasonable

time after exposure."[75] Although Wilkins shot 9,000 feet (2,743 m) of footage of the CAE, once he arrived at Gaumont to review the films the amount of usable footage was significantly less, and Wilkins pared the original footage down to 6,021 feet (1,835 m), which was then sent to the Department of Naval Services in early September 1917.[76] It is presumed that the approximately 3,000 (914 m) missing feet of film was left on the cutting room floor by Wilkins due to its poor visual quality, or it got lost or damaged in the North or en route to London, or it deteriorated while in Gaumont's hands.

There was an equally arduous battle in Ottawa to secure the CAE's approximately 1,200 photographs, with the parent company of the *Daily Chronicle*, United Newspapers Limited, holding firm to their understanding of the contract with Stefansson. It did not state that they were to provide any copies whatsoever to the Government of Canada. Repeated requests by the Department of Naval Services were stonewalled by United Newspapers, which suggested that not only did they not have the human resources to organize and send the negatives back at this point, but that they would only work with Stefansson since the negatives actually belonged to him (as per their contract).[77] Frustrated, Desbarats wrote Stefansson in August 1918, requesting that Stefansson compel United Newspapers to ship the photos to him. Stefansson, ever searching for an angle, replied that he thought that this was a way for United Newspapers to demonstrate that they were unhappy that the CAE members, Dr. Anderson and Captain Bartlett, had breached their original contract by publishing accounts of the expedition in other newspapers.[78]

By the summer of 1918, Naval Services and the Geological Survey of Canada and its scientists were getting desperate as the photographs were integral to the work of the CAE. However, unbeknownst to Desbarats, the scientists from the Geological Survey had already been in contact with the *Daily Chronicl*e and had successfully received a selection of photographs from them earlier that spring. The *Daily Chronicle* noted that they did not have prints of all the photos and those that they did were not labelled. They didn't even have a numbering sequence to ensure that all the photographs could be accounted for and so it was extremely time consuming for them to print and locate the required subjects.[79] Eventually, by the fall of 1918, in response to these frequent requests and complaints from the Government of Canada, the *Daily Chronicle* and its parent company, United Newspapers, relinquished the original negatives to the government. Even then, the photographs were nearly lost in their travel

overseas. They were not found until June 1919 after being misplaced in the Department of Naval Services for nearly four months. [80]

By the summer of 1919, with the photographs now in hand, the government made them available for the scientists' official CAE reports, which were to act as the "official" scientific record of the expedition. There were many calls for an album of all the photographs to be prepared for both departments so that each would have access to its visual legacy. Given the importance of the photographs, it was also recommended that a third copy of the album be prepared for long-term storage at the Dominion Archives.[81] The Department of Naval Services was in over its head here—as they had been all along—and they transferred the negatives to the Geological Survey of Canada, which had an established photographic division.[82] The approximately 1,200 photographs became a key source for conceptualizing the ethnology and scientific discoveries of the southern team, and have been widely used to illustrate and comprehend the North since then.

Legacy of the Films

Despite the massive efforts of Wilkins in the North, and then the fight over ownership of the footage, Gaumont does not appear to have ever produced a film on the CAE. While the footage was likely cut up and added to their stock-shot library for re-use and sale, there was no final product. In Ottawa, where there might have been a greater desire to publicize the CAE, there was also little movement on making a film. The Department of Naval Services had no authority to do so and when the footage was transferred to the Geological Survey of Canada there remained little interest. The films were on nitrate stock, which was extremely flammable, and so by 1919 the films went into the care and storage of the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau , headed by Ben Norrish, of the Department of Trade and Commerce. [83] No film was made of them, even though the government had recent experience in handling film due to propaganda efforts during the war.

There remained an interest in the Arctic expedition and the government received several requests over the coming years for reproductions of the photographs—for various newspaper articles, specialty magazines, journals, and children's textbooks. The photographs were praised for depicting the authentic Arctic. Expedition members, mainly Stefansson, also requested the photographs to assist in their own publications and lecture tours.[84] However, there are only three documented requests for the motion picture footage.

The first request was in July 1918, when Lee Keedick, Stefansson's lecture manager, contacted Desbarats for a copy of the motion pictures and still pictures taken during the expedition.[85] Desbarats refused Keedick's request. He wrote that the Department of Naval Services was not keen to lend their copy of the film and suggested that they should seek a copy from Gaumont directly. Desbarats was not supportive of Stefansson's lecture tour plan and likely felt that Stefansson had been underhanded in his dealings with Ottawa. He had no desire to assist him in furthering his own reputation through the lecture circuit.

The second documented request, in May 1919, was another request by Stefansson on behalf of B.M. McConnell, Stefansson's personal secretary during the CAE, to exhibit the motion pictures to the demobilizing American Expeditionary Forces through the YMCA.[86] Desbarats again refused, this time for reasons of quality: "I am not clear however that the pictures are in proper shape for showing. They would need a good deal of pruning and arranging before they can be shown to advantage."[87] Desbarats suggested that the YMCA would have to pay for the editing and copying work required, and he wanted assurances to protect the copyright of the films.[88] The YMCA was likely not in a position to carry out the work, and McConnell did not pursue the matter.

The third request came in June 1919, again by Stefansson, to preview the footage of the CAE with the manager of Gaumont International to determine its commercial viability.[89] Desbarats relented and the original films (6,021 feet; 1,835 m) were packed up by the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau and sent to New York. They created a packing list that has turned out to be a useful piece of evidence as it allows for an accounting of the footage that the government had in 1919.[90]

The dangers of transporting unique material were revealed. The footage went missing, albeit briefly, en route to New York.[91] The films had been "addressed in error to Norrish, care of American Geographical Society" instead of to Stefansson.[92] The films were eventually tracked down but one wonders why such little care and attention was taken for such priceless records. Once gone, there was no other complete copy in Canada.

There is no indication that a production was ever made from this request nor is it clear what Gaumont's review of the footage achieved. And this is where the contemporary use of the motion picture seems to end. There continued to be requests for photographs and, even ten years later, requests for copies trickled in to the Department of Naval Services.[93] These visual artifacts remained sought after, but the motion pictures

seemed to be forgotten—if they were ever known—and no official Government of Canada production was made. The CAE footage, which was returned personally by Stefansson from New York later that same month in June 1919, remained in storage and later came under the control of the National Film Board of Canada. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that productions were made using this footage.[94]

Why Was No Official Film Made?

One can understand Gaumont's lack of interest in the CAE given the war and the American film scoop, but this does not explain why the footage was never made into a production in Canada for contemporary audiences. The CAE had "discovered" new land for Canada; had resulted in a new understanding of the Arctic peoples, plant life, animals, and geology; and had cost half a million dollars. When the war ended, it seemed a topic ripe for interest for the Canadian market. While it is difficult to prove a negative, I have pieced together, from the surviving textual archives, some of the reasons why the film was never made.

Film and publicity were not central in Desbarats's mind in relation to the CAE. He was focused, in 1918, not on the promotion of the CAE, but on closing it down and this included enticing the major participants—Stefansson and Anderson—into writing their final reports. Stefansson was of another mind—he was just beginning. Upon his return to the south in 1918, and as mentioned earlier, he had planned a lecture tour promoting his explorations. In September 1918, Stefansson wrote: "I feel sure that were one of the members of our expedition to tell a popular audience how we build our snow houses so as to be comfortable, how we dress so as to be available for the drying of clothes, and how we secure our food as we go and thus free ourselves from the limitations of former travellers who thought they needed to haul all their food with them—if one of us explained these and similar things, doing so would probably capture the interest of many who would not otherwise consult the formal reports, and the total publicity of the technical results therein obtained would be increased."[95] Stefansson wanted the film footage to publicize his success in the North. Desbarats was unconvinced, and frustrated with Stefansson and his shenanigans, and demanded that the departmental reports have priority over the tour. Perhaps sensing that a scandal might be brewing over the costs of the expedition, Desbarats rightly noted that final reports were needed rather than a self-serving promotional tour. Stefansson had to cut his tour short. However, a final overarching report on the CAE was never written by Stefansson. Wishing to have the last word on the CAE

and what he saw as the southern team's mutiny, Stefansson refused to write his account until Anderson had submitted one for the southern team. A war of wills emerged, with neither Anderson nor Stefansson completing the reports. Their acrimony extended to a public battle well into the 1920s.

Motion picture film was a relatively new technology. During the course of the CAE, the Canadian film industry, and the government's interest in it, underwent a significant evolution. The Department of Trade and Commerce used film to promote Canadian trade and, from 1916, Lord Beaverbrook had established combat cameramen to record the Canadians on the Western Front.[96] There was also a government-funded newsreel being produced from 1917, the *Canadian Pictorial News,* which focused on Canadian stories.[97] However, these occurred during or after the CAE set off and the Department of Naval Services had no capacity to carry out film production. Desbarats noted his lack of knowledge in motion pictures in response to Stefansson's request for the footage for his lecture tour, stating "I am not familiar with the technic (sp) of reproducing moving pictures films and am not quite clear as to the facility with which a duplicate film can be printed from the one in the possession of the Department."[98] Desbarats, who was responsible for the safeguarding of this footage, did not appear to request advice from within his department or outside of it (like the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau), and it likely was too much trouble for him, an already very busy man who was still dealing with the enormous challenge of demobilizing the naval services after the war. The Arctic expedition and its film may have just happened too soon for the government to know what it could do with it.

Copyright was another problem. If the Department of Naval Services had wanted to produce a film using this footage, they would have likely worked with the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau. The majority of the films produced by the bureau was for international distribution, and given that Gaumont had retained the international copyright, it may not have been possible for the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau to work with it. At the very least, there would have been thorny issues of negotiation with Gaumont. So, as opposed to a full-on conspiracy, it would appear that mundane things like bureaucracy may have killed any project related to the film.

Not to be forgotten is the impact of the competing Sunset Motion Picture film. In the world of topical film, the scoop matters and it seems that the *Stefansson Rescue* had made the rounds in theatres in North America in 1914 and 1915 and had even found its way to theatres in New Zealand in 1917 and Australia in 1918 to 1919.[99] In some cases, the film was even mistaken for the footage shot by the CAE and one can see why

audiences thinking they had already seen a well-composed film on the Arctic, including the story of the *Karluk*, would not clamour for a second film on the Arctic expedition.[100]

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the CAE had been plagued by controversies, not the least being the death of eleven of the crew, but also, as mentioned, a simmering war of reputations between Stefansson and the southern team of the expedition. Creating a film narrative would have required co-operation between the northern and southern teams. They had not been able to agree enough to write a full report of the CAE and so given the state of their poisonous relationship, the creation of a film narrative would have been near impossible. These quarrels resurfaced once Stefansson published his account of the expedition in his book *The Friendly Arctic* (1921).[101] Anderson and other southern team members did not agree with his account of their supposed mutiny or in his overall thesis of the friendliness of the Arctic—which, they noted, had not been friendly to the eleven dead under his command. The bickering continued to the exorbitant cost of the expedition, Stefansson's self-promotion, and his abandonment of the *Karluk*. In response, Stefansson wrote to the Department of Naval Services stating that he found the charges "so serious that I hope the government will make quiet but thorough investigation and publish its findings."[102] But there would be no official inquiry. The department was wary of Stefansson and of the impact that this war of words would have on the government's own shoddy handling of the expedition, from cost overruns to the commemoration of the deaths of the CAE members, and Desbarats refused to be involved in the haphazard public battle, hoping to "avoid engaging in newspaper controversies."[103] A film detailing the story of the CAE would have likely fanned these disagreements.

By the mid-1920s, there were a few more failures associated with Stefansson that contributed to the decline in his reputation. His connection with the Hudson's Bay Reindeer Company, which attempted to establish and raise herds of reindeer in the Canadian Arctic, was a hopeless cause almost from the start, and the privately sponsored settlement organized by Stefansson at Wrangel Island, where all but one of the settlers died, further cast a pall over his reputation.[104] By this time, as well, the CAE and Stefansson had become old news. There were more recent Arctic expeditions sponsored by the Canadian government, which had more current film footage of the Arctic that could be used to promote Canada's sovereignty in the North.[105] While Stefansson disappeared from this story, he continued to have a lively scientific career, publishing widely about all

manner of topics, including the protein-and-fat-rich diet of the Inuit. He always remained a champion of the North.

Conclusion: Archival Legacy of the Films

Returning to the original question posed at the beginning of this article, Wilkins originally shot 9,000 feet (2,743 m) of footage, which, after editing, was reduced to 6,021 feet (1,835 m); yet, why does Library and Archives Canada only have approximately 3,000 feet (914 m) in its holdings? In terms of archival film in Canada, one of the most important dates to mark is 1967. While it is of course the centennial of Canada's confederation, the year also marks one of the darkest periods for Canadian film history. In July 1967 there was a massive fire in the National Film Board's storage repository that contained many millions of feet of the highly flammable nitrate film stock. After surviving the Arctic, Wilkins's footage went up in flames.

And while this could have marked the end for this film, it doesn't. When we are talking about lost archival film, sometimes film footage is not always lost forever. Films were often duplicated, and it is possible for other copies to exist. Such is the case for the CAE film footage. The approximately 3,000 feet at LAC is comprised of footage from Wilkins's original nine reels that had been copied for the National Museums of Canada and later stored in the NFB's stock-shot library. These reels were, at some point, cut up seemingly arbitrarily into four reels. As a result, the footage is out of sequential order and it's difficult to connect the existing footage to the original titles and sub-titles provided by Wilkins for the original nine reels.[106]

This only accounts for half of Wilkins's edited footage and it is likely that more of this film exists, waiting to be located. Other sites for copies could be in the NFB's current stock-shot library where there may still be footage not yet identified as being part of the CAE. Further research by this author into the current Gaumont Archives has located a few minutes of footage related to Stefansson's Arctic expedition.[107] Also of interest are the NFB documentaries related to Stefansson created before the fire in 1967. The NFB's *The Arctic Prophet* (1965) includes some footage from Wilkins's earliest recordings depicting the first days of the expedition in Nome as well as what appear to be shots of the southern team's work in 1914.[108] By continuing with this method of research it may be possible to rebuild the missing parts of Wilkins's footage. While Wilkins's original nine reels of nitrate film of the CAE have been destroyed, the film record lives on through these copies of the footage

Returning to the CAE and the context of the First World War—the CAE film footage was buried, forgotten, and unseen. The war on the Western Front had eclipsed the expedition on the northern front, but the CAE had its own tragedies—it was mired in controversy and death. Yet the expedition was significant as it advanced scientific and anthropological research in Canada, and the "discovery" of the new islands re-created the map of Canada's North. The films, shot by Wilkins and by the Sunset cameramen, are still here although in a reduced state, preserved in our national archive and other repositories, giving us a visual memorial of this both tragic and historic expedition. Perhaps, after the commemorations of the Western Front end in 2018, we might turn our attention back to the northern front.

Author

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Notes

1. "Arctic Regions," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 Aug 1913, 9.
2. Gísti Pálsson, *The Stefansson Enigma Travelling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (University of Manitoba Press, 2005); Richard Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic* (McGill-Queens University Press, 1978); Stuart E. Jenness, *Stefansson, Dr. Anderson and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1918: A Story of Exploration, Science and Sovereignty* (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2011); Jennifer Niven, *The Ice Master: the Doomed 1913 Voyage of the Karluk* (New York: Hyperion, 2000); and William R. Hunt, *Stefansson: A Biography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Canadian Arctic Explorer* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
3. Stuart Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1916* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); and Jeff Maynard, *The Unseen Anzac: How an Enigmatic Polar Explorer Created Australia's World War I Photographs* (Brunswick, Australia: Scribe Publications, 2015).
4. This amount is listed on various web pages of the Canadian Museum of History including, "Gateway to Aboriginal Heritage," accessed 3 Aug 2016, http://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/ethno/etp0200e.shtml; and in Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer*, xviii.
5. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), National Film Board fonds, Stock Shots, *Part 1, The Stefansson Arctic Expedition*, ISN 224840; *Part 2, Arctic Expedition at Herschel Island*, ISN 168707; *Part 3, Canadian Arctic Expedition*, ISN 168705; and *Part 4, Canadian Arctic Expedition*, ISN 132162.

6. LAC, The American Film Institute fonds, *Rescue of the Stefansson Arctic Expedition*, ISN 23874.
7. Viljhamur Stefansson,"Stefansson and Anderson in the Canadian Arctic," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, Volume 43, 1 Jan 1911, 771.
8. Vilhjamur Stefansson, "Capt G.H. Wilkins," *The Adelaide Register*, 12 Jul 1924, 10.
9. LAC, MG26-H, Sir Robert Borden fonds, File Stefansson Expedition 1913, Plan of a proposed Arctic Expedition, n.d.
10. Ibid., Letter from R. Brock to Hon. W.J. Roche, 4 Feb 1913; and Ibid., Memo from sub-committee of Council, 7 Feb 1913.
11. Ibid., Letter from R. Brock to Hon. W.J. Roche, 4 Feb 1913; and Janice Cavell and Jeffrey David Noakes, *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918–25* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 12.
12. William L. McKinlay, *Karluk - The Great Untold Story of Arctic Exploration* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 34.
13. This is an example of one of his first reports: Vilhjamur Stefansson, "Stefansson Hopes to Achieve Success," *The Globe and Mail*, 18 Jun 1913, 1. As well, Stefansson mentions the terms of his agreement and the worldwide attention on the CAE in the following letter: LAC, MG 26-H, Sir Robert Borden fonds, Stefansson Expedition 1913, Letter from Stefansson to Borden, 3 May 1913.
14. LAC, RG42, Volume 478, file 84-2-33, Letter from Rudolph Anderson to Deputy Minister, Department of the Naval Service, 11 Jan 1916.
15. LAC, MG26-H, Sir Robert Borden fonds, Stefansson Expedition 1913, Telegram from the Editor, *Daily Mirror*, 24 Feb 1913.
16. Ibid., Letter from J.D. Hazen to Mr. A.E. Blount, 3 Mar 1913.
17. Ibid., Letter to J.D. Hazen from unsigned in Canadian Government, 6 Mar 1913.
18. Ibid., Letter from Mr. Willison to Sir Robert Borden, 22 May 1913.
19. Quoted from original contract as cited in LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from *Daily Chronicle* to Deputy Minister, 24 Oct 1917.
20. D.A. M'Gregor, "Stefansson's Search for a Northern Continent," *The Globe and Mail*, 5 Jul 1913, A2.
21. Hunt, *Stefansson*, 72; and Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic: The Story of Five Years in Polar Regions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), 55.
22. "Fate of the Karluk," *New Zealand Herald*, 4 Feb 1914, 4.
23. LAC, National Film Board fonds, Stock Shots, *Part 1, The Stefansson Arctic Expedition*, ISN 224840.
24. "Stefansson Plans to Continue Expedition," *The Globe and Mail*, 23 Feb 1914, 1

25. The loss of equipment is mentioned in Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 487, and is accounted for in LAC, RG 42, Volume 477, file 84-2-32, Memo to the Deputy Minister re: Mr George H Wilkins, 9 Jul 1917.
26. "Stefansson Plans to Continue Expedition," *The Globe and Mail*, 23 Feb 1914, 1.
27. "Stefansson Is Adrift With Two of His Party," *The Globe and Mail, 2* Sep 1914, 4.
28. For example, the *Herman* was reported to have filmed Captain Bartlett and the Karluk survivors. See "San Francisco," *The Moving Picture World*, Jul-Sep 1914, 850. Footage of Bartlett aboard the *Herman* has been located under this title: *The Cruise of the Whaler, Herman*, and is available on the following website: http://www.criticalpast.com/video/65675065855_Captain-Bartlett_Captain-Pederson_SS-Herman-on-expedition_Emma-Harbor
29. "Rescue of Stefansson Survivors," *The Moving Picture World,* Oct-Dec 1914, 167.
30. McKinlay, *Karluk,* 187.
31. Ibid., 188
32. "Rescue of the Stefansson Arctic Expedition," *The Moving Picture World,* Oct-Dec 1914, 1871.
33. Due to the number of cine cameramen in the North, there were a number of films claiming to have footage related to the *Karluk* rescue. The *Herman* footage mentioned above is one example and there was also a story of the *Karluk* rescue featured in *Mutual Weekly* newsreel no. 96 in the fall of 1914. The connection to the Sunset and *Herman* footage is unclear as a copy of the newsreel has yet to be located; however, given the subject matter and description of this story, it is possible that it was made up of footage from Sunset or from one of the competing cameramen on another vessel. See "Mutual," *The Moving Picture World*, Oct-Dec 1914, 836; and "Mutual Weekly no. 96," *Reel Life*, Mutual Film Corporation, 31 Oct 1914, Volume 5, No. 7, 25.
34. "Rescue of Stefansson Survivors," *The Moving Picture World*, Oct-Dec 1914, 167.
35. "Stefansson Expedition Pictures," *The Moving Picture World*, Oct-Dec 1914, 174-5.
36. "Rescue of the Stefansson Arctic Expedition," *Motion Picture News*, volume 10, n. 25, 26 Dec 1914, 12.
37. While it is possible that the Sunset cameramen filmed this footage themselves, the timing does not fit as it was reported that the Sunset team did not leave San Francisco until Apr 1914 (See: "Rescue of Stefansson Survivors," *The Moving Picture World,* Oct-Dec 1914, 167). The footage shows Stefansson and his team pulling supplies from the ice-bound *Belvedere* and it is possible that the cameraman aboard this vessel may have been the source of this footage.

38. As quoted from intertitle in LAC, *Rescue of the Stefansson Arctic Expedition*, ISN 23874: "Stefansson (sp.) is immediately behind and to the left of sled. Dark stripe running around upper arm of Parka."
39. Peter Milne, "The Rescue of the Stefansson Arctic Expedition," *Motion Picture News*, 19 Dec 1914, 97.
40. Dartmouth College, Rauner Special Collections Library, MSS-196, Box 2:36, Correspondence E-Z, Invitation from Sunset Motion Picture Company, 1914.
41. Letter from Wilkins to his parents quoted in "A South Australian in Alaska," *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 6 Mar 1914, 17.
42. LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Gaumont to Deputy Minister Naval Services, 28 Mar 1916, and recounted by Desbarats in Ibid., Letter from Desbarats to Gaumont, 10 Jul 1917.
43. The new equipment was purchased from the cinematographer on the Elivira. See Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 487.
44. LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter to Deputy Minister, Naval Service from General Manager of the Gaumont Co Ltd., 31 Mar 1915.
45. Ibid.
46. LAC, RG42 volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Gaumont to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 28 Mar 1916.
47. Ibid.
48. Michael Paris, ed., *The First World War and Popular Cinema: 1914 to the Present* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999); and Tim Cook, "Canada's Great War on Film: *Lest We Forget* (1935)," *Canadian Military History*, 14.3 (Summer 2005): 5–20.
49. LAC, RG42 volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Gaumont to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 28 Mar 1916.
50. LAC, RG42 volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Deputy Minister, Naval Services to Gaumont, 19 Apr 1916.
51. "Camera man from Stefansson and Anderson Arctic Expedition back with film for Mutual-Gaumont films," *Motion Picture News*, Nov-Dec 1916, 2980.
52. An excerpt from Wilkins's diary as quoted in Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer*, 114.
53. Stefansson, *The Friendly Arctic*, 150
54. RG42, Volume 478, file 84-2-33, Report from RM Anderson to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 29 Jul 1916.
55. *Part 2, Arctic Expedition at Herschel Island*, ISN 168707; *Part 3, Canadian Arctic Expedition*, ISN 168705; and *Part 4, Canadian Arctic Expedition*, ISN 132162.
56. Viljhamur Stefansson, "Arctic Program of Stefansson," *The Globe and Mail*, 23 Nov 1916, 2.
57. RG42, Volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Gaumont to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 28 Mar 1916

58. Jenness, *The Making of an Explorer*, 365.
59. RG42, Volume 477, file 84-2-32, Summary Report for the photographic department from Wilkins, 3 Oct 1916
60. Ibid.
61. "Lecture by Arctic Explorer," *Adelaide Daily Herald*, 15 Mar 1917, 4.
62. Ibid.
63. "At the Dual Club," *The Adelaide Mail*, 17 Mar 1917, 10.
64. LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from G.J. Desbarats to E. Sapir, Geological Survey of Canada, 31 Mar 1917.
65. Ibid., Letter from R.M. Anderson to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 20 Jun 1917 and RG42, volume 466, file 84-2-5, Letter from George H. Wilkins to Photographic Department, Naval Service Department, n.d.
66. LAC, RG42 volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from R.M. Anderson to Deputy Minister, Naval Services, 20 Jun 1917.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., Memo to the Deputy Minister, re: Mr George H. Wilkins, 9 Jul 1917.
70. While Gaumont had paid for Wilkins's initial equipment and a salary while with the CAE, the bulk of his expenses, including his new equipment and film, were paid for by Naval Services. He was also retroactively paid a salary for his time as an official CAE member.
71. LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Deputy Minister, Naval Services to Gaumont, 10 Jul 1917.
72. Ibid., Letter to Deputy Minister, Naval Services from Gaumont, 30 Aug 1917.
73. The timeline of Wilkins's editing of the films is confusing. Gaumont claimed that Wilkins completed this while on leave from the AFC in the summer of 1917 while Wilkins wrote in a letter to Naval Services in August 1917 that he had worked on the films and made the appropriate copies before leaving for Australia in February 1917. Perhaps, Gaumont was just making excuses for their delay in sending it or perhaps Wilkins's original work on the films was not sufficient. Regardless, the work appears to have taken place in the winter of 1917 and/or the summer of 1917. RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Lieut. George H. Wilkins to Desbarats, 21 Aug 1917.
74. LAC, RG42, volume 466, file 84-2-5, Cinematographic Titles and Sub-titles, Part 1, Part 2, n.d.
75. LAC, RG42, volume 466, file 84-2-5, Letter from George H. Wilkins to Photographic Department, Naval Service, n.d.

76. Wilkins did not provide the amount of footage on the nine reels in his listing of the films (LAC, RG42, volume 466, file 84-2-5, Cinematographic Titles and Sub-titles, Part 1, Part 2, n.d.). Therefore this calculation is based on the accounting of CAE reels in the vaults of CMPB in 1919 as listed in LAC, Volume 478, File 84-2-32, Letter from B.E. Norrish to Desbarats, 14 Jun 1919.
77. LAC, RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Daily Chronicle to Desbarats, 24 Oct 1917.
78. Ibid., Telegram from Stefansson to Desbarats, 5 Sep 1918.
79. Ibid., Letter from News Editor, *Daily Chronicle* to Sapir, 15 Mar 1918.
80. LAC, RG42 volume 478, file 84-2-32, Letter from Superintendent, Post Office to Deputy Minister Naval Services, 17 Jun 1919.
81. Ibid., Letter from McInnes to J.A. Wilson, 25 Feb 1920.
82. Ibid.
83. RG42, volume 478, file 84-2-32, Letter from B.E. Norrish to Desbarats, 14 Jun 1919.
84. The various requests for the photos can be found in the following file: RG42 vol 478, file 84-2-32, Canadian Arctic Expedition. Correspondence with Gaumont Co. Etc. Re Photographs.
85. RG42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Canadian Arctic Expedition. Letter to Desbarats from Lee Keedick, 29 Jul 1918.
86. RG42, volume 478, file 84-2-32, Letter from V. Stefansson to G.J. Desbarats, 26 May 1919.
87. Ibid., Letter from Desbarats to Stefansson, 3 Jun 1919.
88. Ibid., Letter from Desbarats to Stefansson, 3 Jun 1919.
89. Ibid., Telegram from V. Stefansson to Desbarats, 11 Jun 1919.
90. Ibid., Letter from B.E. Norrish to Desbarats, 14 Jun 1919.
91. Ibid., Telegram from V. Stefansson to Desbarats, ca. 23 Jun 1919.
92. Ibid., Telegram from Naval Service to V. Stefansson, 24 Jun 1919.
93. An example of such correspondence can be found in RG42, volume 478, file 84-2-32, Letter from Jean E. Russell, 14 May 1928.
94. The Museum of Man produced some anthropological films that made use of the CAE footage as noted in David W. Zimmerly, *Museocinematography: Ethnographic Film Programs of the National Museum of Man, 1913–1973*, National Museum of Canada, 1974; and the NFB made two documentaries related to Stefansson—*The Later Journeys of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (1963) and *Stefansson, the Arctic Prophet* (1965).
95. LAC, RG42, Volume 478, file 84-2-32, Letter from V. Stefansson to C.J. Desbarats, 19 Sep 1918.
96. Tim Cook, "Canada's Great War on Film," 5–20.
97. It later came under the control of the Exhibits and Publicity Bureau. According to the Trade and Commerce annual report of 1920-1921, they noted that they had taken over the *Canadian National Pictorial* previously

run by Department of Information and had covered events of interest to the Department of Naval Service. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Department of Trade and Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1922* (Ottawa, Department of Trade and Commerce, 1922).

98. LAC, RG 42, volume 477, file 84-2-32, Letter from Desbarats to Lee Kendrick, 28 Aug 1918.
99. The New Zealand showing is mentioned here: "What the Movies are Doing," *The New Zealand Freelance*, volume xvi, issue 871, 9 Mar 1917, 18; and the Australian showings are mentioned here: "Big Films in Review," *Sydney Sunday Times*, 14 Jul 1918, 21; and "A Wonderful Picture," *The New South Wales Forbes Advocate*, 31 Oct 1919, 4.
100. "What the Movies are Doing," *The New Zealand Freelance*, volume xvi, issue 871, 9 Mar 1917, 18.
101. The argument was so plentiful that the Dept of Naval Services created their own file to keep a record of the dispute. See file titled, Charges against V. Stefansson by R.M. Anderson in LAC, RG 42, Vol 466, file 84-2-4.
102. LAC, RG 42, volume 466, file 84-2-4, Letter from Stefansson to Prime Minister, 22 Jan 1922.
103. Ibid., Telegram from Desbarats to Stefansson, 20 Jan 1922.
104. See Diubaldo, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*, 157–159 and 187–188.
105. By 1922, other Government expeditions to the North were underway, and official cameramen, George H. Valiquette (1922, 1923, 1925) and Roy Tash (1924), were there to document them. See Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920-45* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 39–40.
106. A guide to this footage, which includes an attempt to match the footage on the existing four reels with Wilkins's original titles, is available as an unpublished guide at LAC. Stuart E. Jenness, *Photographs and Films of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–1918,* 2001.
107. Independent Television News Source Library, *Stefannson (s.p.) Arctic Expedition*, BGT407040221, 1913.
108. LAC, National Film Board of Canada fonds, *Stefansson: The Arctic Prophet*, ISN 343903. Identified segments include footage from Wilkins's reel #1 of members aboard the *Karluk* in BC; reel #2 of Stefansson buying dogs in Nome, the *Karluk* leaving Nome, and possibly the winter method of catching the seal; as well as some footage possibly from part 2, reel #3 in Bernard Harbour. A more thorough review with the original shot lists of the NFB productions (should they still exist) would be the key to this identification.