ARTICLE

"These Diminished Waters": Conservation, Camera Hunting, and Settler/Indigenous Conflict in Lorene Squire's Wildfowl Photography of Northern Canada

KARLA MCMANUS

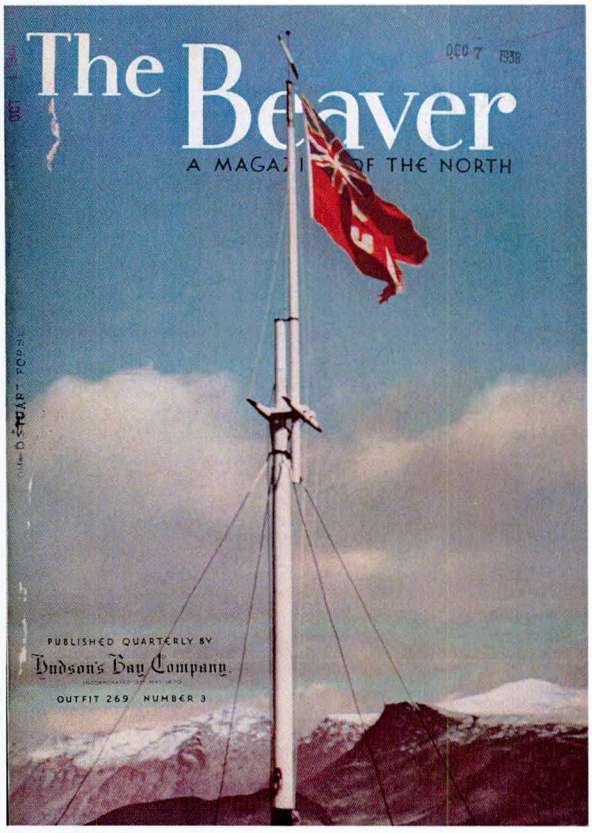
The American nature photographer Lorene Squire (1908–1942) longed to visit Canada's North, where the wildfowl of her birthplace, Kansas, spent their summers. In 1937, Squire got her wish. During the summer of that year and into the fall, Squire travelled to various wetlands in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta to photograph the waterfowl that were her passion. The first of three trips that Squire would take into the North, this voyage would propel her photographs onto the pages of leading publications including, *Country Life*, *The New York Times*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, LIFE, and the Hudson's Bay Company's magazine *The Beaver*.[1] Squire's 1937 trip would also inform her only published book, a written account of her photographic journey from a local pond in Harper, Kansas, where she began her career, to the vast marshlands of the Northern Prairies. The story of her travels is punctuated with descriptions of the wildfowl she encountered and the many photographic challenges she faced trying to picture "the life story of wild ducks" (Fig. 1).[2]

In *Wildfowling with a Camera* (1938), Squire writes at length about her wish to witness for herself the vast and wild breeding grounds of North American waterfowl. Squire grandly imagines the northern marshes of Canada as an aqueous promised land where she "would find wide green stretches of marshland and a great many number of ducks, all to be photographed with no effort or trouble."[3] Squire's pleasure in tromping through wetlands and stalking her feathered prey from land and water is strongly articulated in both her written prose and in the photographs reproduced. Left unmentioned in her book are the roles that groups like the American Wildlife Institute and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), particularly its public relations department and its visual arm *The Beaver*, played in sponsoring the photographic adventurer into the Northland.

Detail, Lorene Squire, "Mallard Jumping, Athabasca Delta," 1937. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-5. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

1 | Lorene Squire, "Canada Goose Rising from her Nest on a Muskrat House," [Moose Creek, Northern Manitoba], 1937. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-6. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

In this article, I argue that Squire's photographs are more than mere records of her journeys into the breeding territories of North America's migratory wildfowl. Nor should they be regarded solely as beautiful but frivolous animal pictures. In the late 1930s, Squire was photographing a crucial moment in Canada's history, one that – hindsight reveals – saw a shift in environmental consciousness as wildlife conservation management and governmental game laws would transform the way of life for many animals and humans in the North. The influence of sport hunting across North America was growing, along with the private wildlife conservation movement, as powerful settler groups like Ducks Unlimited sought to develop and occupy land for their privileged use.[4] The days of the Hudson's Bay Company's control of the North were also waning, as government interests in hunting, mining, and resource extraction were beginning to



2 | Lorene Squire, *The Beaver* 269:3 (December 1938), cover. (Photo: Image courtesy of McGill University Library Digitization Services)

replace trapping as the main economic engine across the vast region. Squire's photographs of wildfowl taken in Hudson's Bay Company and Indigenous territories, including Fort Chipewyan/Treaty 8 Territory in Northern Alberta, represent a time, not unlike today, when conservation and Indigenous rights were treated as contested and uneven terrain. More broadly, her work situates the North, both as a place and an idea, in direct relation to its larger environmental, social, and economic context, tracing as it does the migratory path of wildfowl and photographic worker from the drought-stricken Great Plains into the northern "promised land," with unintended consequences.

Photographing for *The Beaver*

In the 1930s, venturing into Canada's North was still a challenge for southerners. With few trains or planes travelling to the region beyond the agricultural belt, scientists, government officials, and sport hunters sought out the assistance of the HBC.[5] Squire's 1937 trip was assisted by the fur trading company and would mark the beginning of a short but fruitful collaboration with the HBC's flagship magazine, *The Beaver*, one that produced a series

of remarkable images of Northern Canadian life during the inter-war period (Fig. 2).[6]

The Beaver magazine, known today as *Canada's History Magazine*,[7] started in 1920 as the brainchild of a Chicago ad-man named Clifton Moore Thomas. Thomas had been hired to run the publicity department of the HBC leading up to the celebration of their two-hundred-and-fifty-year anniversary in 1920.[8] Subtitled *A Journal of Progress*, the in-house magazine became successful in the early years by focusing on the retail and commercial side of the fur company's business.[9] This was the beginning of the department store era and the HBC aimed to serve the growing urban Canadian population. Thomas's involvement with the HBC ended in 1923 and by the early 1930s the magazine had taken on a stronger literary and historical direction, largely driven by the photographic and written contributions of HBC staffers, under the editorial direction of company accountant Robert Watson.[10] By 1931, the Canadian Committee, who ran the British company's interests in the Dominion, was so unhappy with Watson's lack of marketing or design savvy that they proposed cancelling the publication altogether.[11] Instead, the magazine was reinvented. In 1933 the new Governor of the HBC, Patrick Ashley Cooper, hired journalist and ad-man Douglas McKay to direct the Company's publicity department and edit the magazine.[12] Under his direction of McKay, *The Beaver* was quickly transformed from a self-conscious in-house magazine into the self-styled *Magazine of the North*, a quarterly with wider distribution, better writing, a bigger format, and most importantly, improved visual material and graphic design. McKay and his successor Clifford Wilson hired professional photographers, including wildfowl specialist Lorene Squire.[13]

Unfortunately, few written records from Squire's years of travel into Canada's North exist. While some correspondence between Squire and the editors of *The Beaver* magazine is preserved in the HBC Archives at the Archives of Manitoba in Winnipeg, they include little more than a few sketchy budgets and some friendly letters. The treasure is in the photographs: hundreds of prints made by Squire in her home darkroom in Harper ended up in the HBC Archives, along with thousands of negatives, both 35 mm and medium format, which her family gave to the Company in the 1950s. The black and white, primarily 8 × 10 prints include many of the same images found in her book and in the newspaper and magazine articles she published.[14] Squire's images demonstrate the productivity of her three photographic trips to the North and how important her work was to *The Beaver*. Two years after her death, one staff member claimed that "some of her shots were near priceless and would never be equalled."[15] The Lorene Squire Archive includes not only hundreds of pictures of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl, but also many photographs of the people that she met

3 | Lorene Squire, "'Shooting Boss', Hunting Companions and Retriever Watching Geese come in to Old Factory River," 1939. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-78. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

while travelling on assignment (Fig. 3). At the behest of the magazine, Squire photographed everyone she met including the Indigenous people who worked for, travelled with, and lived among the white settler powers of Company, Church, and Crown. Among the variety of images can be found several of the photographer herself.

The Photographer as Commodity

Born 1 October 1908, in the small town of Harper, Kansas, to Harry and Lillie M. (nee Galloway),[16] Squire grew up in an educated and solidly middle-class home that supported her literary and artistic pursuits. Her parents were university-educated teachers who joined the Galloway family's furniture and funerary business shortly after her birth.[17] Squire was a self-taught photographer who began writing and publishing stories and photographs as a teenager.[18] Her hobby became a serious practice when the Great Depression hit and the economic climate meant there were no jobs to be found.[19] Luckily for Squire, the family's business remained viable in the difficult economic climate, and she continued to live in her childhood home while pursing her photography. In an interview in the *Kansas City Star* in 1939, Squire describes this tragedy as a great piece of fortune: "I graduated from K.U. [University of Kansas] in 1932, in the midst of the depression for which I'm grateful. If the times had been good then, someone might have given me a job. I didn't want a job. I wanted to photograph wild fowl and nothing else."[20] Squire was still living with her parents in Harper, Kansas, when she died in a car crash in 1942, on assignment for *LIFE* magazine in Oklahoma.[21]

Not only were the 1930s difficult economic years, as the global economy sputtered to recover after the great crash, but the ecological crisis that soon followed devastated the great plains region. In his seminal book on the dust bowl, Donald Worster links the expansionist values of capitalism to both the Great Depression and the great drought of the 'dirty thirties'. Worster writes that for those who understood ecology only through the lens of capital, "trees, wildlife, minerals, water, and the soil are all commodities that can either be developed or carried as they are to marketplace."[22] This mentality led to the aggressive agricultural practices of the early twentieth century. Stripping the soil of moisture-holding vegetation in a drive to get the highest yield from the land – the period leading up to the drought has been aptly named "the great plough-up"[23] – brought about chronic dust storms and reduced the once-lush landscape to wasteland. For Squire, whose beloved wildfowl found themselves displaced and desiccated by the policies of mechanized agriculture, this context led her towards what would be her greatest subject – Canada's North.

Squire's desire to photograph North American wildfowl during one of the worst environmental disasters of the twentieth century resulted in a significant body of images that reflect the period's changing rhetoric of environmental awareness. Writing of her journey to photography in those dry years, Squire describes how that ecological disaster shaped her life:

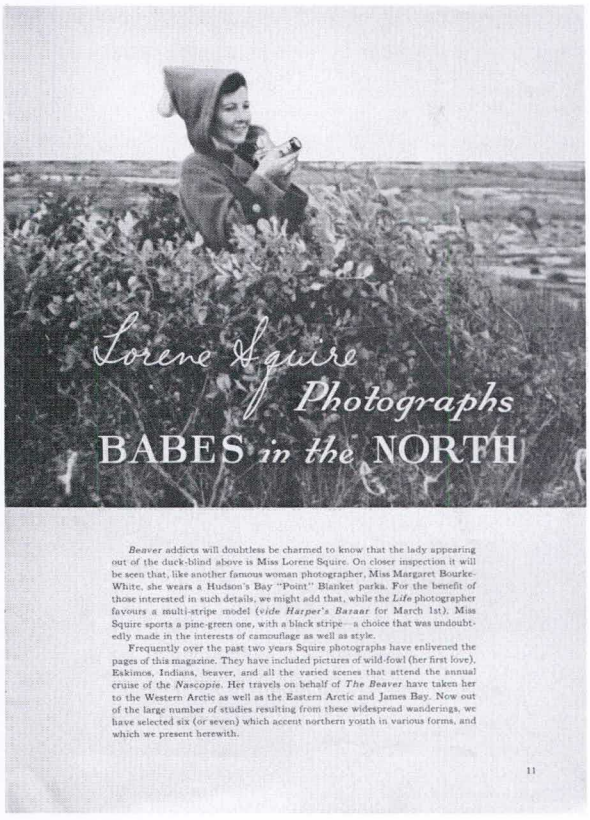
> It was about the time that I had begun to learn something concerning the photography of wildfowl that the dry years set in. But by then I had already encountered enough difficulties to be able to accept the Kansas drought with some philosophy. The region in which I live lies upon the edge of the dustbowl – along that vague boundary line that marks the beginning of the short grass country. Here, even during the most severe years of drought, there still remain a few pools and water holes upon the prairie's face. And here I can photograph the few water birds that return to these diminished waters.[24]

The tone of Squire's prose might remind some readers of another singular memoir by an intrepid female (published the same year as Squire's own story) describing the author's relationship to place, which famously begins, "I had a farm in Africa, at the foot of the Ngong Hills."[25] These words, by the renowned Danish author Karen Blixen, a.k.a. Isak Dinesen, remind us that the interwar period was a time of great freedom for women artists, a time when "The Modern Girl" – a fresh iteration of New Womanhood – was becoming a global phenomenon. In her book on feminine modernity in Canada, Jane Nicholas describes the Modern Girl as a sophisticated self-creator of identity, part of the growing middle class who "consumed goods from clothing to cigarettes and eschewed established visual cues of gender, class and ethnicity."[26] From pilot Amelia Earhart, to actress and filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl and photographer Margaret Bourke-White, the New Woman and her kid sister, the Modern Girl, presented to the world a contested, performed, and unstable icon of sexuality, femininity, consumerism, and freedom.[27] The Modern Girl was both a reality and a construction, propelled by advertising, film, mass media, and the increasing number of working women who helped to redefine the lives and abilities of women in the interwar period.

At the time of her first visit to Canada, in the summer of 1937, Squire had begun to establish a reputation as a wildfowl photographer: an unlikely speciality for any photographer of the period, let alone a young woman from the hinterlands of American creative production. This uniqueness was promoted and highlighted by the local and regional presses, which were keen to share stories about the "modern Diana" who shot wildlife with her camera.[28] These articles were consistently accompanied by a portrait of the photographer, posing with her camera in a marsh or muskeg somewhere, her hair cut short in the modern fashion, often in her HBC cloth coat, but always well put together, showing a carefully constructed version of the Modern Girl professional – as both an artist and an outdoorswoman (Fig. 4).

4 | Lorene Squire, "Duck blind in a Charlton Island Salt Marsh – Mud Decoys in the background," 1939. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-71. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

As a small-town girl with a serious passion for feathered fowl, Squire hardly fits the part of a cosmopolitan woman photographer.[29] Yet the many photographs of Squire used to illustrate the stories written about her reflect the Modern Girl ethos, albeit a more rural and less glamorous version of the trope. The plethora of puff pieces about "the girl photographer"[30] who "shoots birds with her camera,"[31] supports the position that by the 1930s, "visual representations of women with bobbed hair, cloche hats, elongated bodies, and open, easy smiles could be found on all five continents in a range of visual media."[32] While Squire did not embody the vamp or sophisticated variation of the Modern Girl, she did have something in common with these other iterations: they used their image, and bodies, in a distinctly modern – and commercial – way. Like other Modern Girls, "young women with the wherewithal and desire to define themselves in excess of conventional female roles and as transgressive of national, imperial, and racial boundaries,"[33] Squire was using her image to her advantage.



5 | Lorene Squire, "Lorene Squire Photographs: Babes in the North." *The Beaver*, 271:1 (June 1940): 11. (Photo: Image courtesy of McGill University Library Digitization Services)

It is easy to understand Squire's participation in this form of self-promotion, as well as the audience's curiosity about her outdoorsy creative pursuit, when one considers the impact that the Great Depression would have had on her career as a photographer, as well as on readers who may have found her unconventional persona a distraction from worry. As Squire made clear in her 1939 interview with the *Kansas City Star,* "when it comes to out-in-out impracticability, nothing could exceed photographing birds for downright foolishness."[34] Photo editors likely saw these constructed images of a Modern Girl Photographer as a useful tool for selling pictures. For Squire, the growing celebrity attached to her image would have helped to legitimize and publicize her career through the consumer language of the popular press.

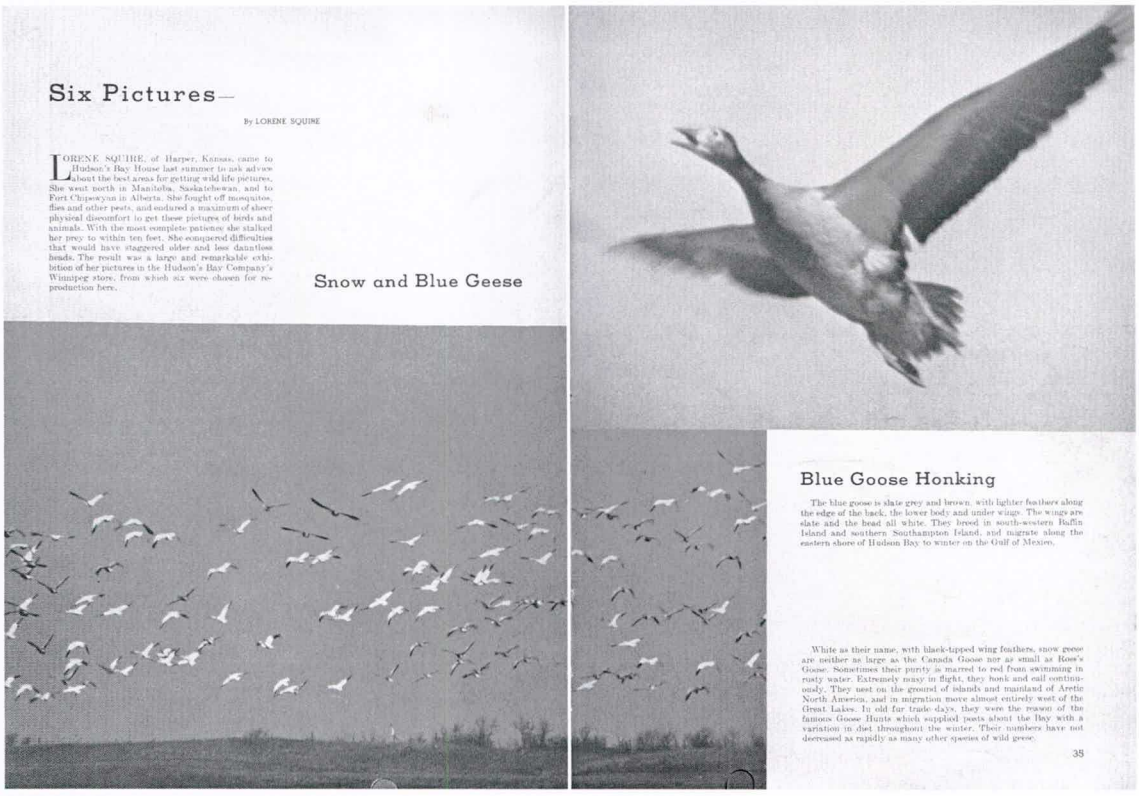
The photographs of a young and modern professional woman posing with her hand-held cameras, leaning on the rail of the HBC supply boat *Nascopie*, crouching amongst the marsh reeds of the North, or posed alongside a prop-engine bush plane, present carefully constructed self-portraits of an independent artist who created images at the frontier of women's production. At a time when few women photographers were professionally successful, let alone considered "one of the nation's leading photographers of migratory wildfowl,"[35] Squire's commitment to promoting her image seems particularly

savvy (Fig. 5). A humorous, albeit frivolous example of this Modern Girl Photographer trope was published by *The Beaver* in the December 1940 issue. "Lorene Squire Photographs: Babes in the North," is a composite article of images that Squire had made while travelling and photographing for the magazine. Clifford Wilson contrived an article made up of pictures of baby animals, one baby, and a definite *babe*, wearing her Hudson's Bay Coat. In remarkably light and playful prose for the normally serious magazine, the text announces that:

> *Beaver* addicts will doubtless be charmed to know that the lady appearing out of the duck-blind above is Miss Lorene Squire. On closer inspection it will be seen that, like another famous woman photographer, Miss Margaret Bourke-White, she wears a Hudson's Bay "Point" Blanket parka. For the benefit of those interested in such details, we might add that, while the *Life* photographer favours a multi-stripe model (vide *Harper's Bazaar* for March 1st), Miss Squire sports a pine-green one, with a black stripe – a choice that was undoubtedly made in the interests of camouflage as well as style.

This clear use of Squire as a model for the Hudson's Bay's coat line shows that while *The Beaver* valued her as a photographer and contributor to their magazine – on par with the most famous photographer of the time of *any gender*, whose photographs had previously graced the magazine – they nevertheless saw her image as a significant and novel commodity. [36]

Yet in other articles, we get a much more professional presentation of the wildfowler, emphasizing the hardships Squire experienced and her accomplishments as a photographer.[37] Squire's travels to the North would be considered intrepid and adventurous, even today. She not only spent several months in 1937 crossing the Northern Prairie Provinces by canoe, ship, plane, and train, but the next year saw her travelling to Richard's Island in the eastern Arctic, to North Battleford, Saskatchewan, then to Churchill where she boarded the HBC supply ship *Nascopie* and headed north to Fort Ross, Baffin Island, and Greenland. As *The Beaver* put it in the 1938 December issue: "Only a few mounted police and Hudson's Bay men have ever covered both western and eastern Arctic in one year. No camera artist and no woman has ever done it before."[38] While this claim should be viewed sceptically as a chauvinistic example of colonialist paternalism – what they really mean is first *white woman* – nevertheless, the support that Squire received at *The Beaver* and throughout the North demonstrates that the appreciation of her work was in part due to the novelty of her Modern Girl image. That support became part of the Squire story.



Six Pictures—

By LORENE SQUIRE

LORENE SQUIRE, of Harper, Kansas, came to Hudson's Bay House last summer to ask advice about the best areas for getting wild life pictures. She went north in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and to Fort Chipewyan in Alberta. She fought off mosquitos, flies and other pests, and endured a maximum of sheer physical discomfort to get these pictures of birds and animals. With the most complete patience she stalked her prey to within ten feet. She conquered difficulties that would have staggered older and less dauntless heads. The result was a large and remarkable exhibition of her pictures in the Hudson's Bay Company's Winnipeg store, from which six were chosen for reproduction here.

Snow and Blue Geese

Blue Goose Honking

The blue goose is slate grey and brown, with lighter feathers along the edge of the back, the lower body and under wings. The wings are slate and the head all white. They breed in south-western Baffin Island and southern Southampton Island, and migrate along the eastern shore of Hudson Bay to winter on the Gulf of Mexico.

White as their name, with black-tipped wing feathers, snow geese are neither as large as the Canada Goose nor as small as Ross's Goose. Sometimes their purity is marred to red from swimming in rusty water. Extremely noisy in flight, they honk and call continuously. They nest on the ground of islands and mainland of Arctic North America, and in migration move almost entirely west of the Great Lakes. In old fur trade days, they were the reason of the famous Goose Hunts which supplied posts about the Bay with a variation in diet throughout the winter. Their numbers have not decreased as rapidly as many other species of wild geese.

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6 | Lorene Squire, "Six Pictures – By Lorene Squire." *The Beaver*, 269:1 (June 1938): 34–39. (Photo: Image courtesy of McGill University Library Digitization Services)

Introducing her very first photo essay for *The Beaver* (Fig. 6) the editor puts Squire's contribution in its place by writing: "Lorene Squire, of Harper Kansas, came to Hudson's Bay House last summer to ask advice about the best areas for getting wildlife pictures."[39] According to this authority, Squire fought off mosquitoes, flies, and other physical challenges to "conquer difficulties that would have staggered older and less dauntless heads." This prose, while patronizing, is surprisingly gender-neutral. Rather than her novelty as a woman, it is Squire's position as a supplicant to the Company that is emphasised. The images, as the caption goes on to explain, have been selected from a larger collection of prints from her 1937 trip, which had been exhibited at the HBC's downtown Winnipeg store.[40] Included is a close-up of a blue goose in flight, cropped tightly so that its wings appear to barely be contained by the frame. What goes unmentioned in this description of corporate largesse is that Squire was also travelling as the official photographer to the American Wildlife Institute, "a power for conservation throughout the continent," according to Canadian government ornithologist Hoyes Lloyd.[41]

The American Wildlife Institute was a successor to an earlier group, the American Game Association – a sport hunting organization with strong ties to government and private conservation. In his biography of pioneering American conservationist and duck hunter Aldo Leopold, Curt D. Meine refers to the 1935 shift in nomenclature from "game" to "wildlife" as introducing a "revolution in wildlife conservation."[42] While this dramatic description may slightly overstate the power of such a small word change, it did reflect a larger shift in attitude amongst conservationists and hunting enthusiasts, who saw the management of wildlife and *their habitats* as the only way to preserve the "traditional" practice of sport hunting, while maintaining private control of hunting grounds, which was threatened by growing government and public interest.[43]

Private Wildlife Management in Canada

The period between the early 1880s and the Second World War saw the growth and establishment of the conservation movement in Canada and the United States, driven by the twinned utilitarian concerns of sustainable settlement and resource management. The extinction of the passenger pigeon and the decimation of the great bison herds of the plains, once thought impossible by settlers who saw the New World as a land of unlimited bounty, contributed to a sense of environmental catastrophe and disappearing wilderness in the two nations.[44] In the U.S., the reform mentality of the Progressive Era led to the establishment of the modern administrative state, which sought to regulate and control the social, economic, and environmental impact of human expansion through the establishment of parks and hunting limits.[45] In the Dominion of Canada, the reformist urge was slower to take hold as the nineteenth-century concept of "superabundance" – the idea that wildlife was plentiful and un-diminishable – and the idea of wildlife as "natural wealth" were key factors in attracting settlers to western Canada.[46] Yet it is no coincidence that the conservation management of wildlife and resources became a concern during the Dominion era, when the Northwest was opened up to settler occupation and the Canadian government began to survey the natural resources of the territory. This interest coincided with the signing of the Number Treaties between the Canadian government and the First Peoples who lived on the lands from Northern Ontario to Northern British Columbia and up into the Northwest Territories, in a further effort to gain access to those resource rich lands.

The 1930s saw conservation and ecology develop as "a mode of thought" across Canada.[47] Celebrity conservationists such as Jack "Father Goose" Miner and Archibald Stansfeld Belaney, aka "Grey Owl," entered the popular

imagination, promoting the conservation of the Canada goose and beaver respectively.[48] Yet it was the concept of private wildlife management that would have a profound influence on conservation practice in the interwar period. While provincial laws on hunting and trapping were influential, enforcement and management were fragmented.[49] It wasn't until after the Second World War that the federal Canadian Wildlife Service began to develop an infrastructure for wildlife management in Canada.[50] As the settler population boomed across the West, local game associations took a keen interest in the new science of conservation and acted as guardians and enforcers of the provincial game laws. Local organizations tended to blame the disappearance of wildlife on new immigrants (ie. the "non-British"), Indigenous peoples, and even "citizens of rival towns and cities carrying away the wealth of nearby lakes, streams, and fields."[51] Conservation was not just about protecting the natural resources of a region: it was driven by the local interests of settler groups who saw the wealth of the natural world as their own.

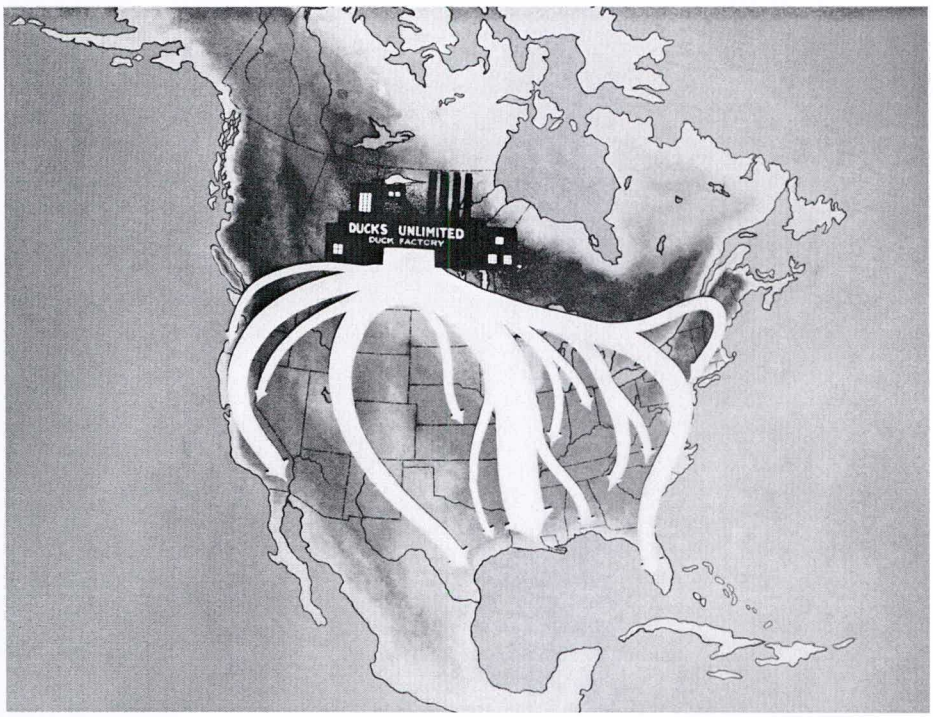
The most powerful group of private wildlife management conservationists in North America, Ducks Unlimited (DU), was founded in the United States of America in 1937. Concern about decreasing numbers of wildfowl had been building for decades, only partly mitigated by the 1916 Migratory Bird Treaty, signed between the U.S. and Canada (Great Britain), and ratified as the Migratory Bird Convention Act (MBCA) in Canada in 1917, which sought to establish hunting limits and protect breeding stock across North America.[52] The Migratory Bird Treaty was the first and most successful transnational agreement to regulate hunting seasons and it demonstrated how conservation science could be applied to convince people of the value of protecting North American birds.[53] Unfortunately migratory bird numbers continued to decline in the following decades, in part because of disappearing habitat. In the early 1930s, a group of sport hunters in the United States founded The More Game Birds Foundation, which later transitioned into DU, to study the problem of diminishing wildfowl and to lobby for the conservation of wetlands.[54] They organized "The 1935 International Wild Duck Census," a survey of wildfowl breeding grounds. The census revealed the need to extend habitat protection into Canada when the results showed a wildfowl population reduced by a staggering 80 percent compared to the turn of the century.[55]

Employing new scientific approaches to wildlife management, including the study and targeting of predators, banding, census taking, and habitat improvement, the group founded Ducks Unlimited of Canada in 1938. Based in Winnipeg, DU Canada aimed to reduce what they called "duck crop losses" by any means possible.[56] Increasingly worried about the continuation of sport hunting, DU's first project aimed to restore the unsuccessfully drained and

ecologically damaged Big Grass Marsh, located in southwestern Manitoba. Named "Duck Factory No. 1," the project was successful in part because of support from locals, government, and the elite members of DU who drew on their political contacts and business acumen for financial and political support.[57] Another important element of their success, according to Shannon Stunden Bower, was that "Ducks Unlimited worked as hard in the marsh as on the airwaves,"[58] promoting their projects and knowledge about wetlands and wildfowl. Characters like "Jake the Drake" and "Mary the Mallard" helped Canadians understand that conserving breeding grounds was good for the animals but also good for the economy.

In the first official history of the organization, *The Ducks Came Back*, published in 1946, the DU approach is outlined in detail. With much celebration of DU's directors and staff, author Kip Farrington Jr. demonstrates how American sportsmen, with gumption and hard work, fought to improve the lot of hunters, by increasing the numbers of their prey through the modern methods and techniques of environmental engineering, ecology, and political lobbying. What is most striking in Farrington's discussion of DU's success is the lack of acknowledgement that humans had caused the problem in the first place. Much blame is placed on the poor crow, second only to drought as a cause of destruction of "potential ducks."[59] Neither is the complex issue of Indigenous hunting rights acknowledged. The only mention of Indigenous hunting comes in the book's "Appendix C" which lists "Indian and Half-breed predation" as responsible for an estimated 3 percent of "losses in waterfowl."[60]

Photographs heavily illustrate this celebratory history, showing all aspects of the organization, from maps of their territories, to examples of duck predation and marsh reconstruction, to the famous men of the organization out hunting with their wives, as if to say, "look, all are welcome!" Many photographs echo the form and subjects of Squire's own images: ducks in flight, ducklings, and flocks of geese against the skyline are all pictured along with the conservation group's workers and organizers. Yet unlike Squire's photographs, which offer a sense of freedom and space for wildfowl, the DU history's illustrations read as instrumentalized and institutional interventions in the lives and habitats of the animals protected for human use. Juxtaposing ducks in flight with workers, hunters with guns, infrastructure projects, and portraits of "founding fathers," *The Ducks Came Back* suggests that the protection of nature and wildfowl is intimately tied to the culture of hunting. In one particularly sinister illustration (Fig. 7), Canada is depicted as a shadowy land dominated by a drawing of an enormous black "duck factory," replete with smoke stacks and windows to illuminate its happy workers. From the factory, which dominates the prairies, reach long white tentacle-



7 | S. Kip Farrington Jr., *The Ducks Came Back, the Story of Ducks Unlimited.* New York: Coward-McCann, 1945, n.p. (Photo: Image courtesy of Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection)

like arrows pointing to the United States like military escape routes planned from a prison camp. These arrows are meant to show the successful flyways of ducks and geese towards the marshes of American hunters. Today, Ducks Unlimited, one of the most successful private conservation projects in North America, continues to produce and use photography, artworks, and stamps in their fundraising, public education, and communication strategies.

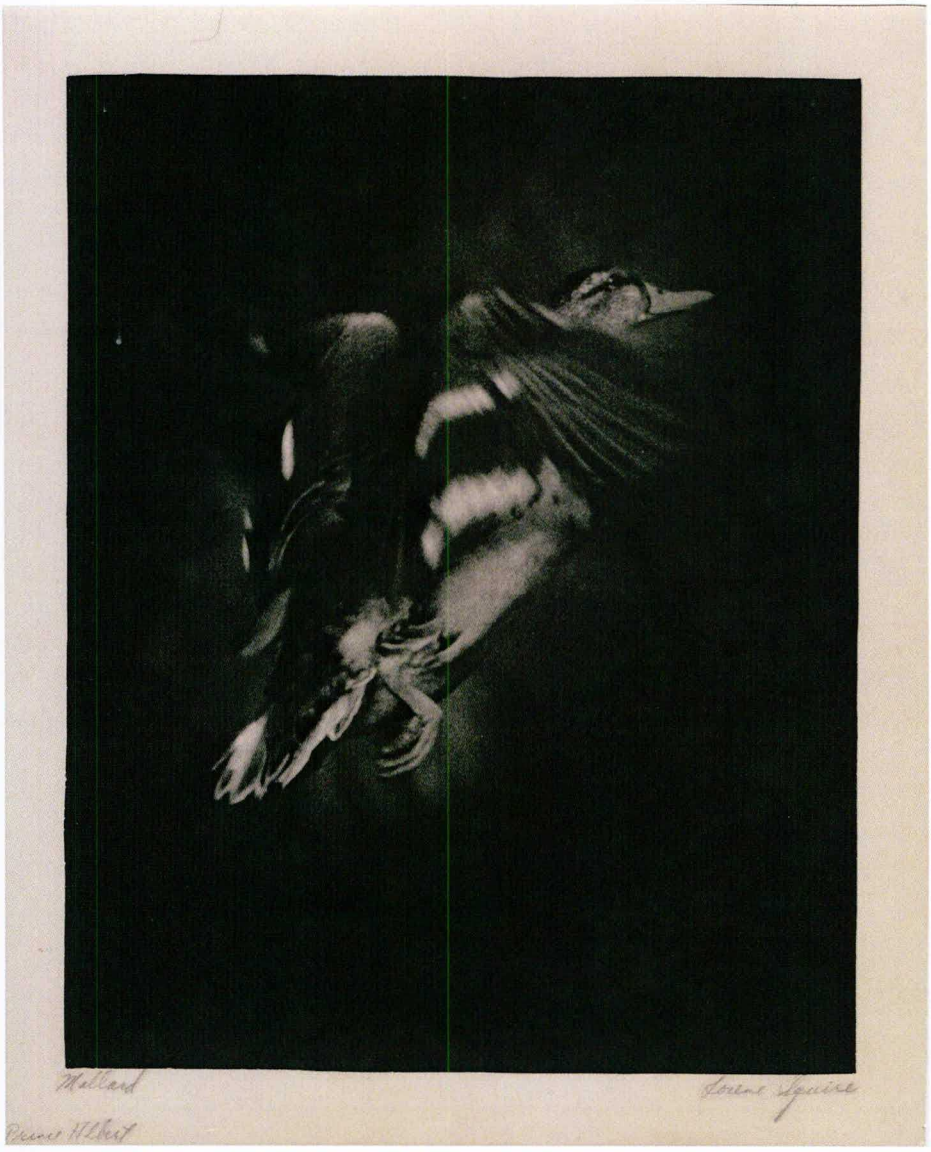
"Wildfowling with a Camera"

By the 1930s, the phrase "hunting with a camera" was an accepted term amongst photographers and conservationists alike. As James R. Ryan has pointed out in his work on big-game hunting in Africa, "Such photographs of white men with dead animals or antlers, tusks and skins [became] a common, even clichéd, feature of the repertoire of Victorian and Edwardian colonial photography, and they testify further to the significance of hunting as a ritualistic display of power by white colonial elites over land, subject, people, and nature."[61] According to Ryan, these images were used not only to record a moment in time, as mementos of a trip or successful hunt,

but also to preserve trophies, to illustrate public lectures, and as a way to promote the work of naturalists bent on conservation and developing game reserves.[62] By the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, "camera hunting" had developed as a tool of conservation and a practice that was promoted as more challenging, sportsman-like, and manly than hunting with a gun.[63] As Matthew Brower has made clear, the connection between trophy hunting and the camera began to evolve along with photographic technology: the introduction of the flash and the high-speed camera, along with improvements in photographic printing, meant that the "operating logic" of the photograph as trophy had changed.[64] As speed and accuracy improved, photographers could suddenly capture movement, spontaneity, and life. The snapshot forges the strongest link between hunting and the camera, the very name suggesting a quickly captured "lucky shot."[65] Yet, as images came to circulate more widely, in magazines including *National Geographic* and in photographic exhibitions, popular appreciation of such images evolved to evoke ideas of idealized nature, spectacle, scientific observation, and aesthetic beauty, to name a few readings.[66] While the idea of camera hunting continues to influence the history of photography, both literally and metaphorically evoking an aggressive and predatory intent on the part of the photographer, it is necessary to consider the many other meanings these images can call to mind.

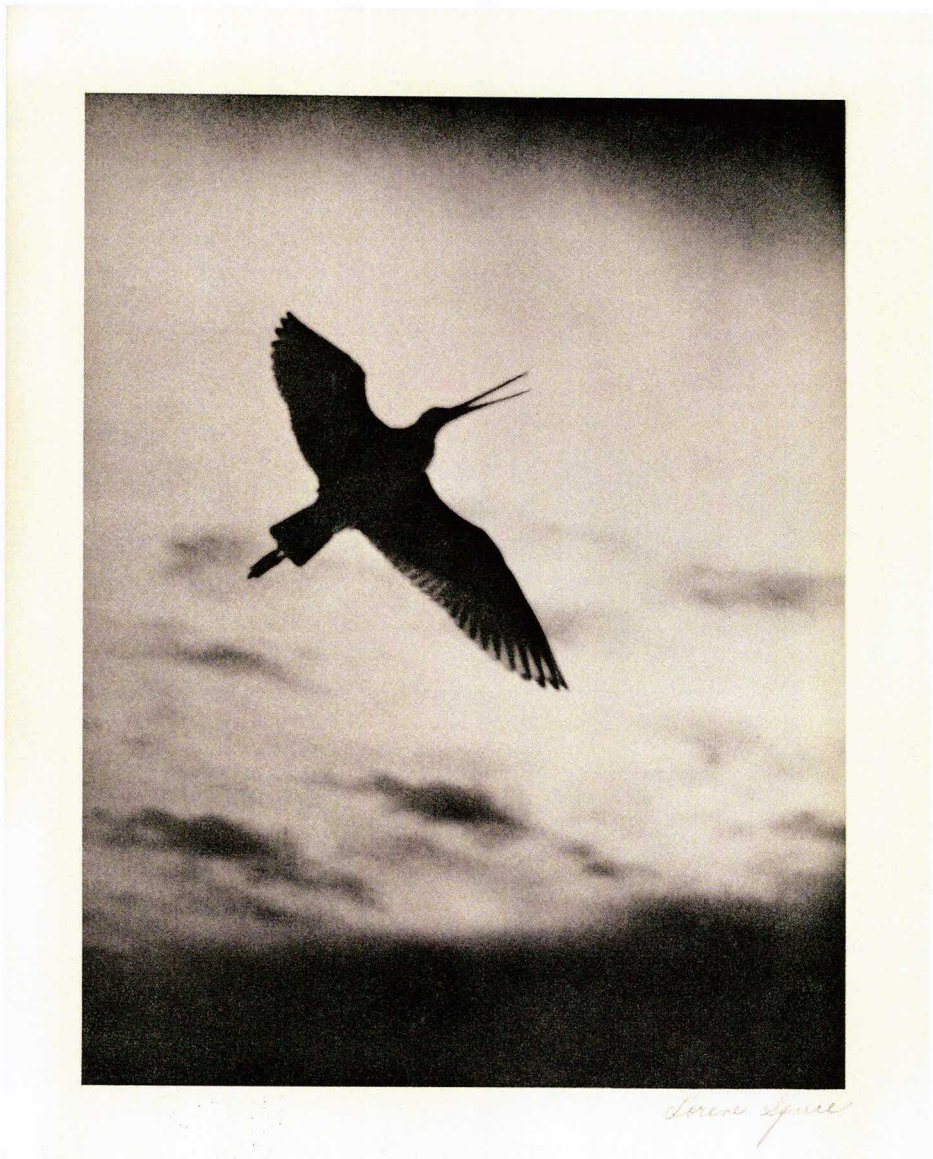
Squire's photographs in *Wildfowling with a Camera* emphasize the role that speed, reflex, and luck play in photographing a wild duck or goose. While Squire doesn't write much about the technical difficulties, she states unequivocally that "if, out of forty negatives, there is one that can be made into a print that expresses something of the beauty and motion and fascinating pattern of wild duck flight I am entirely satisfied."[67] Even with the increasing improvements of cameras in the 1930s, spearheaded by "rapid fire"[68] German cameras like Leica and Exakta, and more sensitive films, Squire needed all the light she could get from a bright day to capture her camera-shy subjects. Nevertheless, the black and white prints in her book are often grainy and blurry. While this does create a charming sense of action in some images, in others it is clear that the reproduction quality and choice of matte paper do a serious disservice to the photographs.[69] Yet the book is redeemed by the quality of her prose and the fascinating story she tells of the life-cycle of wildfowl.

Images of flight dominate her book, expressing a sense of vitality and dynamism more reflective of the moving image than the static photographic medium. It is clear that Squire's passion for her subject and photography is driven by a desire to accurately capture what is most significant about the animals: their frenetic and boundless movements. Her images depict bird



8 | Lorene Squire, "Mallard, Prince Albert [Saskatchewan]," 1937. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-9. This image also appears in *Wildfowling With a Camera* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 23. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

after bird frozen with wings spread against the sky, or against the surface of a lake or grassy marsh, about to take off. In one image, entitled simply "Mallard" (Fig. 8), a duck is pictured mid-flight. Caught in profile, the lone duck seems to pause and peer at the camera from a single eye even while its wings displace air and its body reaches to arc into flight. The black and white



9 | Lorene Squire, "Marbled Godwit," in *Wildfowling With a Camera* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 167. (Photo: Image courtesy of Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection)

image is atmospheric and dark, the background uncertain, and the burn marks that Squire added to the print to force as much detail from the negative as possible create hazy streaks around the bird, as if actualizing the great force that the little creature would have made upon the wind. Often, as with

an image of a marbled godwit 'on the wing', the figure is dark, silhouetted against a bright background of clouds (Fig. 9). This effect reflects how difficult it would have been to properly expose a moving creature and capture sufficient detail against a bright sunny sky. In this extraordinary shot, the godwit seems to have posed against the skyline, wings spread, with its long bill spread, caught crying.

The narrative sequence of her book is personal, tightly focused on the author's interactions with ducks and geese in the places she photographed, yet there is little autobiographical description. Instead, we are entertained with stories of the photographer's experiences of wildfowling with a camera, her successes and failures, and educated about the mannerisms and habits of the migrating water birds through the seasons. In the manner of a nature writer, Squire's voice comes across strongly and her character emerges as a devoted observer, who in today's nomenclature might be considered a "citizen scientist." Had Squire been born later she might herself have been a biologist, with little time for the privileged pursuits of an artist or amateur naturalist. This uneasy position, caught between art and science, cannot be separated from her gender as it filters into the perception and presentation of her work. This fact is echoed in a review of her book, published in the *Winnipeg Free Press* in 1939. The author, one A.B.G., compares Squire's "massive work" to that of the diminutive book by Scotsman and Ross goose specialist Dr Fraser Darling whose *Wild Country* is described, "as rugged in photo and opinion as the West Highland crags of Eilean a'Cheirich he loves so well."[70] While giving each author their due as "bird students," much is made of Squire's *feminine* plates which, "whether by accident or design," render the images soft-toned and blurry.[71] While the reader will remember Squire herself was displeased by this result, A.B.G. tries to explain this quality as the act of an artist who "sublimated detail to gain a truer representation of the elusive spirit of the wild places."[72] This critique may be meant as a kindness, but it nevertheless offers up gender identity as a reason to patronize the photographer. No mention is made of her storytelling or biological/behavioural observations in the prose.

Squire came to the subject of wildfowl from a family of hunters. Her photography was much admired by wildfowlers, who must have appreciated the skill and difficulty of camera hunting.[73] According to one account, Squire gave up shooting after two years to instead capture her prey on film. Claiming to be a terrible shot, she exclaimed to a reporter from the *Topeka Capital* "I think if I had ever been able to hit anything with a gun that I would never have started trying to photograph wild ducks and geese and snipe."[74] Again, we find – in Squire's own words – a downplaying of her status, this time as a sport hunter. Yet she uses the language of sport hunting as a touchstone

for speaking about and explaining her unusual passion for photography. As Squire would clearly put it in her book, "shooting ducks with a camera becomes, with practice, as automatic a motion as raising and firing a gun."[75] While rejecting the practice of hunting, Squire managed to make space for herself in a male-dominated world, forging a complex identity as an artist/naturalist/adventurer and Modern Girl camera hunter.

Squire's hunting instinct was tempered by a fascination with the behaviours, habits, and beauty of her subjects. She believed that, "hunted birds . . . would lose their suspicious caution in the secluded northern waters where they built their nests."[76] As a result, these birds would be less afraid, affording her an opportunity to photograph the creatures in better detail. Many of her images from the northern leg of her 1937 travels focused on mother ducks and ducklings, a subject she had little opportunity to photograph during their spring and fall migration flights through Kansas. In one image, entitled "Young Godwit" (Fig. 10), the full profile of the little creature, not much taller than the short grasses that surround it, is framed perfectly as a flightless and fuzzy form. While photographing in a muskeg in Northwest Saskatchewan, she describes the challenge of getting close enough to capture an image of mother and babies. One image was thwarted by the mother's skills of distraction: pretending to be injured, the "good actress" led Squire's attention away from her brood so that they could make a getaway.[77] In another moment of frankness, Squire describes how her multiple attempts to flush a brooding spoonbill duck from her nest of eggs, and capture that perfect moment of flight in focus, led to the nest being robbed by crows.[78] While Squire managed the shot (Fig. 11), she laments that "had I realized that disturbing the wild ducks from their nest could have indirectly brought such harm to them I would never have attempted to make these pictures."[79] The resulting image of a duck perfectly framed, each feather articulated as its wings branch out, expresses none of this ecological pathos. Instead, the image manages to capture a sense of the duck's freedom in flight as well as the photographer's pleasure in a shot well taken.

While she expressed in her images and words an ethological fascination with wildfowl, Squire's naturalist inclinations were not at odds with the practice of hunting for food. Photographing around Fort Chipewyan, the HBC settlement in the traditional Cree and Dene territories of Treaty 8 in 1937, Squire writes about the importance of duck hunting to the people of the region. In the chapter entitled "Fall Flight," she describes being ferried by motorized skiff from Fort Chipewyan up the Rocher and Coupe Rivers toward Egg Lake by a local man named John James. According to her account, Egg Lake was named by "the Indians who have come here for countless years to gather eggs from the nests of waterfowl."[80] One print found in the HBC

10 | Lorene Squire, "Young Godwit," in *Wildfowling With a Camera* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 165. (Photo: Image courtesy of Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection)

11 | Lorene Squire, "Spoonbill Flying From Nest," in *Wildfowling With a Camera* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 205. (Photo: Image courtesy of Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection)

12 | Lorene Squire, "Portage to Egg Lake [near Fort Chipewyan, Alberta]," 1937. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-8. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

archives, unpublished in Squire's book, depicts the portage trail exit into Egg Lake (Fig. 12). Sun-dappled birch trees frame a narrow opening into a marshy put-in at a small and shallow body of water. The sky is mostly hidden by the full foliage of the trees but what can be perceived through the canopy, and is reflected in the strip of water visible through tall grasses, seems to suggest a solid cloud cover. At first enthusiastic about the plethora of subjects for her camera, Squire retreated to Fort Chipewyan when the weather turned stormy to sit out a solid week of rain. Of this week she writes that "every morning

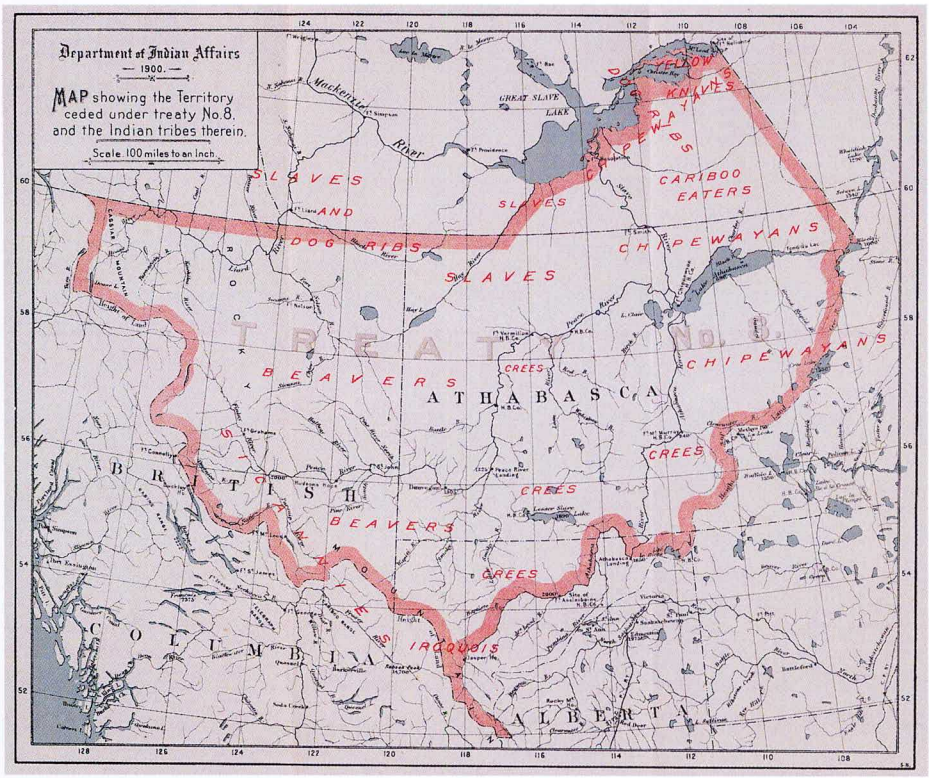
John James came to discuss the prospects of the weather. Then, having decided it was going to rain again that day, the Indian went off to shoot ducks along the muddy shores a few miles out of Chipewyan."[81] Finally, when the weather had cleared, she and John James headed out, only to find that few ducks remained on the lake. She writes:

> I thought that by pushing further and further north we would come into a region of the marsh that the Indians had not disturbed but we found only a thin scattering of birds that fled far out of range. It was strange to see how quickly the wild ducks, which had rested undisturbed and unmolested in this secluded place, had learned their lesson of fear. But I could have no resentment for the change that had been worked. Ducks are a necessity of life to the northern Indian, who has always depended upon a supply of wildfowl in Autumn. A duck to an Indian is his rightful heritage of something to eat.[82]

Squire's words suggest an awareness of the ecological interconnection of two classes of animalia – Mammalia and Aves – while nevertheless acknowledging the impact that Indigenous hunting had on her own preoccupation with picture-making. Her attitude of acceptance was not the norm for this time. Not two years after Squire's visit to one of the greatest nesting grounds of wildfowl she had ever seen, the Dene and Cree of Fort Chipewyan, west of Lake Athabasca, would be told by the Canadian government that they could no longer hunt ducks.[83]

"A Rightful Heritage of Something to Eat": Settler and Indigenous Hunting

Numerous studies have demonstrated that Canada's Indigenous peoples have been, at different times in Canada's history, unfairly blamed for diminishing wildlife numbers.[84] During the interwar period, relations became even more strained. Influenced by transnational progressive-era values, particularly nativism and what Ivan Grabovac has called "race-based ecological citizenship,"[85] dominant settler-colonial groups, including sport hunters, trapping corporations like the Hudson's Bay Company, and, increasingly, Canadian Government officials, came to believe that Indigenous hunters were incapable of conserving wildlife and indiscriminate in their harvesting.[86] As Dan Gottesman has argued, the treaty rights of Canada's First Peoples, particularly those who fell under ruling of the Number Treaties, which stipulated legal rights of hunting, fishing, and trapping, were deliberately and consistently disregarded in favour of widespread conservation laws such as the Migratory Bird Convention Act (MBCA).[87]



13 | Department of Indian Affairs, "Map showing the Territory ceded under Treaty no. 8 and Indian tribes therein," 1900. University of Saskatchewan, University Archives and Special Collections, Canadiana Pamphlets Collection, Map 617fhg.

Treaty 8 (Fig. 13) had been signed in 1899 between Canadian officials and the Dene and Cree of Northern Alberta and Saskatchewan and the southern Northwest Territories. Facilitated by Church officials and Métis translators, the Treaty was supposed to guarantee that

> they [Indians] shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, *subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country*, acting under the authority of Her Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.[88] [emphasis added]

In a 1976 report, published for the Treaty and Aboriginal Rights Research organization of the Indian Association of Alberta, Rick Daniels describes how the Dene and Cree people of the Treaty 8 region had agreed to its terms

because of the assurance that their rights to continue their commercial activities of trapping and hunting on the land would be protected.[89] Yet the differences between what was discussed during the treaty negotiations and the actual document recorded were significant.[90] According to oral accounts passed down by the witnesses to the signing, most elders believed there would be no restrictions on the right to hunt, fish, and trap.[91] As Daniels argues, in the eyes of the government, "they already owned the land; so the treaty was merely a means of extinguishing the vague aboriginal rights and placating the native people by offering the advantages of a treaty."[92] This was plainly true in 1939 when duck hunting became another banned practice for the people of Fort Chipewyan.

In an article published in the *Edmonton Journal* on 19 July 1939, "Anger in Indians' Hearts over Ban on Duck Shooting," journalist Robinson Maclean reports that not only were the people of Fort Chipewyan upset by what they perceived as another broken treaty promise but he flatly states that, by this action, "they have been told by the dominion of Canada to starve."[93] In response to Maclean's question, "why did they stop you killing ducks?" the Chipewyan councilor Isadore Simpson replies: "there has been a treaty between our country and the Americans. The Americans sent men here and they said this was a breeding ground for ducks. Now we are forbidden to kill ducks, so that there shall be plenty of ducks for their sport."[94] Even while agreeing that it was unfair, local RCMP officer Sergeant Robert Rathbone found himself in the position of convincing the Dene and Cree of Fort Chipewyan to agree to the new regulation so that they could receive their annual treaty payments of five dollars. In the article he tells Maclean, "I honestly believe that each Indian family kills fewer ducks in a year than any sportsman in the hunting season."[95] That very same summer, a story in the 5 August issue of the *Edmonton Journal* announced that "Ducks Unlimited Seeks [to] Keep Canada Game for Sportsmen." Included in this report by DU Canada's vice-president, O. Leigh-Spencer, was a description of a new project in the Athabasca Delta region of Alberta, where "work is now going forward."[96]

In his foundational history of Treaty 8 (1899) and Treaty 11 (1921), Father René Fumoleau tells a heartbreaking history of how starvation and government indifference impacted the Indigenous peoples of those regions. He focuses on the years from 1922 to 1939 as "a period replete with discontent, broken promises, evasions, and deceptions."[97] Fumoleau situates the MBCA as only one of many game laws which crippled Indigenous hunters' rights and threatened them with either arrest for disobeying or starvation for complying. Fumoleau cites Charles Parker, Inspector of Indian Agencies for the Mackenzie District, who wrote in an annual report of 1928 that not only had

14 | Lorene Squire, "Mallard Jumping, Athabasca Delta," 1937. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba, Lorene Squire photographs taken for *The Beaver* magazine, HBCA 1981-28-5. (Photo: courtesy of Hudson's Bay Company Archives)

their treaty rights to hunt and trap and fish been completely ignored by the MBCA but even the ecology of their northerly latitude had been disregarded: by the time the season was open to hunters of the district, ducks and geese were already on their way south.[98] Parker's concluding comments on the MBCA strike a chilling note: "At present it is little less than revolting to think that this God given food is denied to a primitive people in order to provide sport for whites."[99]

Squire's images from Treaty 8 territory show very little of this serious cultural conflict (Fig. 14). Droughts, economic depressions, famines, gender, and Indigenous inequalities are hidden from view in these photographs. Yet the ecological, social, and cultural context that produced Squire's images of wildfowl remains present, if one knows where to look. As anthropologist Elizabeth Edwards has written, "a [photographic] object cannot be fully understood at any single point in its existence but rather should be

understood as belonging in a continuing process of meaning, production, exchange and usage."[100] This context is steeped in a mixture of risk and loss. A realistic fear of disappearing wildfowl – and its impact on the settler cultural practice of sport hunting – led to intervention in the landscape that reverberated across the political spectrum to impact those living in the most precarious of positions. A detailed reading of Squire's life work, hidden in archives, in old magazines, and obscure books about water birds, reminds us that the power of photography lies not in its ability to document reality, but in its ability to draw out and complicate the stories we tell.

Her photographs invoke an imaginary state of utopic wilderness free of human presence, if one can forget that Squire was herself behind the lens. Like the work of her peer, the bird and nature photographer Eliot Porter, whose recognition as an artist would arrive along with the 1960s environmental movement,[101] Squire's photographs visualize the ecological sublime, which Finis Dunaway has described as "a way to rejoin beauty and sublimity, to turn the ordinary into the astonishing, to find awe in the diminutive, to seek wonder in the everyday."[102] Today, as we are faced with a perpetual and continued loss of bird species,[103] and the ongoing struggles of Indigenous people around the world to protect their rights to land, territory, and resources, these images, and the history they contain, are needed. As ecological images, these pictures of ducks, geese, and shore birds remind us that the cascade effect that can decimate an ecosystem is as much a part of culture as nature.

Conclusion

Squire's images of wildfowl and the landscape they occupied evoke a period of great change in North America as advocates for wildlife conservation and sport hunting sought to protect the habitats and species she pictured. They also reveal, at a deeper level, how settler-colonial attitudes towards natural resources were founded on the very same capitalistic practices that had caused both economic collapse and environmental crisis and contributed to the exploitation of Canada's Indigenous people. The conflict between settlers and Indigenous people in North America went far beyond the issue of hunting rights. At root was a fundamental disagreement over nature's purpose and meaning. Are natural *resources*, the animals and their ecosystems, the air above us and minerals below, merely the building blocks that make up the wealth of individuals and hence the nation? Can a settler society appreciate the natural world and benefit from the land without depleting it? These are the ongoing questions that trouble the foundations of our current post-contact society, a society based on the continued exploitation of Indigenous people and the environment alike.

Squire's interest in photographing rather than shooting her prey suggests a kind of middle ground between the settler commodification of nature and the Indigenous practice of subsistence land use during this period. Squire was a product of settler culture in North America and she benefited greatly from that position, in a world that privileged whiteness and middle-class gentility above all else. Her status as a woman photographer made her a unique commodity, even as she cast aside the traditional performance of femininity in favour of a larger-than-life persona of naturalist and adventurer. Yet her sympathy for the North, for its natural world, for its people, shows how deftly she navigated the complex waters of her position of authority.

Her images were successful not only because of her skill as a camera hunter or because of her charm and appeal as a Modern Girl Photographer but because they filled a need in viewers, who longed for the abundant wilderness and natural wealth they represented. Her images, reproduced in her book, in *The Beaver*, and in other popular publications, stand out for their evocation of the environmental imaginary of Canada's interwar period. Placed alongside her riveting prose, which evokes a wondrous and symbiotic journey of photographer and subject, Squire's photographs speak strongly about the longing for wilderness in a changing landscape, shaped by ecological destruction and development.

NOTES

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1 Lorene SQUIRE, "Six Pictures – By Lorene Squire," *The Beaver*, June 1938; Lorene SQUIRE, "4 out of 5 Ducks Come From Canada: Kansas Girl Goes 8,000 Miles to Photograph Them," *LIFE*, 21 Mar. 1938; Hoyes LLOYD, "Lorene Squire Studies Prairie Birds," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 18:1 (January 1939): 18–25; Lorene SQUIRE, "Wild Fowl," *Country Life*, October 1939; Scott HART, "More Sporting Books," *The Washington Post*, 11 Dec. 1938; Lorene SQUIRE, "Birds in Arctic: A Girl Photographer Follows Them to Their Far-North Breeding Grounds," *LIFE*, 3 Apr. 1939.

2 Lorene SQUIRE, *Wildfowling With a Camera* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1938), 141.

3 Ibid.

4 For more on the history of settler game hunting and protection organizations in Canada see: George COLPITTS, *Game in the Garden: A Human History of Wildlife in Western Canada to 1940* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Darcy INGRAM, *Wildlife, Conservation, and Conflict in Quebec, 1840–1914* (Nature, History, Society series)

(Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); Tina Merrill LOO, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Nature, History, Society series) (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

5 Barbara Eileen KELCEY, *Alone in Silence: European Women in the Canadian North Before 1940* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

6 This unpublished image from the archive shows three young men duck hunting with their dog near Weminji (Old Factory River), north of Waskaganish (Rupert's House), on James Bay, in Eeyou Istchee Cree First Nations territory.

7 "The Beaver Gets a New Name," *CBC News*. Accessed 12 Jan. 2010, http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/the-beaver-gets-a-new-name-1.865851.

8 Peter G. GELLER, "Constructing Corporate Images of the Fur Trade: The Hudson's Bay Company, Public Relations and the Beaver Magazine, 1920–1945" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1990), 31–32.

9 Ibid., 36–37.

10 Ibid., 45.

11 Peter GELLER, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian North, 1920–1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 118–19.

12 Ibid., 119.

13 McKay died in a plane crash in 1938 while on business for the Company and it was Alice McKay, Douglas's widow, who ran the magazine in the year before Wilson was hired.

14 Squire often used images in multiple publications. From her first trip into the Northern Prairies, she produced an article for *Country Life* magazine (UK). An image of Canada geese reproduced in that article on page 196 is found on the last page of her book. Lorene SQUIRE, "Waterfowl of a Prairie Slough," *Country Life*, 20 Feb. 1937, 196–97; SQUIRE, *Wildfowling With a Camera*.

15 Inter-departmental Letter, Murray Turner to R.H.G. Bonnycastle, 6 Jan. 1944, folder 1, HBCA RG2/8/1100, Lorene Squire Correspondence 'The Beaver," 1938-1966, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba.

16 "Lorene Squire Birth Announcement," *Harper Advocate*, 2 Oct. 1908, sec. Harper Locals.

17 "Galloway-Squire," *Harper Advocate*, 3 Jan. 1908; "Squire Furn. Co Purchased by Brownell-Wiley," *Harper Advocate*, 27 Jan. 1955, sec. Front Page.

18 Lorene SQUIRE, "Cutie, a Prairie Pet," *Nature Magazine* 6 (September 1925): 135–39; "Winning Her Way with Her Camera," *The Logansport Morning Press*, 28 Feb. 1926, sec. The Days' News in Pictures; Lorene SQUIRE, "Dad Goes A'birding," *Nature Magazine* 8 (October 1926): 205–208; Lorene SQUIRE, "The Meadowlark," *Birdlore*, June 1927.

19 Margaret WHITTEMORE, "Waterfowl on the Wing," *The Christian Science Monitor (1908–Current File)*, 21 Dec. 1940, sec. Weekly Magazine Section.

20 "A Girl's Hobby Is Photographing Wildfowl on the Kansas Prairies," *Kansas City Star*, 24 Jan. 1939.

21 "Lorene Squire Dies in Crash," *Wichita Eagle*, 13 Apr. 1942.

22 Donald WORSTER, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 6.

23 Ken BURNS, "The Great Plow Up," *The Dust Bowl* (PBS, 18 Nov. 2012).

24 SQUIRE, *Wildfowling With a Camera*, 9.

25 Isak DINESEN, *Out of Africa* (New York: Random House, 1938).

26 Jane NICHOLAS, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 4.

27 Alys Eve WEINBAUM and Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, eds., "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device: Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation," *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 9–12.

28 "Tame Shots: A Modern Diana Snaps Birds," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 2 Oct. 1937.

29 Artists such as Germaine Krull, Hannah Höch, and Marianne Brandt were each given chapters in Elizabeth OTTO and Vanessa ROCCO, eds., *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s Through the 1960s*, 1st paperback edition, Digital Culture Books (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

30 SQUIRE, "4 out of 5 Ducks Come From Canada."

31 "She Shoots Birds with Her Camera," *Topeka Capital*, 28 Mar. 1937.

32 NICHOLAS, *The Modern Girl*, 13.

33 WEINBAUM and Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, eds., *The Modern Girl around the World*, 9.

34 "A Girl's Hobby Is Photographing Wildfowl on the Kansas Prairies," 24 Jan. 1939.

35 "A Bird On The Wing Is Girl's 'Duck Soup,'" *Amarillo Globe*, 11 Jan. 1937.

36 Emily KELLER, *Margaret Bourke-White: A Photographer's Life* (Twenty-First Century Books, 1996), 82. Margaret BOURKE-WHITE, "LIFE in the North," *The Beaver* (December 1937): 12–17.

37 Squire's photographs were featured in several articles starting in 1938. See: SQUIRE, "Six Pictures – By Lorene Squire"; Lorene SQUIRE, "Fort Ross and the Northwest Passage," *The Beaver* (March 1939); Lorene SQUIRE, "Lorene Squire Photographs: Babes in the North," *The Beaver* (June 1940); Burt GRESHAM, "Behold the Beaver!," *The Beaver* (December 1942). Her work was also regularly used to illustrate other people's articles, in the Packets section, and other sections of the magazine into the 1950s.

38 "Winter Packet" in *The Beaver* 270:3 (December 1938): 5.

39 SQUIRE, "Six Pictures – By Lorene Squire," 34.

40 "See the Exhibition of Wild Life Photographs," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 4 Mar. 1938.

41 LLOYD, "Lorene Squire Studies Prairie Birds," 19.

42 Curt D. MEINE, *Aldo Leopold: His Life and Work* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 362.

43 Ibid., 363.

44 Kurkpatrick DORSEY, *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy: U.S.-Canadian Wildlife Protection Treaties in the Progressive Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 13–14.

45 Karl JACOBY, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, and Thieves and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 6. Accessed 15 Dec. 2016, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10053512.

46 COLPITTS, *Game in the Garden*, 5–6.

47 Shannon STUNDEN BOWER, *Wet Prairie: People, Land, and Water in Agricultural Manitoba* (Nature, History, Society series) (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 137.

48 LOO, *States of Nature*, 111.

49 Ibid., 36.

50 Janet FOSTER, *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 159.
51 COLPITTS, *Game in the Garden*, 130.
52 STUNDEN BOWER, *Wet Prairie*, 125–32.
53 DORSEY, *The Dawn of Conservation Diplomacy*, 236–37.
54 S. Kip FARRINGTON JR., *The Ducks Came Back, the Story of Ducks Unlimited* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1945), 8.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid., 19.
57 STUNDEN BOWER, *Wet Prairie*, 112.
58 Ibid., 130.
59 FARRINGTON, *The Ducks Came Back*, 20.
60 Ibid.
61 Joan M. SCHWARTZ and James R. RYAN, eds., *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 206.
62 James R. RYAN, "'Hunting with the Camera': Photography, Wildlife and Colonialism in Africa," in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, ed. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (London: Routledge, 2000), 211–12.
63 For more on the relationship between camera hunting and gender see: Finis DUNAWAY, "Hunting with the Camera: Nature Photography, Manliness, and Modern Memory, 1890-1930," *Journal of American Studies* 34:2 (August 2000): 207–30; see also Chapter Two for a discussion of "Camera Hunting in America" in Matthew BROWER, *Developing Animals: Wildlife and Early American Photography* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
64 BROWER, *Developing Animals*, 79.
65 See Brower's analysis of the evolution of the idea of death and photography: ibid., 79–82.
66 Ibid., 76.
67 SQUIRE, *Wildfowling With a Camera*, 9.
68 LLOYD, "Lorene Squire Studies Prairie Birds," 19.
69 Squire was "bitterly dissatisfied" with the printed book, according to her brother Harris, who wrote to Clifford Wilson praising his book, *Pageant of the North*, which features a tribute to Squire. Letter, Harris Squire to Clifford Wilson received 15 Oct. 1957, folder 1, HBCA RG2/8/1100, Lorene Squire Correspondence "The Beaver," 1938–1966, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Archives of Manitoba.
70 A.B.G., "Wild Life, Alive and Unharmed," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 16 Feb. 1939.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
73 "Expert in Duck Photography Visits Manitoba Marshes," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 16 July 1937.
74 "She Shoots Birds with Her Camera."
75 SQUIRE, *Wildfowling With a Camera*, 9.
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« Ces eaux moins abondantes » : conservation, chasse photographique et conflits entre colons et autochtones dans les photographies de la sauvagine du nord canadien par Lorene Squire

KARLA MCMANUS

Chasseuse d'images passionnée et engagée, la photographe de sauvagine américaine Lorene Squire (1908–1942) a produit un important corpus d'images qui reflètent l'intérêt transnational pour les oiseaux migrateurs dans les années 1930. Ses images ont été publiées par la presse populaire, dont le magazine *LIFE* et la revue de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, *The Beaver*, qui a joué un rôle important en aidant la photographe dans ses voyages. Les photographies prises pendant ses trois voyages au Canada, y compris à Fort Chipewyan, dans le territoire du Traité no 8, ont contribué à la perception du Nord canadien comme le paradis des observateurs d'oiseaux et des chasseurs.

En tant que photographe et naturaliste, Squire était le produit de la culture coloniale nord-américaine. Elle a aussi bénéficié des privilèges d'une femme instruite de la classe moyenne. À une époque qui a vu l'émergence de femmes indépendantes, incarnées par la « fille moderne », la nouvelle carrière de Squire était aussi un produit de consommation. Squire a joué son rôle de fille moderne dans des médias et articles de revue, délaissant l'image traditionnelle de la féminité en faveur d'un personnage plus grand que nature de naturaliste, chasseuse d'images et aventurière. Le livre où elle raconte ses aventures, *Wildfowling With a Camera* (1937), exprime sa fascination pour son sujet ainsi que sa détermination à obtenir l'image parfaite. La majorité des photographies portent sur le vol et montrent la beauté et la liberté essentielles de ses sujets, alors qu'elle met des appareils haute vitesse et la pellicule au service de son talent. Son amour pour la chasse à la sauvagine, non avec un fusil mais avec un appareil photo, apparaît clairement dans ses images qui saisissent sur le vif les comportements et habitudes des oiseaux.

Inspirées par les difficultés économiques de la Grande Dépression, les tempêtes de poussière et le déclin de la sauvagine en Amérique du nord, les photographies de Squire sont des témoins du changement dans la conscience environnementale dans les années 1930. Dans le sillage de la destruction écologique produite par l'agriculture mécanisée, plusieurs personnes ont commencé à se rendre compte que les ressources abondantes de l'Amérique du nord n'étaient pas infinies. Alors que la gestion de la conservation de la faune se transformait pour inclure l'idée d'*habitat* comme essentielle pour

la conservation des espèces animales, des groupes de chasseurs privés, tel Canards Illimités, sont devenus de plus en plus actifs dans les milieux humides du Canada. La réponse a été d'établir une forme de gestion de conservation qui placerait les Premières Nations et les peuples indigènes dans une position perdante, tout en privilégiant les besoins des chasseurs sportifs non autochtones. Cela a conduit à des conflits croissants entre chasseurs autochtones et non autochtones qui allaient au-delà des droits de chasse. À la racine du problème, on trouve un désaccord fondamental entre le but et le sens de la nature, un conflit qui demeure au centre de la guerre des ressources.

Vues aujourd'hui, les photographies de Squire expriment fortement la nostalgie des étendues sauvages face à un paysage changeant, façonné par la destruction écologique et le développement. Pourtant, en elles-mêmes, ses images reflètent peu des tensions culturelles, politiques et économiques de l'époque. C'est en redécouvrant son travail, dans des articles de revues, dans son livre et dans les archives de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, qu'on trouve le récit de l'imaginaire environnemental changeant au Canada.

Traduction : Élise Bonnette