

Reconsidering the Canadian “Hinterland”: Visual Culture, the English-Wabigoon River,
and the Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm 1945–1980

Sarah Jane Watson

A Thesis
In The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts (Art History) at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

August 2023

© Sarah Jane Watson, 2023

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Sarah Jane Watson

Entitled: Reconsidering the Canadian "Hinterland": Visual Culture, the English-Wabigoon River,
and the Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm 1945–1980

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Art History)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final examining committee:

_____ Examiner
Dr. Kristina Huneault

_____ Examiner

_____ Thesis Supervisor(s)
Dr. Martha Langford

_____ Thesis Supervisor(s)

Approved by _____
Dr. John Potvin Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

Dr. Annie Gérin

Dean Faculty of Fine Arts

ABSTRACT

Reconsidering the Canadian “Hinterland”: Visual Culture, the English-Wabigoon River, and the Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm 1945-1980

Sarah Jane Watson

Concordia University, 2023

This thesis examines select visual culture produced and gathered in response to one of Canada’s worst environmental disasters: the mercury poisoning of the English-Wabigoon River in Northwestern Ontario. This catastrophic event is the contextual and historical point of entry to explore two related visual records first, the dominant settler-colonial place image produced by industry and government stakeholders; second, a more complex image world discernable in a locally gathered archive created by citizen archivist Marion Lamm (1918–1997). These representations and narratives are examined at the intersection of Anishinaabe and settler-colonial histories and contexts that formed around the mercury case. I employ discourse analysis located in late capitalist visual culture and archival histories to examine ephemera, periodicals, photographic publications, and a film within broader cultural and environmental histories surrounding the English-Wabigoon River. The primary questions guiding this thesis are: *Who and what defines a Canadian hinterland? From what positions are its stories told?* Here I trace how the dominant, settler-colonial place image of industrial success and a tourist paradise is complicated and challenged by a record of locally gathered materials. Through transtemporal readings of a catastrophic event, I identify gaps between the local and translocal tellings. In doing so, I hypothesize that the visual record produced and disseminated by government and industry stakeholders presents a settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality that was incoherent with local realities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for conversations with Anishinaabe activist and social worker Rosalyn Agnes Kelly (1949–2018), who spoke with me about the English-Wabigoon River and the mercury poisoning case during the 1980s. These conversations laid some seeds for what, many years later, became this thesis. Within the Department of Art History at Concordia University, it has been my great privilege to work with my supervisor Professor Martha Langford, whose engagement, intellectual rigour, sense of humour, and sustained support have been integral to this project's development, refinement, and completion. It has been a great honour to learn and grow under her mentorship. Professor Kristina Huneault provided support, insights, and vital writing advice to me for this thesis and at important junctures during my graduate studies. Within the vibrant inter-university art history network, Professor Vincent Lavoie from Université du Québec à Montréal offered guidance on a larger body of research related to this thesis.

This work could not have been accomplished without archivists. I am grateful to Braden Murray, Director at the Lake of Woods Museum and Douglas Family Art Centre in Kenora, Ontario for collection access, and to archivist George E. Clark at the Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard University Libraries, who supported my research in the Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm. In addition, Dr. Michel Hardy-Vallée's editing skills were crucial to the last stage of thesis completion.

I am deeply grateful to Etienne and Femke, and everyone in my Watson, Jongen, Mackenzie, Aziz, Clausen, Keenlyside, Doubt, Frohlich, Leblond, Casapietra, Saint-Dominique, ARTEXTE, and Dawson College families for their encouragement and care.

Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	VII
INTRODUCTION	1
Methodology and Materials	3
Key Terms	4
<i>Hinterland</i>	4
<i>High Modernism</i>	5
<i>The Translocal</i>	6
Key Sites	6
<i>Dryden Chemicals Limited / Reed Mill</i>	6
<i>Asubpeeschoseewagong (Grassy Narrows) First Nation</i>	7
<i>Ball Lake Lodge</i>	10
Key Literature	12
Chapters	15
Significance	16
CHAPTER 1. VISUALIZING THE CANADIAN “HINTERLAND” PRE-MERCURY	17
Pulp and Paper and Sportfishing	17
<i>Pulp and Paper in the English-Wabigoon: Visualizing Place through Industry</i>	18
<i>The Sportfishing Industry – The Tourist Gaze</i>	24
Conclusion	28
CHAPTER 2. THE LAMM COLLECTION – A SITUATED ARCHIVE	31
The Lamm Collection	32
<i>Archival subjectivity – Marion Lamm</i>	33
Complicating the Tourist Gaze and the “Hinterland” Place Image	35
Environmental Racism	40
Conclusion	42
CHAPTER 3. TRANSLOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND THE GRASSY NARROWS PUBLICATION.....	44
Grassy Narrows – Minamata: the Beginnings of a Knowledge Network.....	45
Grassy Narrows Photo Essay	47

CONCLUSION	54
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	57
FIGURES.....	66

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Illustrated map of Northwestern Ontario indicating location of Grassy Narrows First Nation. Digital scan of press clipping by author. *Winnipeg Free Press*, c. June 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 2. Illustrated map of the English-Wabigoon River system. Reproduced from Margaret R. Neff *et al.*, “Long-Term Changes in Fish Mercury Levels in the Historically Impacted English-Wabigoon River System (Canada).” *Journal of Environmental Monitoring* 14, no. 9 (2012): 2327–37.
- Figure 3. Photo postcard of Marion and Barney Lamm at Ball Lake Lodge. c. 1946. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 4. Front and back cover of Ball Lake Lodge brochure, c. 1955. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 5. Front cover of promotional brochure, Ball Lake Lodge, c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 6. Photograph of interior of Ball Lake Lodge. c. 1960. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 7. Front and back cover image of Ball Lake Lodge promotional brochure. c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 8. Front and back cover image of brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author’s collection.
- Figure 9. Front cover image of brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author’s collection.
- Figure 10. Illustrated map of Dryden and region with primary transportation routes from brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author’s collection.

- Figure 11. Centrefold colour photograph and illustrations of industry and regional map from brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author's collection.
- Figure 12. Front cover of brochure *Hi Neighbour: Welcome to Our Open House*. Kenora Newsprint Mill, The Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd. c. 1960. Author's collection.
- Figure 13. Colourized photo postcard of the Reed Mill, with inscription "Dryden Paper Co., Dryden, Ontario, Canada." Printed by The Photogelatine Engraving Co. Ltd. Toronto, c. 1940–45. Author's collection.
- Figure 14. Black and white photo postcard with manuscript inscription "Dryden Paper Co., Dryden, Ont." Dryden, Ontario, publisher, photographer, and date unknown. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 15. Colour photo postcard featuring aerial views of the Reed Mill, Dryden, Ontario. c. 1970. Photo by R. Ettinger, Northern Specialty Postcard Ltd. Thunder Bay, ON, Lawson Packaging Pacific, Vancouver, BC. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 16. Detail of informational text on verso of postcard featuring aerial views of the Reed Mill, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1970. Photo by R. Ettinger, Northern Specialty Postcard Ltd. Thunder Bay, ON; postcard printed by Lawson Packaging Pacific, Vancouver, BC. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 17. Front cover of brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 18. Front and back cover of brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 19. Map indicating the vacation region in relation to US flight hub cities, brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 20. Illustration and description of "Ojibway Country" in brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.
- Figure 21. Photograph of fishing guide preparing lunch on the shore for tourists in brochure, *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*. The Patricia Regional Tourist Council,

Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 22. Stills of fish and waterways from promotional film, *Outdoors Country*. Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, produced by Ashley and Crippen, 1957, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10-1 ontario.ca/archives, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>

Figure 23. Stills depicting clichés of “tourist photographer” and “skilled Ojibway fishing guide” from film *Outdoors Country*, Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, produced by Ashley and Crippen, 1957, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10-1 ontario.ca/archives, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>.

Figure 24. Illustrated “sick fish” letter, cancelling the 1970 summer season at Ball Lake Lodge. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 25. Photo of Ontario Health Minister, Frank Miller in article “Mercury Not Serious Issue” with hand-written annotations by Marion Lamm, Jim Kelley, *Kenora Miner and News*, 7 August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 26. Press clipping, Bob Ehlers Aglow, “No Ban on Fish Needed,” *The Dryden Observer*, August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 27. Poster, *Here’s What Your Provincial Government is Doing to Encourage Tourism in Your Area*, Ontario Department of Tourism, May 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 28. Two-page poster, *Do Not Eat the Fish*. Publisher unknown, c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 29. Brochure cover, *Fishermen... ABOUT MERCURY IN FISH*, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Hon. René Brunelle, c. 1972. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 30. Press clipping, “Cousteau Team Here to Probe Mercury,” *Kenora Miner and News*, 5 August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 31. Cover and interior illustration of a greeting card sent to Marion Lamm in 1976. Peppermint Printing. Publisher and location unknown. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 32. Cover image of publication, *Bended Elbow*, publisher and author, Eleanor M. Jacobson, Kenora, Ontario, c. 1975. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 33. Letter from Marion Lamm's collection assistant to the Human Rights Commission, Toronto, Ontario in response to racist greeting card. October 5, 1977. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 34. Colour snapshot of unknown Grassy Narrows family, unknown women in centre, and Aileen M. Smith on right, taken during Japanese scientific delegation visit to Grassy Narrows in 1975 or 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 35. Black and white photograph, a group portrait of the Grassy Narrows delegation in Minamata, Japan with scientists and members of the Minamata Citizen's Alliance, 1975, Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 36. Dick Wallace, *Wilderness and Industry, Dryden, 1976*, black and white photograph reproduced in George Hutchison and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977): 136. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 37. Dick Wallace, *Andy Keewatin at Chisso Dump Site, Japan, 1975*, black and white photograph reproduced in George Hutchison and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977): 121. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Figure 38. Poster produced to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the closure of the fishing industry in Grassy Narrows. Published by Free Grassy (2020) <https://freegrassy.net/we-have-never-experienced-such-concern-transnational-bonds-of-solidarity-from-minamata-to-grassy-narrows-and-whitedog-first-nations/>. Author's collection.

Figure 39. Rendering of proposed Mercury Survivors Home and Care Centre in Grassy Narrows, rendering by Bret Cardinal of BD Cardinal & Associates, reproduced from Beverly Andrews, "Grassy Narrows Unveils Mercury Treatment Centre Design but Wonders Whether Government Is Committed to Building It," *APTN National News* (2017), <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/grassy-narrows-unveils-mercury-treatment-centre-design-but-wonders-whether-government-is-committed-to-building-it/>

Introduction

In the early 1970s, rumours of industrial mercury poisoning in the English-Wabigoon River, located in Northwestern Ontario, were confirmed as an unassailable reality. The immediate onslaught of media and scientific attention to the case produced multiple and divergent narratives of what came to be known as the “mercury crisis.”¹ This catastrophic event, one of Canada’s worst environmental disasters, is the contextual and historical point of entry for this thesis, which examines two related visual records. The first is the dominant place image produced by industry and government stakeholders that supported both the tourist gaze and the “hinterland.”² The second is a more complex image world produced through a locally situated archive gathered by a citizen archivist, Marion Lamm (1918–1997).

Through close readings of visual culture—ephemera, periodicals, a promotional film, and photographic publications—this thesis explores how the region’s pre-mercury, dominant place image as a post-war industrial success story and sportfishing paradise comes to be challenged by a record of locally gathered materials. These readings are framed within discourse analysis located in late capitalist, visual culture and archival histories, and within cultural and environmental histories of Northwestern Ontario. Who and what defines a Canadian hinterland?

¹ The term “mercury crisis” was employed in popular media to describe this case during the 1970s. The term “mercury case” will be employed in this thesis to refer to the mercury poisoning of the English-Wabigoon River announced by the provincial and federal governments in May 1970 as this is now the commonly used term.

² I draw on John Urry’s conceptualization of the tourist gaze in John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2002). For Urry, the tourist gaze is a form of visitor experience contingent upon and formed by information, images and directives produced by the tourist industry. The use of the term “hinterland” in this thesis is discussed in the Key Terms section.

From what positions are its stories told? This thesis responds to these questions and examines the formation of a new, more complex place image, illustrative of the intersections of myriad needs, interests and experiences, and the entwined conflicts and stories that formed around the mercury case.

My central hypothesis is that the mercury case occurred at a specific time and place in Canadian history during which modes of representation, employed by government and industry stakeholders and illustrative of *how* they wanted the English-Wabigoon area to *look* and *behave* in the representational narrative, were becoming untenable.³ I examine how the region's pre-mercury, dominant "hinterland" image as a post-war economic success story and sportfishing destination is challenged by a situated archival practice and a record of locally gathered materials. Both the objects and the archive are participants that are interrogated and contextualized within a consideration of the nature and function of selected visual culture produced and gathered at a particular historical juncture.

Working transtemporally with a selection of materials dating as far back as the mid-1940s, I pinpoint 1970 as a division in the image world, before and after the mercury announcement, and trace a multi-narrator story of complex and unequal losses within the region's Anishinaabe and settler cultural landscapes and histories. This thesis concludes with a look at a knowledge network and a summary transtemporal reflection on the current context of the mercury case.

³ The English-Wabigoon River watershed area, located in Northwestern Ontario comprises this thesis's primary geographical sites in Ontario: Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation (Grassy Narrows), Dryden, and Kenora. This area will be referred to as the English-Wabigoon throughout.

Methodology and Materials

In this study, I take an object-driven methodological approach to compare two primary bodies of visual materials. First, I consider visual materials produced by government and industry stakeholders and disseminated in the English-Wabigoon that represent the settler-colonial hinterland visuality pre-mercury. The government and industry materials include ephemera from my own collection and publicly accessible collections, such as a promotional film accessed online at the Archives of Ontario.⁴ Second, I examine materials gathered locally at the height of the crisis, The Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm, assembled by a former wilderness lodge owner and manager.⁵ Most materials related to the tourism industry and the post-mercury period are found in the Lamm Collection, the primary research site for this thesis and the connective tissue between animate and inanimate agents.

In developing a comparative interpretive framework, I argue that the dominant visual record produced and disseminated by government and industry stakeholders presents a settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality that is incoherent with local realities, then and now. Close readings of materials identify tropes and themes revelatory of discrepancies and omissions between local microhistories and the industry and government visioning of a catastrophic event. As such, I argue that the Lamm Collection and the knowledge network that grew around it tell a more complex and comprehensive story across cultural and temporal lines. This research is informed by four parallel factors: the history of the pulp and paper industry; the economic boom

⁴ These include the physical collection of Lake of the Woods Museum, Kenora, Ontario, and the online digital collection of The Archives of Ontario.

⁵ The Mercury Collection of Marion Lamm will be referred to as the Lamm Collection throughout this thesis.

in fly-in sportfishing; the cultural and economic exclusion of the people of Grassy Narrows First Nation; and collaborations that formed around the mercury case.⁶

The primary objectives of this thesis are a) to investigate how visual culture builds knowledge around the mercury case, b) to conceptualize the informational role of a locally gathered archive and the challenges it makes to the dominant settler-colonial visual narrative of the case, and c) to describe a translocal network between Grassy Narrows, Ontario, Canada and Minamata, Japan, and its contributions to the visuality of the English-Wabigoon mercury case.

Key Terms

Within these discourses, I identify three key terms that bring focus to the thematic and contextual strands within these discourses and guide the analysis of visual materials: *Hinterland*, *High Modernism*, and *Translocal*. These terms are as defined within this thesis as follows:

Hinterland

Geographically it is defined as a place distant from urban areas. Epistemologically, it is an area lying beyond what is visible or known. “Hinterland,” a word of German origin, translates directly from the original language as “the land behind,” and has been interpreted through various contexts and cultures as a port site or an outlying area. The central hypothesis is that the hinterland place image produced by industry and government stakeholders both conflates industry and nature into a visuality of industrial success in harmony with the English-Wabigoon cultural landscape yet represents industry and nature as non-contingent: a bi-partite, divided visuality. Developing a “hinterland” hypothesis throughout this thesis, I ask how changes in the

⁶ Grassy Narrows will be used when referring to the Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation, as this term is currently used by the community in media communications relating to the ongoing mercury case.

representation and conceptualization of the Canadian hinterland are contingent on the local context. When the hinterland, the local, becomes more visible, what happens to visual culture? This thesis attends to the changes that appear in the hinterland place image. I speculate that the pre-mercury dominant hinterland place image is challenged by locally gathered materials and activities that reconfigure the settler-colonial “hinterland” version of Canada. This is the primary term that unites the investigation of visual culture in this thesis and will remain in quotations to underscore the questioning of this term throughout.

High Modernism

The term “high modernism” is employed in this thesis to define and contextualize activities and infrastructure that mobilize centralized state power in the English-Wabigoon in order to implement large-scale interventions in the social and natural world. A focus on progress, the spatial ordering of human activities, the mastering of nature and disregard for cultural, social, and historical contexts are equally key elements of the mobilization of this term here. Primary to the exploration of this term are two components of this thesis: 1) imagery and histories of pulp and paper mills in the region and 2) the cultural and economic exclusion of the people and community of Grassy Narrows.⁷ This study examines the representations of both the explicit and implicit natures of high modernism applied within this place and in relation to the mercury case.

⁷ The Ontario and federal government exclusion of the Grassy Narrows First Nation and its people from decisions about, but certainly not limited to, education, health care, commercial fishing rights, rice gathering and trapping permits are described in Sean Atkins, “The River, the City, and the Yellow Line: Reimagining Associative Landscapes in Post-War Northwestern Ontario,” *Native Studies Review* 17, no. 2 (2008); Christopher Vecsey, “Grassy Narrows Reserve: Mercury Pollution, Social Disruption, and Natural Resources: A Question of Autonomy,” *American Indian Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1987).

The Translocal

The use of the term “translocal” draws first on anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s theorization of the local as a state of being, not prescribed by culture or landscape or history, but rather continually reconstituted by intricate cultural practices as local entities build shared identities within a common understanding of “neighbourhood.”⁸ The local, for Appadurai, is bound within time and context. Second, Arif Dirlik’s expansion of the term “local” to the “translocal,” to study intersections of local entities within the larger global structures that delineate them, is a key reference for analysing the representations and collaborations between Anishinaabe people affected by mercury poisoning in the English-Wabigoon and those in Minamata, Japan facing a similar tragedy.⁹

Key Sites

The English-Wabigoon region is a vast area in Northwestern Ontario (fig. 1). It encompasses Anishinaabe First Nations, one-industry towns, and many tourist destinations. The primary sites involved in this thesis are described below.

Dryden Chemicals Limited / Reed Mill

The first iteration of this mill began operating on the Wabigoon River in 1909. An expanding demand for paper during the post-World War II period led to the growth of the mill and to the importance of pulp and paper production in Northwestern Ontario.¹⁰ By 1970, the

⁸ Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 204–23.

⁹ Arif Dirlik, “Performing the World: Reality and Representation in the Making of World Histor(Ies),” *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (2005).

¹⁰ The name of this pulp and paper mill changes names several times during the timeframe of this study. For clarity, it will be referred to as the Reed Mill throughout this thesis.

Reed Mill was responsible for 4% of the pulp production in Ontario. Between 1962 and 1970, the mill dumped 10,000 kilograms of methyl mercury directly into the English-Wabigoon River system (fig. 2). The Anishinaabe communities downstream, Grassy Narrows and the Wabaseemoong (White Dog) First Nation were and continue to be grievously affected by the mercury pollution: poisoned fish, loss of employment in tourism and commercial and sportfishing, poisoned drinking water; and acute and degenerative illnesses associated with mercury poisoning called Minamata disease.¹¹ Up until 1985, Reed Mill company directors argued that the mill was only one source of mercury and that other amounts occurred naturally. Scientific studies have shown that the Reed Mill is the primary source of mercury effluent.¹²

Asubpeeschoseewagong (Grassy Narrows) First Nation

Grassy Narrows is an Anishinaabe First Nation located on Treaty 3 territory and downstream from the source of mercury poisoning. Anishinaabe ancestors were drawn to the English-Wabigoon River's plentiful fish during the Woodland Cultural Period, 2000 BCE–1000 CE, and lived on sites scattered along the river's shores and islands. The negotiation and signature of Treaty 3 in 1873 and the Indian Act of 1876 would incrementally enforce state control and damage the community. However, due to its geographical isolation, these macro mechanisms of state control were mitigated by the location and not fully enforced until after World War II.¹³ Until the early 1960s, the community was located on islands and bays on various

¹¹ The term "Minamata disease" was defined by Japanese epidemiologists, led by Dr. Masazumi Harada, in relation to a case of mercury poisoning in Minamata, Japan in the 1950s. This case will be discussed briefly in Chapter 3. This thesis brings particular focus to the Grassy Narrows narrative due to the nature of Lamm Collection holdings. The Lamm Collection also holds documentation pertinent to the White Dog First Nation but to a lesser extent.

¹² On this subject, see Masazumi Harada et al., "Mercury Poisoning in First Nations Groups in Ontario, Canada: 35 Years of Minamata Disease in Canada" *Journal of Minamata Studies* 3 (2011).

¹³ Vecsey, "Grassy Narrows Reserve: Mercury Pollution, Social Disruption, and Natural Resources: A Question of Autonomy," 292–6.

sites on English-Wabigoon river system and was accessible by canoe, boat, and float plane. The community of 850 people produced for its own needs and external monetary revenue came primarily from trapping.¹⁴ The Ontario government emerged post-World War II with constitutionally invested rights over provincial resources and territories and began increasingly applying the clauses of Treaty 3 and the Indian Act within high modernist objectives of rationalizing and reorganizing Indigenous communities, their territories and livelihoods and monetizing resources.

As part of the rationalization of Indigenous lives during this period, the Ontario government forcibly moved the people of Grassy Narrows from their ancestral locations on various sites along the English-Wabigoon River.¹⁵ In what Sean Atkins describes as an act of “symbolic violence disguised as modernization,” the community gradually moved to the new location on Clay Lake between 1961-1963 but many families resisted relocation until the early 1970s.¹⁶ The move to the new location tore holes in the cultural and economic fabric of the community prior to the mercury poisoning.¹⁷ Increased government attention to Grassy Narrows territory involved limiting rights for trapping, hunting and rice gathering. During this time fish, which had been only one part of the community’s diet, became a more important source of food security due to the forced reduction of other activities.¹⁸ In parallel to these material and livelihood restrictions, the Ontario government also began offering provincial crown land—

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 290–2.

¹⁵ Atkins, “The River, the City, and the Yellow Line: Reimagining Associative Landscapes in Post-War Northwestern Ontario.”

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁷ Vecsey, “Grassy Narrows Reserve: Mercury Pollution, Social Disruption, and Natural Resources: A Question of Autonomy,” 291–3.

¹⁸ The primacy of fish in the Grassy Narrows diet created during this time is directly related to the mercury poisoning of people in the community.

unceded Anishinaabe territory—for lease to tourist operators.¹⁹ During the post-war expansion of fly-in sportfishing, tourism operators moved into areas proximate to Grassy Narrows and into prime fishing areas.²⁰ Anishinaabe residents of Grassy Narrows were no longer permitted to fish in certain areas during peak tourist season as sportfishing generated more revenue for the province. As a result, they now sought employment in the rapidly expanding fly-in tourism which was settling into proximity.²¹

By 1970, much of the revenue earned outside the community was earned in the sportfishing industry, and the biggest operation nearby Grassy Narrows was Ball Lake Lodge.²² In 1970 Grassy Narrows lost a primary source of revenue in the sportfishing industry and has since suffered from the multiple detrimental effects of mercury poisoning and pollution. For over fifty years the community has sought compensation and reparations for the damage caused by mercury and brought attention to the dangers of extraction industries. The Grassy Narrows First Nation is currently a leader in environmental protection of Indigenous territories and is the organizer of the longest blockade against clear-cutting in Canada.²³

¹⁹ With the signature of Treaty 3, the Anishinaabe did not cede rights to their territory but rather agreed that the land and waters and revenues from economic activity would be shared. For a detailed analysis of this history see Brittany Luby, “‘The Department Is Going Back on These Promises’: An Examination of Anishinaabe and Crown Understandings of Treaty,” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 30, no. 2 (2010).

²⁰ On this history see Nathan Bennett and Raynard Lemelin, “A Critical Analysis of Ontario’s ‘Resource-Based Tourism Policy,’” *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 5, no. 1-2 (2010).

²¹ People from other Anishinaabe communities had been working in the tourism industry since the 1920s. Grassy Narrows did not get significantly involved until after 1945 due to their isolated location.

²² The geographical proximity of Ball Lake Lodge to Grassy Narrows contributed to the significant number of Grassy Narrows residents eventually employed at the lodge between 1946 and 1990.

²³ Logan Turner, “Grassy Narrows Marks 20 Years of the Blockade Protecting Its Land from Logging,” *CBC News: Thunder Bay* (2023), <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/grassy-narrows-blockade-20-anniversary-1.6699763>.

Ball Lake Lodge

Ball Lake Lodge was an exclusive fly-in fishing and hunting wilderness resort founded and opened around 1946 by Americans Barney and Marion Lamm (fig. 3). It was situated on unceded Anishinaabe territory on leased Crown Land on the shores of Ball Lake, one of the English-Wabigoon lakes eventually polluted by mercury. The lodge boasted a dining room with Tiffany lamps and a dance hall where affluent Canadians mixed with American guests, all paying for the privilege of personalized service and access to pristine, yet wild, nature (figs. 4–7).

Ball Lake Lodge was a glamorous homestead operation. By 1970, Ball Lake Lodge was one of the most lucrative operations in the area and the primary seasonal employer of guides and lodge staff from Grassy Narrows.²⁴ In the immediate aftermath of the mercury pollution announcement, the Lamms concluded that they had no choice but to close the lodge and it was never reopened under their management after 1970.²⁵ Marion Lamm began gathering materials related to the mercury case in her home office at Ball Lake Lodge in 1970 and then moved the collection with her to homes in Kenora, Ontario and Gimli, Manitoba in the late 1970s, where she continued to expand the archive.

The Marion Lamm Mercury Collection

Marion Lamm collected documentation about the mercury case from 1970 until the late 1980s.²⁶ Her collection first served as a repository for materials in support of the legal case the

²⁴ George Hutchison and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977), 48–51.

²⁵ A partial operation of Ball Lake Lodge under the management of a Grassy Narrows business consortium, that included former fishing guides from the original lodge, was attempted in the 1980s and remained open for several seasons before it closed. Some ephemera related to the re-opening is found in File IV Industry: 1966–1983 in the Lamm Collection.

²⁶ The Lamm Collection is dated 1966–1995. Personal and lodge documents saved prior to this date were added to the collection by Marion Lamm post-1970. Materials gathered after the late 1980s are pertinent to other environmental concerns of the Lamms in Gimli, Manitoba.

Lamms brought against the Reed Mill. In parallel to this judicial function, Marion Lamm also collected ephemera, photographic publications, periodicals, sound and video recordings, and scientific studies that documented the mercury case within local, national, and international spheres of interest. Marion Lamm was the primary researcher for the archive. Correspondence in the collection indicates that she also received some materials from researchers familiar with her collection and shared her findings and made her collection accessible to others through copies or onsite visits.²⁷ The collection remained in the Lamms' home or in the possession of family members until it was donated in the early 1990s to the Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College. At this juncture, the archive shifted from a domestic realm to a significantly more accessible setting within a library devoted to public policy, science, and the environment.

The Lamm Collection is held in 59 archival boxes, measuring approximately 25 linear feet of material. Ephemera, photography, periodicals, and audio-visual materials account for approximately one quarter of the collection holdings. Marion Lamm's original subject file organizational methodology was used to catalogue the collection after its acquisition by Harvard College, thus retaining the archival framework of the citizen archivist.²⁸ The Lamm Collection is accessible for on-site research, and a finding aid for the catalogue is available online.²⁹ The collection's context and selected materials from the holdings are explored in Chapter 3.

²⁷ The correspondence documenting her informational exchanges and the accessibility of the collection are located in File II Correspondence, August 23, 1965 – August 15, 1983.

²⁸ One example of Marion Lamm's subjectivity is the file she titled "Erroneous Journalism" now held with the same title in File X, Section F at Harvard College. Selected materials from this file, with annotations by Marion Lamm, are considered in Chapter 3.

²⁹ The finding aid and catalogue for the Lamm Collection is accessible here: <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/18/resources/1160>

Key Literature

This thesis is informed by theoretical frameworks in three key areas: visual culture studies; theorizations of the archive; and photographic theory.

Recent studies pertinent to the Grassy Narrows First Nation and English-Wabigoon visual culture include Martha Troian's concise survey of imagery of the mercury case in *It's All Happening So Fast: A Counter-History of the Modern Canadian Environment* (2017), and Kristy Robertson's study of activism and protest imagery related to the mercury case in *Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums* (2019).³⁰ Current Anishinaabe knowledge and scientific research on the mercury case is found in Grassy Narrows activist, Judy da Silvia's article "Grassy Narrows: Advocate for Mother Earth and Its Inhabitants" (2010). Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's publication *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (2017) provides international case studies and insights into current Indigenous environmental activism and are pertinent to contextualizing the mercury case within the expanding field of environmental racism studies.³¹ The Grassy Narrows First Nation website and knowledge base, "Free Grassy" and the advocacy and media presence of current Chief Rudy Turtle of Grassy Narrows First Nation, are key examples of the current visual and informational context of the case.³²

³⁰ See Kirsty Robertson, *Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019); Martha Troian, "Grassy Narrows, 1962–," in *It's All Happening So Fast: A Counter-History of the Modern Canadian Environment = Le Temps Presse : Une Contre-Histoire Environnementale Du Canada Moderne*, ed. Lev Bratishenko and Mirko Zardini (Montréal and Heijningen, Netherlands: Centre Canadien d'Architecture and Jap Sam Books, 2016).

³¹ See Judy Da Silva, "Grassy Narrows: Advocate for Mother Earth and Its Inhabitants," in *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-Non-Indigenous Relationships*, ed. Lynne Davis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 31–52.

³² The Free Grassy site is accessible here: <https://freegrassy.net/learn-more>. Recent media articles that feature Chief Rudy Turtle discussing the mercury case include Brett Forester, "Grassy Narrows Chief Questions

My research is grafted to contemporary scholarship by Canadian art historians, much of which is gathered in the compendium, *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art* (2007), edited by John O’Brian and Peter White. This publication offers critiques and conceptualizations of the wilderness trope in Canadian art.³³ Writers in this publication who question representations of the sublime and the terra nullius status of Canada’s wilderness are of particular interest. For example, Carol Payne’s chapter “‘How Shall We Use These Gifts?’ Imaging the Land in The National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division” examines photographic depictions of resource extraction.³⁴ Rosemary Donegan’s essay “Modernism and the Industrial Imagination: Copper Cliff and the Sudbury Basin” provides crucial visual cultural and historical context for the study of government issue ephemera.³⁵ These theorizations of “wilderness” inform my understanding and conceptualization of “hinterland” visuality as a distinct, informational world that encompasses the Canadian wilderness aesthetic *and* includes human presence through depictions of extraction industries that are proximate but not contingent on the “wilderness” of Canada’s northern and remote regions.

Federal Commitment to Mercury Care Home Amid Delays, Soaring Costs,” *CBC News: Indigenous*(2023), <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/grassy-narrows-delays-mercury-care-home-1.6882699>; Matt Prokopchuk, “No Agreement between Ottawa, Grassy Narrows over Proposed Mercury Care Centre before Election Call,” *CBC News: Thunder Bay*(2019), <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/grassy-narrows-ottawa-no-deal-1.5278233>.

³³ John O’Brian and Peter White, eds., *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, payne ed. (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 2–6.

³⁴ Carol Payne, “‘How Shall We Use These Gifts?’ Imaging the Land in the National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division,” in *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, ed. John O’Brian and Peter White (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 154 and 59–60.

³⁵ Rosemary Donegan, “Modernism and the Industrial Imagination: Copper Cliff and the Sudbury Basin,” *ibid.*, ed. John O’Brian and Peter White (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 146–7.

Scholarship useful to defining key aspects of “hinterland” visuality include Andrew Hunter’s essay, “Emily Carr: Clear Cut” in the publication, *New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon* (2006) which examines Emily Carr’s experience, observations, depictions of modernity at the confluence of extraction industry and “wilderness,” and Carol Payne’s essay, “Lessons with Leah: Rereading the Archive from the North,” from her book *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada* (2013), considers the situated, reception of photographs of industry and progress from Inuit positionalities.³⁶

Scholarly conceptualizations of the archive are central to my research. Susan Pell’s article “Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive,” (2015) theorizes that intentional activist archiving must be considered as a set of practices that are situational, relational, and multiple; an archive is “productive, it does stuff in the world.”³⁷ Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott’s article, “Toward the Archival Multiverse: Challenging the Binary Opposition of the Personal and Corporate Archive in Modern Archival Theory and Practice,” (2013) investigates how archival meaning is formed and reformed transtemporally.³⁸

Theories of photography intersect with this study, primarily Martha Langford’s theorization of photographic albums as material forms of memory constructed with intentional ordering and as objects with the capacity to encourage conversation and “afterlives” of

³⁶ Ian M. Thom, Charles C. Hill, and Johanne Lamoureux, eds., *Emily Carr: New Perspective on a Canadian Icon* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006). Carol Payne, “Lessons with Leah: Rereading the Photographic Archive from the North,” in *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada’s Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971, McGill-Queen’s/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2013), 167–9.

³⁷ Susan Pell, “Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive,” *Archivaria* 80 (2015): 44–5.

³⁸ Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott, “Toward the Archival Multiverse: Challenging the Binary Opposition of the Personal and Corporate Archive in Modern Archival Theory and Practice,” *ibid.* 76 (2013): 126–7.

photographic images in *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (2001) supports consideration of Marion Lamm's work as a collector of images and memories and methodology for transtemporal readings of visual culture. Vincent Lavoie's historiographical study of photojournalism, "De l'essai photographique à la photocommunication" in *Photojournalismes: Revoir les canons de l'image de presse* provides a useful historical frame for consideration of the form, function, and circulation of the photo essay during the late twentieth century.³⁹

Chapters

This thesis works toward a reconceptualization of the term "hinterland," specifically the Canadian hinterland, through close readings of visual culture. In Chapter 1, I examine how the pre-mercury settler-colonial dominant place image of the English-Wabigoon as a specific constitutive success story of industrial development and sportfishing was produced and disseminated through ephemeral documents. Chapter 2 conceptualizes how a situated archive, the Lamm Collection and selected materials within it, complicate the dominant place image post-mercury. Lastly in Chapter 3, I examine a translocal knowledge network and one photo essay and I ask how these developments, read transtemporally over 50 years after the mercury poisoning, challenge and expand the narrative to offer rich material for future study. The conclusion of this thesis offers a summary reflection on the contribution of the Lamm Collection holdings within the current context and visual culture of the mercury case and suggests how further research in the collection might enrich current study of the English-Wabigoon mercury case narrative.

³⁹ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021), 19 and 40–3; Vincent Lavoie, *Photojournalismes : Revoir Les Canons De L'image De Presse* (Paris: Hazan, 2010), 27–31.

Significance

Much has been written on this mercury case in the fields of environmental history and epidemiology and the case has attracted intense media attention in national and international news cycles since the 1970s. What remains to be achieved through Canadian art history are formal and contextual considerations of the visual culture produced in relation to this case and an analysis of the nature and function of a locally gathered archive, particularly within an evolving definition and critique of the hinterland in Canada. This thesis offers the possibility to insert locally and privately gathered materials into the narratives of the mercury case and provides an opportunity to address tensions in the visual record. A robust body of scholarship exists in Canadian art history in relation to conceptualizations of the Canadian wilderness, but what is missing is a consideration of the complex intersections of visual culture at the juncture of the wilderness and tourist imaginary, industry, and local Anishinaabe and settler histories. This thesis fills a gap within art history in Canada by contextualizing industrial and “wilderness” imagery within a conceptualization of “hinterland” visibility in twentieth-century Northwestern Ontario through a line of a dominant visibility produced from various settler perspectives until the late 1970s, when a more complex visibility is evident in the materials gathered by Marion Lamm. By tracing shifts in visual culture through the lens of the mercury crisis, this thesis provides visual culture groundings for transtemporal and comparative research into the current image world of the mercury case.

Chapter 1. Visualizing the Canadian “Hinterland” Pre-Mercury

Pulp and Paper and Sportfishing

Prior to 1970 and the mercury case, the visuality of the English-Wabigoon was dominated by imagery of two economically successful extraction industries: pulp and paper mills and sportfishing. This played out in photography featuring monumental pulp and paper factories and images of proud tourists brandishing strings of fish as trophies of a successful experience. The mercury case created an informational context in which this dominant visuality was challenged as Anishinaabe and settler people in the area sought information and remedies to the pollution, industry stakeholders pushed back against what they saw as “bad publicity,” and the crisis attracted media and activist attention from outsiders. To better understand this shift in the representational narrative of the English-Wabigoon, this chapter examines visual culture from the public record, produced for the pulp and paper and sportfishing industries, that is exemplary of the dominant visuality of the region pre-1970. I consider key visual records including 1) materials from my own collection of ephemera gathered in the region, such as a promotional brochure for Dryden Ontario, and a selection of postcards featuring the Reed Mill; and 2) a promotional brochure and film that promote sportfishing. My objective here is to establish the nature of the hegemonic place image of the English-Wabigoon and explore how its visual narrative supports the notion of the region being conceptualized—or at least presented—as a Canadian “hinterland.” I will conceptualize the pre-mercury notion of the Canadian settler-colonial “hinterland” at its confluence of two extraction industries, pulp and paper and sportfishing, as a performative image of success in the region that obscures the economic and cultural and historical contexts on the ground. This dominant visuality is one led by a high-

modernist rationalization of the region's resources, through the imaging of scientific progress and economic success through the promotion of the pulp and paper industry and through the mobilization of "wilderness," unlimited fish, and the simultaneous erasure and mobilization of Indigenous knowledge and presence in the messaging of the sportfishing industry.

Pulp and Paper in the English-Wabigoon: Visualizing Place through Industry

Key to my use of the word "hinterland" within the context of this project is an understanding of the contributions of industry to its conceptualization, with the pulp and paper industry at the fore. The boreal forests of Northwestern Ontario, particularly in the English-Wabigoon, became an important source of paper production after WWII.⁴⁰ These areas, in which black spruce could be extracted to provide pulp for kraft paper and newspaper, became increasingly accessible by rail and road and evolved from sawmill operations to major resource extraction hubs supplying resources to Canada's post-war economic boom. Small northwestern Ontario towns located along rivers and lakes where log booms could be transported and stored transitioned into the realm of "modern" industrial paper production that responded to the post-war economic boom and the expansion of print culture and consumer culture. The two primary pulp and paper plants in the vicinity of the English-Wabigoon prior to and after the mercury case were the Reed Mill in Dryden, Ontario, which dumped 9,000 kilograms of mercury into the English-Wabigoon River between 1962 and 1970, and the Mando Mill in Kenora, Ontario. Both were responsible for significant employment in the region and were "modernized" during the 1950s and 1960s. Dryden and Kenora were key points of entry for sportfishing.

⁴⁰ Ian Radforth, "In the Bush: The Changing World of Work in Ontario's Pulpwood Logging Industry During the Twentieth Century," *Material Culture Review* 19 (1984): 17.

A brochure that promotes Dryden as a growing resource extraction hub and centres the importance of the pulp and paper with the exuberant title *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* is emblematic of the “hinterland” visuality in pre-mercury times (fig. 8).⁴¹ The document was likely produced at the completion of the Reed Mill modernization and expansion that took place between 1955 and 1957, picturing the town of Dryden and the English-Wabigoon as the ideal high modernist landscape, one that could benefit from industrial development and one in which “nature was seen in utilitarian terms as ‘resources’ that existed for the people.”⁴² The textual matter comprises a list of resources that can be extracted in the area, primarily wood and minerals, and promotes the region's many economic and industrial development opportunities. The historical and cultural information is set firmly within the settler colonial visioning of place and does not include any proximate Anishinaabe First Nations communities on the map, nor does it include mention of Indigenous histories in the “History” section.⁴³

The cover of the brochure greets the reader with multiple aspects of settler-colonial, “hinterland” visuality, and I would argue further, it is an example of “greenwashing,” the production of misleading information or imagery about environmental impacts or benefits of an industry or practice, in an era before the term existed (fig. 9).⁴⁴ A bright green shading spreads

⁴¹ Cover text of Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion* (Dryden, ON: Wilson Printing, c. 1957).

⁴² James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 8.

⁴³ Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion*, 2. There are twenty-eight First Nation communities in this region. None of them are included on this map.

⁴⁴ The term “greenwashing,” first coined in 1986 by environmentalist Jay Westerveld, refers to the production of misleading information or imagery about environmental impacts or benefits of an industry or practice. On this subject see Sebastião Vieira de Freitas Netto, Marcos Felipe Falcão Sobral, Ana Regina Bezerra Ribeiro, and Gleibson Robert da Luz Soares, “Concepts and Forms of Greenwashing: A Systematic Review,” *Environmental Sciences Europe* 32, no. 19 (2020).

from the left corner across the top two thirds of the vertically oriented page. The vibrant colour becomes desaturated as it moves right and downward on the page. In the top right corner, the most colour-saturated zone, there is stylized illustration of a mill next to a large triangular coniferous tree of approximately the same size as the factory. This illustration captioned as “pulp and paper” is in the top right corner of a grid and can be interpreted as of highest importance followed in second place by tourism, represented by an illustration of a fish and moose, framed by rationalized, triangular trees. This grid motif applied to the green background seemingly imposes a rationalized, high modernist ordering to organize, contain and separate, the industries in the same abstract *green* location.

Symbolically, the mill and the trees are presented as a unified image that conflates “nature” with industry. The textual matter within the brochure then clarifies the real contingency of this relationship that is not attended to in the illustration as it boasts, “Surrounding Dryden are huge areas of forest . . . A comparison by the Department of Lands and Forests of the annual allowable cut . . . indicated there is room for great expansion in the forest industry.”⁴⁵ The coniferous trees that feed the pulp and paper industry are symbolically ubiquitous as signifiers of the forested region yet remain visually abstract in function within an expansionist promotion of industry.

On the map featured on the verso of the cover, the location of Dryden is clearly delineated as a hub from which resources can be exported (fig. 10). The stamp-like illustration in the upper right-hand corner, accompanied by the bold font, all-capital-letter caption “Dryden is only 225 miles from seaway ports,” features a freight ship on water. This element clearly defines

⁴⁵ Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion*, 15–16.

transportation routes leading through Dryden and situates it as a site from which resources are shipped out to “serve the metropolis.”⁴⁶

The internal content further mobilizes and establishes the “hinterland” visuality centred around the pulp and paper industry with the Reed Mill as *the* economic success in Dryden and as a hook to attract other industries. A colour photograph of the mill taken at the “height of a \$12,000,000 expansion program” expands horizontally over the top half of a two-page centrefold spread, thus bringing focus to this mill and its central role to the industrial expansionist aims of the document (fig. 11).⁴⁷ Below right, a map of Canada in which Ontario is emphasized in saturated green and Dryden pinpointed by a large star within it, is visually stamped within a provincial-level, nation-building visuality by the Ontario coat of arms on the lower left which symbolizes the allegiance of this “hinterland” image at the intersection of shared government and industry objectives, and central to settler-colonial histories of the place. The juxtaposition of high modern progress expressed in the photograph and caption of the new and improved Reed Mill, and the pinpointing of Dryden in a vast, green, yet empty, space of Ontario, conflates and expresses key aspects of Canadian, settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality: scientific progress, vast tracts of land ready for industrial development, and settler-colonial nation building. In sum, this juxtaposition of photography and illustration is a celebration of high modernism, progress, and economic success produced by the pulp and paper industry.

The black and white illustration of the mill and giant fish jumping toward it express a hypercomplex representational relationship between the pulp and paper and sportfishing industries. The “great catch” jumping toward the smokestacks, equal in size to the mill is

⁴⁶ G. R. Weller, “Hinterland Politics: The Case of Northwestern Ontario,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 10, no. 4 (1977): 729.

⁴⁷ Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion*, 8.

illustrative of how the pulp and paper industry mobilized sportfishing imagery to mitigate the industrial reality, through the symbolic representation of an enjoyable outdoor activity that makes the town of Dryden a “conducive to pleasant living, located as it is in the Lakeland resort area of Northwestern Ontario.”⁴⁸ This visioning of the relationship between these two key industries in the hierarchy established on the brochure’s cover conflates the sportfishing and pulp and paper industries as proximate and harmonious, yet not contingent on one another.

I have selected the Dryden brochure for extended analysis because it encapsulates primary aspects of the pre-mercury, settler-colonial “hinterland” image world of the English Wabigoon, particularly the Reed Mill, which was responsible for the mercury pollution. Lest this object appear as a unique example of this visuality, I draw attention to a contemporaneous brochure from the Mando Mill in nearby Kenora, Ontario and a selection of postcards picturing the Reed Mill that support the claim that this visuality was pervasive. The Mando Mill pamphlet *Hi Neighbour: Welcome to Our Open House* mobilizes similar settler colonial tropes yet through the imaging of a humanized, “friendly mill” as opposed to the “greening” approach adopted in the Dryden document (fig. 12).⁴⁹ This pamphlet, while similar in high modernist focus on progress and its visuality, softens its industrial imagery through the character of the benevolent mill employee while the Dryden pamphlet visually mitigates the industrial expansionist goals through a “greening” of the message through the symbolic representation of trees—a green expanse of Ontario that is “ready for expansion.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Kenora Newsprint Mill, *Hi Neighbour: Welcome to Our Open House* (Kenora, ON: The Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd, c. 1960).

⁵⁰ Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion*, cover.

Other ephemeral documents that support the mobilization of the high modernist visuality are postcards produced and disseminated from the 1950s to the 1970s that picture the Reed Mill within a visual narrative of high modernist, late capitalist progress. The colourized photo postcard is a long shot of the mill buildings and pictures them centrally between the calm waters of the English-Wabigoon River and a blue sky (fig. 13). The image is devoid of human and industrial activity. From a closer and lower perspective, the black and white photographic postcard offers a more detailed view of the mill and its operations and presents a more dynamic composition, the water tower and billowing smoke meeting above the mill buildings and drawing the view up to the smoke flowing into the sky (fig. 14).⁵¹ The last picture postcard, likely produced after the expansion and around the time of mercury poisoning, depicts the mill from an aerial, long-shot view that features the now imposing size of the mill operation in Dryden and its part in both in the narrative of progress and the wilderness imaginary (fig 15). The informational text on the verso of the card mobilized the dual industrial and “wilderness” attraction of the area: “it is also internationally known as an outdoor sports centre, being situated in an area dotted by thousands of lakes. In right center can be seen the Great Lakes Paper complex, Dryden’s major industry” (fig. 16).⁵²

The first two postcards, colourized and black and white, can be considered as portraits of industry that belong to the post-war image world of modernizing Canada’s “hinterland.” They are monuments of industry and progress. The last, most recent postcard depicts the mill as an industrial hub that occupies significant territory within the town of Dryden and at the juncture of

⁵¹ On the subject of picture postcards and the industrialization of regional Canada see Caroline Beaudoin, “Everyday Landscapes: Picturing Places of Labour, Leisure, and Industry in Quebec’s Eastern Townships 1900-2015” (PhD thesis, Concordia University, 2017), 154–94.

⁵² *Northwestern Ontario*, Northern Specialty Postcard, Northern Specialty Printing, Thunder Bay, c. 1970. Author’s collection.

the river and boreal forests. The promotional representation of Canadian modernization and industrialization in postcards was absorbed into the lives of travellers and tourists and sent further through their correspondence.

While the Reed Mill is located in the centre of the town of Dryden, Ontario, both images obscure the presence of the town and the people residing in proximity to it, thus symbolically erasing details around the industry and creating a distancing effect: these mills are ubiquitous, and monumental yet not contingent on the site they occupy.

The Sportfishing Industry – The Tourist Gaze

The second pillar of the dominant place image, as promoted in the Dryden pamphlet, is tourism, specifically fly-in sportfishing. In contrast to the image of scientific progress and the monumentality of the pulp and paper industry, the tourist visibility is formed through the imagery of pristine lakes and rivers and men holding up fish as trophies.⁵³ This aspect of “hinterland” visibility promises “country unspoiled by man,” and a place where “there is as much water as land.”⁵⁴ Dominated by images of fish, tourists brandishing catch as trophies, and cameo appearances of Anishinaabe men as fishing guides, this visibility of sportfishing was produced in a context of mid-twentieth century settler-colonialism promoted as a unique opportunity to “catch any fish you like.” In the following section, I will examine a range of objects exemplary of this visibility, namely a promotional brochure produced during Canada’s centennial year, Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area, and a promotional film entitled *Outdoors Country*.

⁵³ For further reading on the trophy fish and photography see Matthew Brower, “Trophy Shots: Early North American Photographs of Nonhuman Animals and the Display of Masculine Prowess,” *Society & Animals* 13, no. 1 (2005): 17–21.

⁵⁴ *Outdoors Country*, directed by Ashley and Crippen, 1957, Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>.

Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area, a tourism brochure produced during Canada's centennial year in 1967, is symbolically representative of nation-building through the stylized centennial logo featured in a red block at the top of the pamphlet cover (fig. 17).⁵⁵ Canada's vibrant red centennial logo stands out from the yellow band that frames the rectangular image and informational segments on the front and back of the brochure (fig. 18). The photograph on the cover of the document features a successful, therefore happy fisherman, as emblematic of the region's tourist imaginary framed within the branding of national centennial pride. The image of a sunburnt tourist holding up a gigantic fish that is almost equal to his own height, flanked by a young deer and backgrounded by a rustic cabin and another man approaching in the background with what appears to be a camera in hand, ready to document the moment, is explicit in its promotion of the monumental nature of the fishing experience in the region and the ease with which a visitor can be "surrounded by nature."⁵⁶

The map on the back of the brochure is revelatory of the tourist gaze visibility produced specifically for an American public (fig. 19). The yellow section of the United States takes up much of the picture space while the Canadian section is a thin band of green edging against the American border. American flight hub cities are marked by black points and connected to Canada with a web of fine black lines leading to the English-Wabigoon. The geographical indications on the map are selective. Crucially, and similar to the *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* pamphlet, the many First Nations communities located on rivers and lakes in the region are not included in this rendering of the

⁵⁵ The English-Wabigoon is located within a larger region of Northwestern Ontario named the Patricia or Kenora-Patricia region.

⁵⁶ The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, (c. 1967). Author's collection.

region as a tourist destination.⁵⁷ This pamphlet does not, in contrast to the Dryden pamphlet, completely elide the Indigenous presence in the region. These representations are meagre given the compendious textual information in the pamphlet, but they are nonetheless revelatory of the position of Indigenous histories and people within the tourist gaze during this time. Under the subheading “Hudson” there is a circular illustration of, presumably, an Indigenous person paddling a birchbark canoe over the text “The Ojibway Country,” surrounded by an arc of radiating lines and accompanied by a short text describing a historic battle between Ojibway and Sioux Nations in the region (fig. 20).⁵⁸ The date of this historic battle and its significance to the region’s history are not revealed. Given the positioning of this image and text below the Hudson subheading, this can be read as an inclusion within settler-colonial histories and appears as a vague pastiche of Indigenous imagery and history likely mobilized to appeal to an American tourist notion of Indigenous people as warring tribes and locked in an undefined past. In contrast, a contemporary image of Indigeneity is mobilized in the role of the fishing guide who performs and supports the sportfishing imaginary, pictured here, cooking the shore lunch for tourists: the key experience of sportfishing, consuming one’s catch on the shores of the region’s lakes and rivers (fig. 21).

On a regional level, the tourist gaze was also publicly mobilized by the Ontario government travel bureau. The Ontario government-funded film entitled *Outdoors Country* appears to promote the entire region, but the imagery and sites it presents are focused primarily on the sportfishing experience. The opening sequences are composed of montages of waterways, underwater close-up portraiture of fish, and extensive visual and voice-over narration of the

⁵⁷ There are 28 First Nation communities in this region, none of which are included on this map.

⁵⁸ The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, (c. 1967).

unique fishing experience in the area (fig. 22). This film also mobilizes the role of the Indigenous fishing guide for similar authenticating ends as the Centennial pamphlet. This emphasis on the knowledge and necessary role of the fishing guide, “with traditional knowledge of the waterways and fish” is notable given the lack of interest or rigour given to their relationship to the land and water outside the guide role offered to the tourist who becomes a seasonal settler in the region.⁵⁹

In the last quarter of this film, a new tourist character appears; his entry in the film is abrupt, but his role is then made clear through narration—he is there to take photographs (fig. 23). His movements are guided by the film’s scripted directions on how best to capture his experience through photography. He is both doing the work of being a tourist and following instructions to take photographs of his experiences as guided by the provincial government promotional agenda. He is guided and supported in fishing success by the fishing guide. This film is representative of the tourist gaze visuality that dominated the pre-mercury period and is suggestive of how a tourist might visualize their experience to, himself, become a producer of the dominant “hinterland” visuality.

The *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area* brochure and *Outdoors Country* film illustrate three key tropes of the settler-colonial tourist-gaze within “hinterland” visuality of the English-Wabigoon. First, the iconography of fish is presented as a trophy and symbol of a successful tourist experience and frames the extraction of this resource as a celebration of the “great catch.” Second, the mobilization of Anishinaabe “histories,” people, and knowledge is presented as a valuable aspect of authentic visitor experience. And third, the fly-in, terra nullius visuality represents “a pristine place, untouched by man, fish and hunting, yours for the taking”

⁵⁹ Crippen, “Outdoors Country.”

and erases the significant presence of Anishinaabe people geographically and culturally in the region and within the tourism industry.⁶⁰

Conclusion

“Hinterland” is settler-colonial, bi-partite visuality produced at the intersection of contiguous but representationally non-contingent industries: pulp and paper production and sportfishing. Portrayals of progress, high modernity, monumentality, and economic power are key elements of the pulp and paper image world. They are also key to understanding the image of “hinterland” being communicated through the dominant settler-colonial visual narratives produced and promoted at this time. This place image of economic success and scientific progress of the pulp and paper industry became threatened in 1970 by the mercury pollution and the image and informational world that formed it. Within the “hinterland” trope, the sportfishing industry offers terra nullius visioning of place, fish as trophies of success, and the complex dynamic of cultural and geographic erasure of Indigenous presence and knowledge, while simultaneously including selected information of such as markers of authentic sportfishing experience. The sportfishing contribution to the “hinterland” visuality had a more explicit image that also contained a threat: the fish were no longer safe to eat after 1970, but the Ontario government sided with sportfishing and insisted on keeping the fishing industry and its image intact. This small corner of Northwestern Ontario, promoted since the 1940s as an important force in Canada’s post-war nation-building narrative, had suddenly become the site of an environmental disaster. In the wake of the pollution announcement, the federal and provincial governments sought to preserve both the region’s industrial power and successful sportfishing

⁶⁰ Ibid. The term “terra nullius” is used here within this visuality to describe land that is deemed uninhabited or not owned by anyone.

narrative and continued to ignore the presence and needs of Anishinaabe communities in the area.⁶¹ This dominant “hinterland” place image produced within the context of increasing resource extraction in the region and the post-war tourist boom was soon challenged by the incongruous visual narratives and image worlds that grew around the mercury case and that visualized the region not from the outside but from within it.

The development of the “hinterland” hypothesis posits that the “hinterland” visuality of the English-Wabigoon is constructed for economic stakeholders and produced to extract resources, reward tourist experiences and generate revenue in a remote region. The “hinterland” is a partitioned visuality in which the pulp and paper industry mobilized the tourist gaze to appear more attractive to new settler employees and economic investors. The sportfishing industry, in turn, perpetuated the “wilderness” trope through fly-in terra nullius visioning of place and the mobilization of Indigenous knowledge and presence only when it contributed to “authentic experience.” These two industries, pillars of “hinterland” visuality, draw on cultural and geographical aspects of their location but make no contingent connection between the two industries: namely their shared dependence on the English-Wabigoon River. This impossible relationship is disastrously revealed by the mercury case.

In the wake of the mercury poisoning, both industries sought to maintain the “hinterland” image of success to obscure the damage caused by mercury but challenges to their efforts emerge in materials collected locally by Marion Lamm, formerly a key participant and producer of the

⁶¹ Materials illustrative of this approach are considered in Chapter 3.

tourist gaze, and through knowledge-building activities in the English-Wabigoon that grew around Lamm's archival practice and the mercury case.⁶²

⁶² Marion Lamm and her husband Barney Lamm were not only key producers of the tourist gaze but were also owners of an aviation company, Central Airlines, that flew tourists to multiple destinations in the region and served as the fly-in lodge destination in the film *Outdoors Country* examined in this chapter.

Chapter 2. The Lamm Collection – A Situated Archive

This chapter interrogates the nature, function, contexts, and subjectivities manifest in the Lamm collection, a locally gathered archive of materials created in response to the mercury case by former wilderness lodge manager, Marion Lamm. Over time, this archive became a repository for a vast array of materials reflecting the hypercomplexity of the local context and making visible the tensions and interests of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people living in proximity to the poisoned English-Wabigoon River. I posit that materials gathered locally by a citizen archivist, challenge the dominant settler colonial “hinterland” place image of record by shedding light on the complex local cultural, economic, and informational post-mercury context in the English-Wabigoon. This follows archivist Terry Cook’s consideration of the subjectivity of the archivist and the importance of contextual archival appraisal, which draws attention to the sites where archives are gathered. “Like all human activities, archiving is culturally bound and a product of its environment: all archival records are a result of their own story, their own context.”⁶³ As such, I will examine materials from the Lamm Collection within microhistories of the post-mercury period that are revelatory of the incongruous narratives produced around the mercury case and the gathering of the archive to highlight points of tension in the English-Wabigoon.

⁶³ Terry Cook, “‘We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are’: Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (2011): 178.

The Lamm Collection

Marion Lamm began gathering materials related the mercury case in 1970 with a specific judicial purpose: to build a legal claim against the polluter, the Reed Mill, and to seek compensation for loss of the Lamms' business, Ball Lake Lodge. In parallel with documents obtained expressly for the legal case, Lamm also gathered photography, photographic publications, ephemera, press clippings, and correspondence related to both the case and the activities and collaborations that grew around the collection. Between 1970 and 1990, the collection evolved into a repository of locally collected materials illustrative of competing narratives of the mercury case that reflect the hypercomplexity of local Indigenous and settler relations within the larger context of economic and industry interests, the intersection of the shifting status and identity of the tourism and pulp and paper industries, the increased presence of Indigenous people in media and political life of the region, and the narrative of the mercury case.

Lamm kept the collection at Ball Lake Lodge in her former office, naming it "the mercury room," a title that defined both the epistemological and scientific focus of the collection. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Lamm Collection operated as a pre-internet knowledge common; information was shared and exchanged reciprocally with former colleagues and friends from Grassy Narrows, other Indigenous community stakeholders in the region, medical professionals, scientific researchers, and journalists.

In 1971, after a failed attempt to receive a loan to recuperate financial losses related to the closing of their lodge, the Lamms filed a \$3,750,000 lawsuit against the Reed Mill. By the late 1970s, the Lamms had left their home and business in the English-Wabigoon and moved to nearby Gimli, Manitoba, where Lamm continued to gather locally produced and circulated

materials, advocating for the rights of victims of the mercury case.⁶⁴ During this time, the Lamms also continued to run an aviation company active in the English-Wabigoon.

As mentioned, the Lamms and former employees and friends from Grassy Narrows remained in touch to share findings about mercury. While there were reciprocal knowledge exchanges around the mercury case, agency and power differentials, the ability to move away from the pollution, and access to financial resources and political connections, are important parts of this post-mercury context. The Lamms' claim was never resolved, and by the mid-1970s, Marion Lamm's archiving, lobbying, and research had shifted to the medical, economic, and social effects of mercury poisoning on the community of Grassy Narrows with a focus on sharing information on a national and international level.⁶⁵ A first settlement was reached between the federal and provincial government and Grassy Narrows in 1986 and the community continues to fight for reparations and support for the disastrous effects mercury poisoning on their community.⁶⁶

Archival subjectivity – Marion Lamm

Marion Lamm's role in the narrative was both informed and complicated by her status as an American, wealthy, white, settler, and non-citizen within Canada. As a situated citizen archivist, she was living within the complexity of the mercury case and sifting through local

⁶⁴ Materials in the judicial holdings of the Lamm Collection, File VII. Legal Matters 1954 – 1990, document intimidation against the Lamms and their children in relation to their position on mercury pollution and their mercury research work with Grassy Narrows, a context which likely motivated the move to a new location.

⁶⁵ Based on preliminary examination of legal documentation in the collection, it appears that the claim was dropped by the Lamms sometime between 1977 and 1985. Further research is required to accurately describe how and when the claim was concluded. This documentation can be found in the Lamm Collection in file group, VII. Legal Matters: 1954 May 3rd -1990 April.

⁶⁶ Beverly Andrews, "Grassy Narrows Unveils Mercury Treatment Centre Design but Wonders Whether Government Is Committed to Building It," *APTN National News*(2017), <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/grassy-narrows-unveils-mercury-treatment-centre-design-but-wonders-whether-government-is-committed-to-building-it/>.

informational world. In doing so, she was telling a story. Drawing on Joan M. Schwartz's writing on the narrative agency of archives and the multiple subjective and practical decisions in which archivists determine "moments of going forward, moments when one narrative is privileged and another marginalized, of what is kept and what is not," I consider materials from the archive as objects of "telling forward" that offer enrichment and complexity to the ongoing mercury case narrative.⁶⁷

This consideration of the archive and the activities that grew around it is attentive to the complexity of Marion Lamm's complex subject position as a former sportfishing tourism insider who was working as a citizen archivist on unceded Anishinaabe territory. Considering her positionality, American feminist philosopher Nel Noddings's theorization of the ethics of care, a context-situated and relational approach toward morality and decision-making, is useful to think through Marion Lamm's archival practice considering her positionality.⁶⁸ Noddings's distinction between the ethical acts of 1) caring-about and 2) caring-for is productive toward considering the multiple activities and objectives discernable in Lamm's archival practice and the knowledge-building networks that formed around it.⁶⁹

Noddings initially defines caring-about as a benign form of care in which "One acknowledges. One affirms," and by which one produces caring intentions or ideas. Caring-for is the mobilization of an act of care, the practical means through which one carries out ideas or intentions of care.⁷⁰ In Noddings's conceptualization of an ethics of care, there is a moral

⁶⁷ Joan M. Schwartz, "The Archival Garden: Photographic Plantings, Interpretive Choices, and Alternative Narratives," in *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions: Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels*, ed. Terry Cook (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 70–71.

⁶⁸ Nel Noddings, *Caring: A Relational Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 23–24.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

obligation to act in the more abstract caring-about, which is foundational to a sense of justice; and by extension in the practical caring-for, which culminates in the production of caring relations which have practical applications in the world. These two registers of caring are manifest in the correspondence, informational enquiries, and the support of knowledge-building activities that define Lamm’s archival practice. I posit that the initial impetus to begin collecting materials is clearly one of personal and professional interest — to save a business loss through a legal claim — a general form of caring-about. As the archival practice expanded and the function shifted, I argue that her practice—complicated as it is was by her subjectivity—became firmly positioned in an ethos and commitment to *caring-for*, which comprised multiple forms of labour such as, sharing research with friends and former colleagues from Grassy Narrows, corresponding with local and national newspapers to correct inaccuracies in mercury case reporting, liaising with public health staff at the Northwest Health Unit to share accurate mercury poisoning research, and sharing mercury studies with local, national and international journalists. These and other activities that grew around the archive supported forms of agency and consciousness-raising around the mercury case.

Complicating the Tourist Gaze and the “Hinterland” Place Image

The Lamms’ refusal to continue to participate in the tourist gaze and the “hinterland” visuality of the region began with the closure of Ball Lake Lodge. Theirs was one of the few lodges that chose to close their operation, an ethical decision informed by the dangers the waters might pose for visitors and their employees.⁷¹ A letter sent to guests booked for the summer of 1970 and former clients is illustrative of a challenge to the tourist gaze (fig. 24). The image of

⁷¹ Other lodges remained opened and denied the dangers of mercury poisoning. Lodges such as Delaney Lake Lodge, founded around the same time as Ball Lake Lodge, continue to operate to this day.

the fish illustrated in red ink on the masthead of letter is not a vibrant fish jumping from the water but a droopy fish that tells readers, “Hell ya, I’m sick, but I’m getting better,” and clearly rejects the dominant iconography of the trophy catch, and thus repositions the symbolic role of the fish as “catch” outside of the tourist gaze and transfers it into the evolving story of the mercury case. In sharing this illustration, the Lamms were equally redefining the identity of their lodge as a site concerned with mercury poisoning. This letter was distributed to prospective visitors and past clients and therefore reached a large community of American and Canadian tourists. The message in the letter shares the meagre information the Lamms had about the mercury at the time and the unstable and evolving situation. The fish, no longer a trophy catch, is now a participant in a new formation of the place image developing around the mercury case.

The Ontario government’s approach was to deny and obfuscate as industry stakeholders sought to maintain the dominant place image and thus led Marion Lamm to create the “Erroneous Journalism” file in her collection as she compared the dominant government narrative with scientific studies on mercury commissioned by the Lamms in the 1970s.⁷² This small corner of Northwestern Ontario, promoted since the 1940s as an important force in Canada’s post-war nation building narrative, had suddenly become the site of an environmental disaster, and for the purposes of the governments concerned, it now had an image problem. In the wake of the pollution announcement, both the federal and provincial governments produced documents that sought to preserve the region’s wilderness and successful industrial power image

⁷² The Erroneous Journalism materials are found in File X, Series F, in the Tourism subject files. In 1970, Barney and Marion Lamm commissioned a mercury study by environmental science graduate student, Norvald Fimreite, to test mercury levels in fish caught in Ball Lake and Clay Lake. This research was submitted to the Lamms and subsequently shared with leaders of the Grassy Narrows First Nation in the early 1970s. See Norvald Fimreite, “Mercury Contamination in Canada and Its Effects on Wildlife” (PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1971).

and continued to ignore the presence of Anishinaabe communities in the area and the dangers of mercury in the waters. The denial of the mercury pollution is evident in multiple local press clipping gathered by Marion Lamm, including one in which the Ontario Health Minister claims, “I’m satisfied we’ve got to look at the problem, but it’s not likely to be as severe as we thought it was, if it exists at all” (figs. 25–26).⁷³ The mercury poisoning of the river also provided a grim context and informational *raison d’être* for the production and circulation of visual and textual information on both sides of the case: 1) materials that sought to maintain the image of the English-Wabigoon the settler colonial “hinterland” visuality and 2) materials that challenged the dominant narrative of the mercury case and sought to share information about mercury and its dangers.

An example the first type of material is an Ontario government informational poster entitled “Here is what your Provincial Government is doing to encourage Fishing and Tourism in your area” (fig. 27). Produced in 1970 and presumably designed to reassure tourism operators, employees, and their clients and “set the record straight,” following the mercury poisoning announcement, it features a truncated fish head illustration that swims into the document from page right. Its placement under the document’s bold text title accentuates the subject, “Provincial Government” and predicate “Fishing and Tourism” of the sentence. The illustration depicts the head of a northern pike, a species caught primarily as a trophy catch in sportfishing and not one that is widely consumed. The textual information confirms there is mercury in the water but “that fishing in Ontario has never been better” and that “everyone of us benefits in some way from a healthy tourist trade” and confirms the wide circulation of the poster in tourist offices. There is no mention of eating the fish or drinking the water and the poster does not address the context of

⁷³ Jim Kelley, “Mercury Not Serious Issue,” *Kenora Miner and News*, 7 August 1976.

key sportfishing stakeholders, Anishinaabe fishing guides, many from Grassy Narrows First Nation employed at Ball Lake Lodge, which was not, “open for business as usual” as the poster encourages tourism operators to be, so the region can prosper. Ignored in this poster is the reality that most of the area’s fishing guides employed in the sportfishing industry lived in Anishinaabe communities, situated on the poisoned English-Wabigoon River upon which they were dependent for food security, drinking water, and employment. The poster can be read as a damage-control document, excluding the realities of Anishinaabe people dependant on the river from the discourse and encouraging people to keep on fishing—or at least those who did not need to eat the fish.

A challenge to this narrative can be found in a letter-format set of two posters featuring a series of succinct didactic texts summarizing the dangers of mercury poisoning and of eating poisoned fish (fig. 28). The hand-drawn illustrations of fish are interspersed within the text blocks horizontally and vertically and depict how mercury, represented by a white star shaped form, moves from the fish to human body. This sequence is illustrated by the repetition of the mercury star in the gray-scale human body, from fish stomach to human stomach and brain. The scale of the fish changes from the first page to the second to illustrate that larger fish are the most dangerous to eat and contain more mercury, represented by star symbols. The second page of the poster includes the sentence in bold font “Don’t Eat the Fish,” centered at the bottom, with a line drawing of a waterspout with stars of mercury flowing into a water source represented by a simple zigzag line. The word “Dryden” is written within the illustration and depicts the mill, in the form of an industrial effluent pipe, as the source of pollution. This document is clearly focused on transmitting the dangers of mercury poisoning to those that eat the fish and rely on the waters, sketching out a detailed, yet direct narrative of the epidemiological effects of mercury

poisoning. The producer and distributor of this document is unknown, but correspondence in the Lamm Collection reveals that public health nurses in Kenora, Ontario and a volunteer doctor working in Grassy Narrows at the time may have contributed to either the production or distribution of this document in the community.⁷⁴

Due to the histories of cultural and economic exclusion and the recent increase in government control of Indigenous lives and territories in Treaty 3 territory, and due to conflicting information provided by the government regarding the dangers of mercury, many Indigenous people did not trust information from government sources and some continued to eat fish from the English-Wabigoon. As is evident in a range of government ephemera distributed at this time, the priority of the Ontario government was the protection of the sportfishing industry and not Indigenous people (fig. 29).⁷⁵

As the comparative study of these posters considered reveals, along with the fishing pamphlets produced in the aftermath of the mercury announcement, the strategies of the federal and provincial governments were in place to communicate a message of nation-building through visual symbolism and text, to boost tourism in the area, and to divert attention away from the environmental disaster it had on its hands. Because of this approach, the visual record left behind is incoherent, misleading, and incomplete. The Lamm archive offers an alternative and more complex record that paints a much different picture of late twentieth-century Northwestern Ontario and challenges the dominant industry stakeholder and government version of events.

⁷⁴ Correspondence between Marion Lamm and Rosy Pahpahsay in File II, Series II indicates that this poster may have been produced in collaboration between Grassy Narrows and the Northwestern Health Unit, Kenora, ON.

Environmental Racism

The mercury case attracted outsider media attention that is documented in the Lamm Collection and points to increased attention to Anishinaabe knowledge and community members. In 1973 and 1974, marine biologist and filmmaker Philippe Cousteau and a team of scientists, filmmakers and photographers visited the English-Wabigoon to document the mercury crisis and do reconnaissance work for the development of a documentary.⁷⁶ The arrival of the group was documented in local periodicals, and photographs that accompanied the article about the Cousteau visit features representatives of Grassy Narrows and Whitedog First Nations, some of whom had been employed as sportfishing guides in the region (fig. 30). These images challenge the tourist gaze by picturing Anishinaabe people as stakeholders in the mercury case and undo the happy fishing guide trope promulgated in promotional tourist brochures: the guides are without employment and are seeking reliable information about mercury consistent with their observations and existing knowledge.

Anti-Indigenous racism grew as the visibility of Anishinaabe people in English-Wabigoon increased due to media attention surrounding the mercury poisoning, The Lamm archive attends to these tensions within the local context. Within the national historical context, the White Paper, a Canadian policy paper produced in 1969 with the primary objectives to eliminate historical treaties, abolish the Indian Act, and implement full assimilation of Indigenous people in the Canadian state, fomented strong reactions from Indigenous leaders. Their communities and supporters in Canada refuted the rational, objectives and implementation plans of the White Paper, and produced the Red Paper in 1970 to counter the findings and

⁷⁶ The documentary was not produced but information about the English-Wabigoon was included in several segments of the television program, *What Price Progress?* Philippe Cousteau wrote a foreword for the publication *Grassy Narrows* (1977), examined in Chapter 3.

proposals of the White Paper; this marked a significant juncture in Indigenous political agency within Canadian legislative decisions.⁷⁷

In the English-Wabigoon, the media attention to the mercury case and jobs losses in the tourist industry exacerbated tensions in the region and fed a discourse in which Anishinaabe people were blamed both for the mercury problem and for participating in the public sharing of information about it.⁷⁸

Anti-Indigenous racism is a key factor in the mercury case narrative that is not illustrated explicitly in high circulation media coverage. It is evident, however, in the Lamm Collection holdings through select ephemera. To cite two examples, an illustrated, professionally printed card sent to Marion Lamm and a publication in circulation in the English-Wabigoon in the 1970s are both illustrative of the complex tensions and rise of anti-Indigenous racism in the region. The “greeting” card sent to Marion Lamm in 1977 depicts a stereotypical image of an Indigenous person in leather garments and wearing a feathered headdress, urinating into a river, and is captioned with “You know what *really* causes pollution in the water?” (fig. 31). This document is expressive of the unproven sentiment, evident in multiple articles published in the Kenora daily newspaper, that Indigenous people were somehow to blame for the mercury pollution.⁷⁹ In addition, the mailing of this card to Marion Lamm can equally be read as a critique of her archival practice, advocacy for mercury poisoning, and collaboration with Anishinaabe

⁷⁷ For a summary of the White Paper and Red Paper see Jo-Anne McCutcheon, “White Paper–Red Paper Exchange,” University of Ottawa Library, <https://biblio.uottawa.ca/omeka2/jmccutcheon/exhibits/show/white-paper-red-paper-exchange/white-paper-red-paper-exchange>.

⁷⁸ For further reading on this context see James Burke, *Paper Tomahawks: From Red Tape to Red Power* (Toronto: Queenston House Publishing, 1976).

⁷⁹ An analysis of the editorial bias of the *Kenora Miner and News*, local coverage of the mercury case, Anishinaabe activism, and anti-Indigenous editorials is found in Mark Anderson and Carmen Robertson, “The ‘Bended Elbow’ News, Kenora 1974: How a Small-Town Newspaper Promoted Colonization,” *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2007).

stakeholders in the mercury case. A second publication held in the collection entitled *Bended Elbow, Kenora Talks Back* is a self-published work that documents a view of Anishinaabe people in the English-Wabigoon as responsible for all the crimes and violence in the area, particularly in Kenora, claims that Anishinaabe people have brought shame on the region by appearing in media coverage of the mercury case (fig. 32).⁸⁰ While these two documents and Marion Lamm's letter (fig. 33) to the Canadian Human Rights Commission to report the "greeting" card and find its producer may appear not informationally rich in relation to the mercury case, I argue that their presence within the scientific holdings of the collection make possible contextualization and understandings of how the discourse of environmental racism developed and was promulgated in the English-Wabigoon in response to the mercury case (fig. 33).⁸¹

Conclusion

The Lamm Collection is a hybrid archive that was compiled as a personal archive outside of a governing administrative body, far from urban centres and government institutions, for motives that were personal, financial, epistemological, judicial, and activist. As such, the archive and its composite gathering methodologies and purposes can be interpreted as: 1) a train of personal thought and a selective portrait of a specific, remote place and time, 2) as a judicial, evidential construct of the mercury event, its context and the many narratives and tensions surrounding the case, and 3) as a knowledge commons detailing knowledge-building and consciousness-raising activities that grew around it. Through gathering materials and creating

⁸⁰ This booklet was self-published by Kenora resident Eleanor Jacobson in 1975 and comprises racist views focused primarily on Anishinaabe activism in Kenora and the post-mercury context.

⁸¹ This card was printed by Peppermint Greeting Cards, location and creator unknown. It was sent anonymously to Marion Lamm. A response from the Canadian Human Rights Commission has not yet been located in the Lamm Collection and may be filed with other judicial documents in file VII. Legal Matters:1954 May 3rd -1990 April.

knowledge that offers significant counterpoints to the dominant place image, post-mercury, this archival project, through a sum of these three primary purposes, becomes in and of itself an activist space that narrates a situated and multi-narrator version of the case. It provides points of landing for researchers to interpret both the history and the ongoing mercury case and lends the opportunity to view the collection's materials in the context of the ongoing narrative of the mercury case. I have demonstrated through contextual analysis that the Lamm Collection—the archival work, its holdings, and readings of these materials—offer contextual and visual culture counterpoints that complicate the dominant settler-colonial place image of the English-Wabigoon post-mercury and make possible a more complex understanding of this place. It reveals a visuality in which the contingent and hypercomplex relationships between industry, tourism, Anishinaabe and settler lives, and multiple stakes in the region became more visible.

Chapter 3. Translocal Knowledge and the *Grassy Narrows* Publication

This final chapter examines the expansion of the informational and visual culture context of the mercury case story during the 1970s. The primary objective is to shed light on two important developments that contribute to the formation of the ongoing English-Wabigoon mercury story. First, the development of a knowledge network between the people and communities of Grassy Narrows and Minamata, Japan; and second, the photo essay *Grassy Narrows* produced by investigative journalist George Hutchison (b. 1940) and photographer Dick Wallace (b. 1938), published in 1977.

Who defines the Canadian “hinterland”? From what positions are its stories told? I have investigated these questions in previous chapters through the examination of histories and objects produced by industry and government stakeholders, and through the formation of the Lamm Collection and the study of selected materials in this archive. Here, with the objective of opening new pathways for future research, I return to these questions and posit that a knowledge network and its activities, including a photo essay held in the Lamm Collection, make significant contributions to the cultural, visual, and epistemological expansion of the mercury story and thus could be rich areas of enquiry for further research.

A robust investigation of these contributions is beyond the scope of this concluding chapter. The objective here is therefore to propose how further study of this knowledge network and publication might support future research in the Lamm Collection and within transtemporal readings of the visual culture and narratives that continue to form around the mercury case. My central hypothesis for further research is that these developments—the knowledge network and the photo essay—are significant factors within the transition from the dominant settler visuality

of a “hinterland” place, toward the present context in which Anishinaabe knowledge and experience are now central to the ongoing informational and visual narrative of the mercury case.

Grassy Narrows – Minamata: the Beginnings of a Knowledge Network

The poisoning of the English-Wabigoon shared many similarities with an earlier case of industrial mercury poisoning discovered in the mid-1950s in Minamata, Japan, a fishing village located in proximity to the Chisso Corporation, a chemical factory and producer of methyl mercury. This factory was responsible for a sustained release of mercury effluent into Minamata Bay that poisoned the waters and Minamata citizens who relied on it for food and employment. The case in Japan, much like Grassy Narrows, drew intense, yet cyclical media attention. The most significant, international, visual culture attention to the Minamata case came through a *Life* magazine photo essay, “Death-Flow from a Pipe: Mercury Pollution Ravages a Japanese Village” by W. Eugene Smith (1918–1978) and Aileen M. Smith (b. 1950) published in 1972 and through the subsequent long form photo essay *Minamata: Words and Photographs* published in 1975.⁸² The latter photo book was Eugene Smith’s last publication. This work revived international attention to the Minamata mercury case in the mid-1970s and brought accolades, primarily for Eugene Smith, who was recognized as pioneer of the narrative photo essay form and renowned for his significant contributions to *Life*, *Collier’s*, and *Parade* magazines and his work for the agency Magnum since the mid-1940s. Activist, writer, and photographer Aileen M. Smith, whose co-authorship of both Minamata essays has been less recognized, became a key figure in the formation of a knowledge network between Minamata and Grassy Narrows.

⁸² W. Eugene Smith and Aileen Smith, *Minamata* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975); W. Eugene Smith, “Death-Flow from a Pipe: Mercury Pollution Ravages a Japanese Village,” *Life*, 2 June 1972.

In 1972, the *Life* magazine photo essay “Death-Flow from a Pipe” came to Marion Lamm’s attention, and she contacted Aileen Smith with requests for access to the Japanese mercury scientists featured in the essay. Lamm and Smith began regular correspondence that continued into the 1980s. In parallel with this correspondence, Grassy Narrows community leaders, some of whom had been sportfishing guides at Ball Lake Lodge and other lodges, also contacted the Japanese scientists for access to scientific studies. During this time, they also learned about the Minamata Disease Patient’s Alliance, the activist group that in 1973 had forced negotiations with the Chisso Corporation and received a first financial settlement for damages caused by mercury poisoning.⁸³

Access to the 1972 *Life* Magazine photo essay thus offered Grassy Narrows leaders, community members, and Marion Lamm an opportunity to turn their interests beyond Canadian borders—where the provincial and federal governments and the Reed Mill continued to foment confusion around the dangers of mercury—to Japan, where another fishing community was dealing with the aftermath of a mercury pollution and had both activist experience and scientific information to share.

Between 1974 and 1975, citizen delegations from Grassy Narrows and Minamata organized reciprocal community visits accompanied by mercury scientists, epidemiologists, and other community supporters. These encounters resulted in a transmission of epidemiological information about mercury from Minamata to Grassy Narrows.⁸⁴ In 1975, both Minamata and Grassy Narrows citizens and their supporters protested together at the Ontario legislature. This

⁸³ In 1973 after protests and an occupation of the Chisso Corporation by the Minamata Patient’s Alliance, a judicial ruling held the Chisso Corporation responsible for the mercury pollution and illegal waste disposal practices.

⁸⁴ Hutchison and Wallace, *Grassy Narrows*, 114–22.

activity revived public interest in the mercury case in Canada and supported the production of a rich photographic record that circulated in national and regional periodicals and received extensive television coverage. A new visuality of the mercury case, comprised of photographs of scientists, citizens of Grassy Narrows and Minamata, and their supporters begins to form around this network. An extensive range of materials—snapshots, contact sheets, ephemera, photographic publications, periodicals, scientific studies, and correspondence—document the Grassy Narrows-Minamata knowledge network and are held in the Lamm collection.⁸⁵ These visual materials offer rich visual and informational territory to consider how the visuality of the mercury case changes in the mid-1970s (figs. 34–35). My preliminary consideration of these materials leads me to posit that there is an observable shift toward an expanded representation of Anishinaabe experience, visually and informationally, that warrants further investigation. How does the narrative of the English-Wabigoon case shift within the context of the translocal network between Grassy Narrows and Minamata? From what positions is the mercury story now being told? These questions could provide the structure to support further investigation of this network and the visual culture that grew around it, both within the Lamm Collection and within the current informational context of the mercury case.

Grassy Narrows Photo Essay

Within the extensive, yet fleeting media attention that grew around the Grassy Narrows–Minamata network in the 1970s, *London Free Press* (Ontario) investigative journalist Dick Hutchison and photographer Dick Wallace had been regularly reporting on the English-Wabigoon mercury case since the first government announcement 1970. In 1977 they published

⁸⁵ These materials are located in File XV of the Lamm Collection.

the photo essay *Grassy Narrows*, the first long form photographic publication about the English-Wabigoon case. It is a compendium of research, writing and photographs produced both independently and for the *London Free Press* coverage of the mercury case.

With 178 pages of images and text to consider, a detailed analysis of the *Grassy Narrows* publication is not within the scope of this concluding chapter; I am shedding light on it here primarily to recognize its importance and specifically as a bridge or intermedial document situated between a period when the settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality dominated the narrative of the mercury case and more recent times in which Anishinaabe experience is more central within the public record.

From the mid-1970s onward, Indigenous periodicals in Ontario, including *Wataway News*, *Council Fire*, and *Akwesasne Notes*, circulated feature articles about the mercury case and kept it in the news cycle during the late 1970s, up to and beyond the first financial settlement in 1985 for mercury poisoning in the Grassy Narrows and White Dog communities. More recently, and from within Grassy Narrows, the body of mercury research produced and shared by community member, activist, and Environmental Officer Judy da Silva, has supported the fight for government attention to the poisoning.⁸⁶ The launch of the Aboriginal People’s Television Network in 1999 increased Indigenous documentary television content and reported on the ongoing activism and efforts of English-Wabigoon Anishinaabe communities to access public health support and sustainable reparations for the mercury pollution. At present, social, and environmental justice movements Idle No More and Free Grassy can be considered as important

⁸⁶ See Leanne Simpson, Judy Da Silva, Betty Riffel, and Patricia Sellers, “The Responsibilities of Women: Confronting Environmental Contamination in the Traditional Territories of Asubpechoseewagong Netum Anishinabek (Grassy Narrows) and Wabauskang First Nation,” *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 4, no. 2 (2009). Da Silva, “Grassy Narrows: Advocate for Mother Earth and Its Inhabitants.”

sites of knowledge and activism within the context of the federal government's recently confirmed, yet reticent commitment, to build a mercury treatment centre in Grassy Narrows.⁸⁷

In view of these powerful developments in Indigenous activism and media since the 1970s, what function can a photo essay such as *Grassy Narrows*, produced from a community outsider and settler perspective, serve in the visual and informational narrative of the mercury case? I posit that *Grassy Narrows* marks an important departure away from presenting the English-Wabigoon case as a "singular disastrous event." It extends the boundaries of the mercury story temporally and epistemologically to include a longer timeline that tracks the complex intersections of Anishinaabe, settler-colonial, industrial, tourism and environmental histories of the English-Wabigoon from early in the twentieth century to the late 1970s.

The "thick description" offered across this extensive combination of text and photographs situates the mercury case within a multiple narrator story that sheds light on the long-standing economic exclusion of Grassy Narrows people from resources in their own territory and their erasure from settler-colonial representations and maps of their land, provides documentation supporting the rise of anti-Indigenous racism in the region, and describes the disastrous government-initiated relocation of the Grassy Narrows community in 1960.⁸⁸ Through investigative reporting of Grassy Narrows and Treaty 3 micro histories, an image of Grassy Narrows emerges as one of both resilience in the face of the mercury poisoning, and of struggle within the ongoing economic and public health problems that mercury has wrought.

⁸⁷ Forester, "Grassy Narrows Chief Questions Federal Commitment to Mercury Care Home Amid Delays, Soaring Costs".

⁸⁸ I draw on anthropologist Clifford Geertz's conceptualization of this term as an approach to studying culture by ensuring detailed analysis of contexts, conceptual structures, and the study of how meaning is produced and structured in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

The images I have selected from this publication are representative of one of the worst cases of environmental pollution in Canada, yet they are not sensational. They are moreover representations of moments in time, in a complex narrative of “slow violence.”⁸⁹ This speaks to Rob Nixon’s consideration of the often unspectacular nature of violence that concerns people residing in “hinterland” territories as “a delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all.”⁹⁰ Nixon is concerned with how stories such as the mercury case cannot attract attention if they cannot appeal to current media bias for the spectacular.⁹¹ What happens after the journalists pack up and leave, or never show up in the first place? To counter the lack of interest in the slow stories of environmental degradation and environmental racism, Nixon advocates for bringing attention to “questions of time, movement, and change, however gradual.”⁹² As such, *Grassy Narrows*—a publication that traces the long story of the mercury case from the signing of Treaty 3 in 1873, through the economic exclusion of Grassy Narrows peoples from their forms of livelihood post-World War II, to the forced move of the community in the early 1960s up to the post-mercury 1970s—appears to respond to the dominant colonial narrative by making visible and legible the incremental acts of exclusion, control, and obfuscation that tell the complex story of the mercury case as a story of “slow violence” within a construct of environmental racism.

To provide substance for this hypothesis, two photographs found in *Grassy Narrows* one that depicts the polluting mill in Dryden and one picturing Grassy Narrows Chief, and former Ball Lake Lodge fishing guide, Andy Keewatin during a visit to Minamata can be considered,

⁸⁹ Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 11.

transtemporally, from a situated present, and with the knowledge that a more nuanced, multi-narrator visuality now exists from Anishinaabe, Japanese, settler positionalities, as representative of a shifting visuality that challenges to the dominant “hinterland” iconography and requires further consideration (figs. 36 and 37). In the low contrast, aerial image of the Reed Mill, the original bi-partite visuality of the High Modernist “hinterland” is broken here by the photo captioning “Wilderness and Industry, Dryden, 1976” that defines the proximity and co-dependency of the pulp and paper industry and the “wilderness” setting. It does not remove it epistemologically from its remote, industrial location, but it *names* the relationship between industry and its place and surroundings. This aerial image is not a celebration of industrial success; rather, it is a photographic mapping of the topographical relationship of the mill to the river and an affirmation of the contingent relationship between industry, water, and forest. In the photograph of Andy Keewatin, taken during a Grassy Narrows citizen delegation to Minamata, the community leader and former fishing guide becomes an observer in a scene that is unspectacular and yet, supported by the textual information and scientific research comprised in *Grassy Narrows*, depicts a scene of local and global environmental devastation, extending the narrative beyond the confines of settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality and telling the mercury story. Within the informational context provided in the essay’s texts and interviews with Keewatin that describe his leadership role and the post-mercury context in Grassy Narrows, his presence in this photograph can be read both as one that invites the viewer to see the polluted scene from his situated, Anishinaabe position, and that also insists on his presence as a subject who embodies the current lived experience of his community: a fishing guide who can no longer fish, a leader seeking knowledge about mercury, and a Grassy Narrows citizen experiencing the

present tense of mercury poisoning in Japan and looking toward a similar future in his own community.

The translocal knowledge network between Grassy Narrows and Minamata, set in motion by access to a high circulation photo essay in Life Magazine, opened an expanded informational exchange that brought incontrovertible scientific information about mercury poisoning, via Minamata, into the English-Wabigoon narrative. The network confirmed that these communities shared the same type of mercury poisoning, a fact that the Canadian government continued to deny. It further produced a context in which the “hinterland” stories could be told translocally from both Anishinaabe and situated experiences in Minamata, Japan. The extensive photographic documentation of this network held in the Lamm Collection has yet to be investigated for its contributions to the photographic record of the case.

The photo essay *Grassy Narrows*, a document that comprises years of investigative reporting of the case and engages with the complex intersections and microhistories of the English-Wabigoon, does important work in challenging the “hinterland” visuality of place by telling a longer, multi-narrator, more nuanced story. *Grassy Narrows* tells a story, not only of mercury poisoning, but of the contexts, histories, and power differentials that put in place the conditions in which environmental pollution of this scale could happen. The publication is not without its own complexities and tensions inherent in the telling of a story that primarily affects Anishinaabe people, produced from settler positions. These tensions notwithstanding, I hypothesize that further consideration of this publication as an intermedial document between the dominant settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality and the present visual culture content of the ongoing case could be of value in future visual culture research with the cognate field of environmental racism and in particular in the context of ongoing environmental activism from

within Grassy Narrows and the contemporary representational world of the English-Wabigoon
“hinterland.”

Conclusion

This study of select visual materials and a locally gathered archive and its holdings at the confluence of a case of mercury poisoning has investigated the formation of the settler colonial “hinterland” visuality of the English-Wabigoon. It has observed challenges made to this place image through the situated, gathering of local materials and in conclusion, through the formation of a translocal knowledge network between Grassy Narrows and Minamata, Japan. It has traced the representations and histories of “hinterland” extraction industries, pulp and paper and sportfishing, and introduced the local and translocal contexts that complicated and challenged the dominant settler-colonial visuality through increased representation of local experience, and Anishinaabe people and knowledge in the mercury story. The materials examined in this thesis were produced by settlers and community outsiders to Grassy Narrows and their dates conclude at an important historical juncture, the late-1970s, when Indigenous environmental justice protests and activism were expanding within Canada. Thanks to Indigenous-led media outlets and periodicals that shed light on the intersections of industrial pollution and Indigenous lives, the mercury story in the English-Wabigoon is now increasingly told from Anishinaabe perspectives and experience.

I have conceptualized the settler colonial “hinterland” as a distinct, settler-colonial visuality produced at the intersection of industry and wilderness. The production of “hinterland” visuality is complex informational dynamic produced by multiple stakeholders within two contiguous industries represented as non-contingent. The pulp and paper industry contributes imagery and messaging of economic power, high modernity, scientific progress, and the mobilization of wilderness to attract new settler-employees and investment. The sportfishing

industry offers to the “hinterland” a terra nullius, fly-in visioning of place which both erases Indigenous presence and uses a pastiche of Indigenous history as an element of authentic experience and necessary to successful fishing. This iconography of the fish is an unlimited, extractable resource and a symbol of a successful visit. By examining the Lamm Collection, Marion Lamm’s archival practice, the Grassy Narrows–Minamata knowledge network, and the *Grassy Narrows* publication, I have worked toward a new reading of the “hinterland”: one that is representative of a more complex and contingent relationships between industry, “wilderness,” and the people affected by mercury poisoning in the English-Wabigoon.

It has been a challenge to adhere to a limited corpus of materials for this thesis as I follow the ongoing story of the mercury case and reflect on measuring the informational and temporal distance from 1970. This thesis has focused on a sampling of locally gathered materials through which the dominance, complexity and expansion, and challenges to the settler-colonial “hinterland” visuality of the English-Wabigoon have been traced. Shifts, tensions, and challenges to the dominant “hinterland” place image are observable within the complexity of local knowledge and imagery found in the Lamm archive, and lastly through the epistemological, visual, and geographical challenges to the “hinterland” produced through translocal knowledge exchange. The objective in considering the narrative function of this sampling of visual culture has been to shed light on its knowledge-building capacities within a conceptualization of the Canadian “hinterland” and to open space for transtemporal studies of more recent, post-mercury visual culture.

At present, the informational and visual narrative world is increasingly produced and disseminated through Free Grassy, CBC North, and Wawatay News (fig. 38). I believe the next logical and useful step for this research would be to trace the visuality and formation of locally

situated, Anishinaabe journalism and environmental activism in the English-Wabigoon. This type of study could be supported by further research in the Lamm Collection of the yet unexplored photographic records of activism in the English-Wabigoon in the 1970s alongside the issues of the *Wawatay News* from the from the same period. One could also consider how to create a methodological framework that would support respectful and reciprocal informational exchanges with activists and Knowledge Keepers from Grassy Narrows who have participated in the formation of historical and current activism and journalism around the mercury case.

As I complete this thesis, Chief Rudy Turtle from Grassy Narrows has shared his community's discouragement with the unfulfilled federal government promise to build a mercury illness treatment and therapy centre in the community.⁹³ The impressive building plans for the Mercury Survivors Home and Care Centre are inspired by the shape of a fish but the rooms will look out over the mercury polluted lake (fig. 39). As future critical research on the visual culture of the "hinterland" and Indigenous-led environmental activism evolves, I will keep the transforming iconography of the fish in my thoughts, as I consider the time and effort required for stories to change.

⁹³ Forester, "Grassy Narrows Chief Questions Federal Commitment to Mercury Care Home Amid Delays, Soaring Costs".

Bibliography

- Amin, Ash. "Spatialities of Globalisation." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 34, no. 3 (2002): 385–99.
- Anderson, Mark, and Carmen Robertson. "The 'Bended Elbow' News, Kenora 1974: How a Small-Town Newspaper Promoted Colonization." *American Indian Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2007): 410–40.
- Andrews, Beverly. "Grassy Narrows Unveils Mercury Treatment Centre Design but Wonders Whether Government Is Committed to Building It." *APTN National News* (2017). <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/grassy-narrows-unveils-mercury-treatment-centre-design-but-wonders-whether-government-is-committed-to-building-it/>.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Atkins, Sean. "The River, the City, and the Yellow Line: Reimagining Associative Landscapes in Post-War Northwestern Ontario." *Native Studies Review* 17, no. 2 (2008): 115–41.
- Avenell, Simon. "Therapy of Translocal Community." In *Transnational Japan in the Global Environmental Movement*, 52–80. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2017.
- Barthes, Roland. "Rhetoric of the Image." Translated by Stephen Heath. In *Image, Music, Text*, 32–51. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001.
- Beaudoin, Caroline. "Everyday Landscapes: Picturing Places of Labour, Leisure, and Industry in Quebec's Eastern Townships 1900-2015." PhD thesis, Concordia University, 2017.
- Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bennett, Nathan, and Raynard Lemelin. "A Critical Analysis of Ontario's 'Resource-Based Tourism Policy'." *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 5, no. 1-2 (2010): 21–35.
- Benson, Richard. *The Printed Picture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008.
- Berger, John. *Understanding a Photograph*. London: Penguin, 2013.
- Berkhofer, Robert. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978.
- Betasamosake Simpson, Leanne. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.
- Bhabha, Homi K. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." *October*, no. 28 (1984): 125–33.
- Blouin, Francis X. "History and Memory: The Problem of the Archive." *PMLA* 119, no. 2 (2004): 296–98.
- Blunt, Alison, and Gillian Rose. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. New York: Guilford Press, 1994.
- Boschman, Robert, and Mario Trono, eds. *On Active Grounds: Agency and Time in the Environmental Humanities*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2019.

- Branfireun, B. A., and N. T. Roulet. "Controls on the Fate and Transport of Methylmercury in a Boreal Headwater Catchment, Northwestern Ontario, Canada." *Hydrology and Earth System Sciences* 6, no. 4 (2002): 785–94.
- Bratishenko, Lev, and Mirko Zardini, eds. *It's All Happening So Fast: A Counter-History of the Modern Canadian Environment = Le Temps Presse : Une Contre-Histoire Environnementale Du Canada Moderne*. Montréal and Heijningen, Netherlands: Centre Canadien d'Architecture and Jap Sam Books, 2016.
- Brouwer, Daniel C. "From Vernacular to Official—and the Spaces in Between." *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1, no. 2 (2014): 181–85.
- Brower, Matthew. "Trophy Shots: Early North American Photographs of Nonhuman Animals and the Display of Masculine Prowess." *Society & Animals* 13, no. 1 (2005): 13–31.
- Bryson, Norman, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, eds. *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*. Hanover, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994.
- Burgin, Victor, ed. *Thinking Photography*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- Burke, James. *Paper Tomahawks: From Red Tape to Red Power*. Toronto: Queenston House Publishing, 1976.
- . "Occupation of Anicinabe Park." *Oh-Toh-Kin* 1, no. 1 (1992): 13–14.
- Castleden, Heather, Theresa Garvin, and Huu-ay-aht First Nation. "Modifying Photovoice for Community-Based Participatory Indigenous Research." *Social Science & Medicine* 66, no. 6 (2008): 1393–405.
- Caswell, Michelle. "Seeing Yourself in History: Community Archives and the Fight against Symbolic Annihilation." *The Public Historian* 36, no. 4 (2014): 26–37.
- Charland, Maurice. "Technological Nationalism." *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory / Revue canadienne de science politique* 10, no. 1-2 (1986): 196–220.
- Conteh, Charles, and Bob Segsworth, eds. *Governance in Northern Ontario: Economic Development and Policy Making*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Cook, Terry. "The Archive(S) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape." *The American Archivist* 74, no. 2 (2011): 600–32.
- . "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 32, no. 2 (2011): 173–89.
- Craig, Robert L. "Advertising as Visual Communication." *Communication* 13, no. 3 (1992): 165–80.
- . "Fact, Public Opinion, and Persuasion: The Rise of the Visual in Journalism and Advertising." In *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*, edited by Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Cronin, J. Keri, and Kirsty Robertson, eds. *Imagining Resistance: Visual Culture and Activism in Canada*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011.
- Cronin, Keri J. "A Tale of Two Parks: Photography, Pollution, and the 'Pecuniary Canons of Taste'." In *Thorstein Veblen's Contribution to Environmental Sociology: Essays in the Political Ecology of Wasteful Industrialism*, edited by Ross Mitchell, 257–86. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.
- Cronon, William. "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative." *Journal of American History* 78, no. 4 (1992): 1347–76.
- Crouch, David, and Nina Lübbren, eds. *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford: Berg Press, 2003.

- Da Silva, Judy. "Grassy Narrows: Advocate for Mother Earth and Its Inhabitants." In *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-Non-Indigenous Relationships*, edited by Lynne Davis, 69–76. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.
- de Freitas Netto, Sebastião Vieira, Marcos Felipe Falcão Sobral, Ana Regina Bezerra Ribeiro, and Gleibson Robert da Luz Soares. "Concepts and Forms of Greenwashing: A Systematic Review." *Environmental Sciences Europe* 32, no. 19 (2020): 1–12.
- de la Bellacasa, María Puig. *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More Than Human Worlds*. 3rd ed. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.
- Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Dirlik, Arif. "Performing the World: Reality and Representation in the Making of World Histor(Ies)." *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (2005): 391–410.
- Donegan, Rosemary. *Industrial Images/Images Industrielles*. Hamilton, ON: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 1988.
- . "Modernism and the Industrial Imagination: Copper Cliff and the Sudbury Basin." In *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, 145–52. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Doxtater, Michael G. "Indigenous Knowledge in the Decolonial Era." *American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 3/4 (2004): 618–33.
- Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, c. 1960, *Illustrated Map of Dryden and Region with Primary Transportation Routes from Brochure Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!*, Author's collection,
- Edwards, Elizabeth. "Material Beings: Objecthood and Ethnographic Photographs." *Visual Studies* 17, no. 1 (2002): 67–75.
- . "Photography and the Material Performance of the Past." *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (2009): 130–50.
- . "Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual?". In *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, edited by J. J. Long, Andrea Noble and Edward Welch, 31–48. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Janice Hart. "Introduction: Photographs as Objects." In *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, 1–15. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Edwardson, Ryan. *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Elkins, James. *Visual Studies: A Skeptical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Fimreite, Norvald. "Mercury Contamination in Canada and Its Effects on Wildlife." PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1971.
- Flood, Raymond, and Michael Lockwood, eds. *The Nature of Time*. London: Blackwell, 1991.
- Forester, Brett. "Grassy Narrows Chief Questions Federal Commitment to Mercury Care Home Amid Delays, Soaring Costs." *CBC News: Indigenous* (2023). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/grassy-narrows-delays-mercury-care-home-1.6882699>.
- Foucault, Michel. "The Historical a Priori in the Archive." Translated by Alan Sheridan Smith. In *The Archive*, edited by Charles Merewether, 26–30. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006. 1969.
- Francis, Margot. *Creative Subversions: Whiteness, Indigeneity, and the National Imaginary*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

- Gervais, Thierry, and Gaëlle Morel. *La Photographie: Histoire, Techniques, Art, Presse*. Paris: Larousse, 2011.
- Giannachi, Gabriella. *Archive Everything: Mapping the Everyday*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2016.
- Hall, David R., and Garth S. Jowett. "The Growth of the Mass Media in Canada." In *Communications in Canadian Society*, edited by Benjamin D. Singer, 5–29. Toronto: Nelson, 1995.
- Hall, Stuart. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 1996.
- Harada, Masazumi, Masanori Hanada, Masami Tajiri, Yukari Inoue, Nobuyuki Hotta, Tadashi Fujino, Shigeru Takaoka, and Keishi Ueda. "Mercury Poisoning in First Nations Groups in Ontario, Canada: 35 Years of Minamata Disease in Canada". *Journal of Minamata Studies* 3 (2011): 3–30.
- Heathcott, Joseph. "Reading the Accidental Archive: Architecture, Ephemera, and Landscape as Evidence of an Urban Public Culture." *Winterthur Portfolio* 41, no. 4 (2007): 239–68.
- Heywood, Ian, and Barry Sandywell, eds. *The Handbook of Visual Culture*. London: Berg, 2012.
- Hicks, Wilson. *Words and Pictures*. New York: Arno Press, 1973. 1952.
- Hight, Eleanor, and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Holden, Andrew. *Tourism Studies and the Social Sciences*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Howard, Peter, Ian H. Thompson, and Emma Waterton, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Landscape Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Huneault, Kristina. *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880-1914*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Hunt, Len M., Wolfgang Haider, Peter C. Boxall, and Jeff Englin. "A Method for Estimating the Economic Contribution of Resource-Based Tourism." *The Forestry Chronicle* 84, no. 2 (2008): 172–80.
- Hutchison, George, and Dick Wallace. *Grassy Narrows*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977.
- Ingold, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape." *World Archaeology* 25, no. 2 (1993): 152–74.
- Johnston, Gwen. "100 Years and Beyond – Dryden Mill." *The Forestry Chronicle* 90, no. 3 (2014): 338–46.
- Jørgensen, Marianne, and Louise Phillips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* [in Anglais]. London: Sage Publications, 2002.
- Kalbfleisch, Elizabeth. "Women, House, and Home in Contemporary Canadian Aboriginal Art: Hannah Claus, Rebecca Belmore, and Rosalie Favell." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 33, no. 3 (2012): 1–30.
- Kelley, Jim. "Mercury Not Serious Issue." *Kenora Miner and News*, 7 August 1976.
- Kuusisto, Anna-Kaisa. "Territoriality, Symbolism and the Challenge." *Peace Review* 13, no. 1 (2001): 59–66.
- Langford, Martha. "A Short History of Photography, 1900–2000." In *The Visual Arts in Canada: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Anne Whitelaw, Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky, 278–311. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- , ed. *Narratives Unfolding: National Art Histories in an Unfinished World*, McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series, vol. 22. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

- . *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021. 2001.
- Lash, Scott, and John Urry. *Economies of Signs and Space*. London: Sage, 1993.
- Lavoie, Vincent. *Photojournalismes : Revoir Les Canons De L'image De Presse*. Paris: Hazan, 2010.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. London: Blackwell, 1991. 1974.
- Little, J.I. *Fashioning the Canadian Landscape: Essays on Travel Writing, Tourism, and National Identity in the Pre-Automobile Era* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Loo, Tina. "High Modernism, Conflict, and the Nature of Change in Canada: A Look at Seeing Like a State." *The Canadian Historical Review* 97, no. 1 (2016): 34–58.
- Luby, Brittany. "'The Department Is Going Back on These Promises': An Examination of Anishinaabe and Crown Understandings of Treaty." [In English]. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 30, no. 2 (2010): 203–28.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013. 1976.
- Manore, Jean. "Treaty #3 and the Interactions of Landscape and Memory in the Rainy River and Lake of the Woods Area." *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes* 50, no. 1 (2016): 100–28.
- Marien, Mary Warner. *Photography: A Cultural History* [in Anglais]. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006.
- Markey, Sean, John T. Pierce, and Kelly Vodden. "Resources, People and the Environment: A Regional Analysis of the Evolution of Resource Policy in Canada/Les Ressources, Les Gens Et L'environnement : Une Analyse Régionale De L'évolution Des Politiques En Matière De Ressources Au Canada." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 23, no. 3 (2000): 427–54.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- McCann, Larry, and Angus M. Gunn. *Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada*. 2nd ed. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall, 1987.
- McCutcheon, Jo-Anne. "White Paper–Red Paper Exchange." University of Ottawa Library, <https://biblio.uottawa.ca/omeka2/jmccutcheon/exhibits/show/white-paper-red-paper-exchange/white-paper-red-paper-exchange>.
- McKemmish, Sue, and Michael Piggott. "Toward the Archival Multiverse: Challenging the Binary Opposition of the Personal and Corporate Archive in Modern Archival Theory and Practice." *Archivaria* 76 (2013): 111–14.
- Merriman, Peter. "Creating an Archive of Geographical Engagement." *Area* 42, no. 3 (2010): 387–90.
- Mill, Kenora Newsprint. *Hi Neighbour: Welcome to Our Open House*. Kenora, ON: The Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd, c. 1960.
- Minh-ha, Trinh T. *When the Moon Waxes Red: Representation, Gender and Cultural Politics*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Mitchell, W.J.T., ed. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Morton, Christopher A., and Elizabeth Edwards, eds. *Photography, Anthropology, and History: Expanding the Frame*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

- Neff, Margaret R., Satyendra P. Bhavsar, George B. Arhonditsis, Rachael Fletcher, and Donald A. Jackson. "Long-Term Changes in Fish Mercury Levels in the Historically Impacted English-Wabigoon River System (Canada)." *Journal of Environmental Monitoring* 14, no. 9 (2012): 2327–37.
- Nixon, Rob. *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Noddings, Nel. *Caring: A Relational Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Noori, Margaret. "Beshaabiiag G'gikenmaaigowag: Comets of Knowledge." In *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*, edited by Jill Doerfler, Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, 35–67. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013.
- Norder, John. "The Creation and Endurance of Memory and Place among First Nations of Northwestern Ontario, Canada." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16, no. 2 (2012): 385–400.
- Normand, Tom. "Utility Photographs: Rethinking the Vernacular, Rereading the Archive." *Visual Culture in Britain* 13, no. 3 (2012): 325–41.
- O'Brian, John, and Peter White, eds. *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*. payne ed. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- Payne, Carol. *A Canadian Document = Un Document Canadien*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography = Musée canadien de la photographie contemporaine, 1999.
- . "'How Shall We Use These Gifts?' Imaging the Land in the National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division." In *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*, edited by John O'Brian and Peter White, 153–60. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
- . "Through a Canadian Lens: Discourses of Nationalism and Aboriginal Representation in Governmental Photography." In *Visual Communication and Culture: Images in Action*, edited by Jonathan Finn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. 2006.
- . "Lessons with Leah: Rereading the Photographic Archive from the North." In *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971*. McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series, 165–88. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013.
- . *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971*. McGill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History Series. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013.
- Pell, Susan. "Radicalizing the Politics of the Archive: An Ethnographic Reading of an Activist Archive." *Archivaria* 80 (2015): 33–57.
- Phillips, Ruth B. "Taking the Local Seriously." *World Art* 4, no. 1 (2014): 17–25.
- Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher Burghard Steiner. *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* [in Anglais]. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Pinney, Christopher. *Photography and Anthropology*. London: Reaktion Books, 2011.

- Prokopchuk, Matt. "No Agreement between Ottawa, Grassy Narrows over Proposed Mercury Care Centre before Election Call." *CBC News: Thunder Bay* (2019).
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/grassy-narrows-ottawa-no-deal-1.5278233>.
- Radforth, Ian. "In the Bush: The Changing World of Work in Ontario's Pulpwood Logging Industry During the Twentieth Century." *Material Culture Review* 19 (1984).
- Robertson, Kirsty. *Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums* [in Anglais]. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019.
- Rogoff, Irit. "Studying Visual Culture." In *The Visual Culture Reader*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff, 24–36. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Rogoff, Irit, and Florian Schneider. "Productive Anticipation." In *Cultural Politics in a Global Age: Uncertainty, Solidarity, and Innovation*, edited by David Held and Henrietta Moore, 346–57. Oxford: Oneworld, 2008.
- Ronda, James P. "'We Have a Country': Race, Geography, and the Invention of Indian Territory." *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 4 (1999): 739–55.
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies*. London: Sage, 2001.
- . "Family Photographs and Domestic Spacings: A Case Study." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28, no. 1 (2003): 5–18.
- . *Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, the Public and the Politics of Sentiment*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.
- Schwartz, Joan M. "The Archival Garden: Photographic Plantings, Interpretive Choices, and Alternative Narratives." In *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions: Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels*, edited by Terry Cook, 69–110. Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Sekula, Allan. "Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea (Rethinking the Traffic in Photographs)." *October*, no. 102 (2002): 3–34.
- . "Reading an Archive: Photography between Labour and Capital." In *The Photography Reader*, edited by Liz Wells, 443–52. London: Routledge, 2002. 1983.
- Sekula, Allan, John O'Brian, and Gary Dufour. *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1997.
- Sherbert, Garry, Annie Gérin, and Sheila Petty, eds. *Canadian Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006.
- Shkilnyk, Anastasia. *A Poison Stronger Than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibwa Community*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Simpson, Leanne, Judy Da Silva, Betty Riffel, and Patricia Sellers. "The Responsibilities of Women: Confronting Environmental Contamination in the Traditional Territories of Asubpeechoseewagong Netum Anishinabek (Grassy Narrows) and Wabauskang First Nation." *International Journal of Indigenous Health* 4, no. 2 (2009): 7–13.
- Smith, W. Eugene. "Death-Flow from a Pipe: Mercury Pollution Ravages a Japanese Village." *Life*, 2 June 1972, 14–21.
- Smith, W. Eugene, and Aileen Smith. *Minamata*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975.
- Smucker, Joseph. *Industrialization in Canada*. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall 1980.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1977.
- . *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2003.

- Stevenson, Winona. "Colonialism and First Nation Women in Canada." In *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Thought*, edited by Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson, 49–80. Toronto: Women's Press, 1999.
- Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.
- Takaoka, Shigeru, Tadashi Fujino, Nobuyuki Hotta, Keishi Ueda, Masanobu Hanada, Masami Tajiri, and Yukari Inoue. "Signs and Symptoms of Methylmercury Contamination in a First Nations Community in Northwestern Ontario, Canada." *Science of The Total Environment* 468-469 (2014): 950–57.
- Thom, Ian M., Charles C. Hill, and Johanne Lamoureux, eds. *Emily Carr: New Perspective on a Canadian Icon*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2006.
- Troian, Martha. "Grassy Narrows, 1962–." In *It's All Happening So Fast: A Counter-History of the Modern Canadian Environment = Le Temps Presse : Une Contre-Histoire Environnementale Du Canada Moderne*, edited by Lev Bratishenko and Mirko Zardini, 115–28. Montréal and Heijningen, Netherlands: Centre Canadien d'Architecture and Jap Sam Books, 2016.
- Troyer, Warner. *No Safe Place*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1977.
- Turkel, William J. *The Archive of Place: Unearthing the Pasts of the Chilcotin Plateau*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Turner, Logan. "Grassy Narrows Marks 20 Years of the Blockade Protecting Its Land from Logging." *CBC News: Thunder Bay* (2023). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/thunder-bay/grassy-narrows-blockade-20-anniversary-1.6699763>.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage, 1990.
- . *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. London: Sage, 2002.
- Valaskakis, Gail Guthrie. *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary Native Culture*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005.
- Vecsey, Christopher. "Grassy Narrows Reserve: Mercury Pollution, Social Disruption, and Natural Resources: A Question of Autonomy." *American Indian Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1987): 287–314.
- Vizenor, Gerald. *Manifest Manners: Narratives of Postindian Survivance*. Lincoln, NE: Nebraska University Press, 1999.
- Weller, G. R. "Hinterland Politics: The Case of Northwestern Ontario." *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 10, no. 4 (1977): 727–54.
- Withers, Charles W. J. "Constructing 'the Geographical Archive'." *Area* 34, no. 3 (2002): 303–11.
- Wolfe, David A., and Meric S. Gertler. "Globalization and Economic Restructuring in Ontario: From Industrial Heartland to Learning Region?". *European Planning Studies* 9, no. 5 (2001): 575–92.

Film

- Ashley and Crippen, dir. *Outdoors Country*. The Archives of Ontario, 1957. Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>.

Ephemera

Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, *Dryden Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada: Ready for Industrial Expansion*. Dryden, ON: Wilson Printing, c. 1957.

Lamm, Barney, *Illustrated 'Sick Fish' Letter*, Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College

The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario c. 1967, *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College

Figures



Figure 1. Illustrated map of Northwestern Ontario indicating location of Grassy Narrows First Nation. Digital scan of press clipping by author. *Winnipeg Free Press*, c. June 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

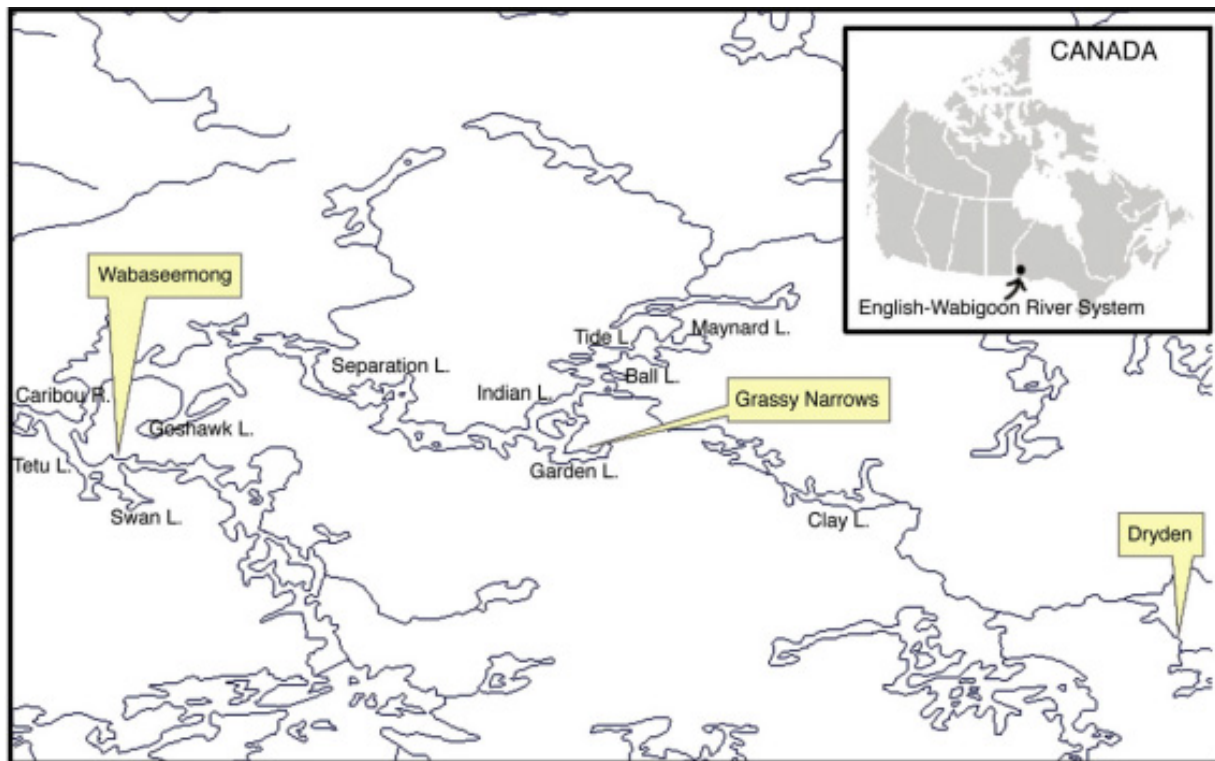


Figure 2. Illustrated map of the English-Wabigoon River system. Reproduced from Margaret R. Neff *et al.*, “Long-Term Changes in Fish Mercury Levels in the Historically Impacted English-Wabigoon River System (Canada).” *Journal of Environmental Monitoring* 14, no. 9 (2012): 2327–37.



Figure 3. Photo postcard of Marion and Barney Lamm at Ball Lake Lodge. c. 1946. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

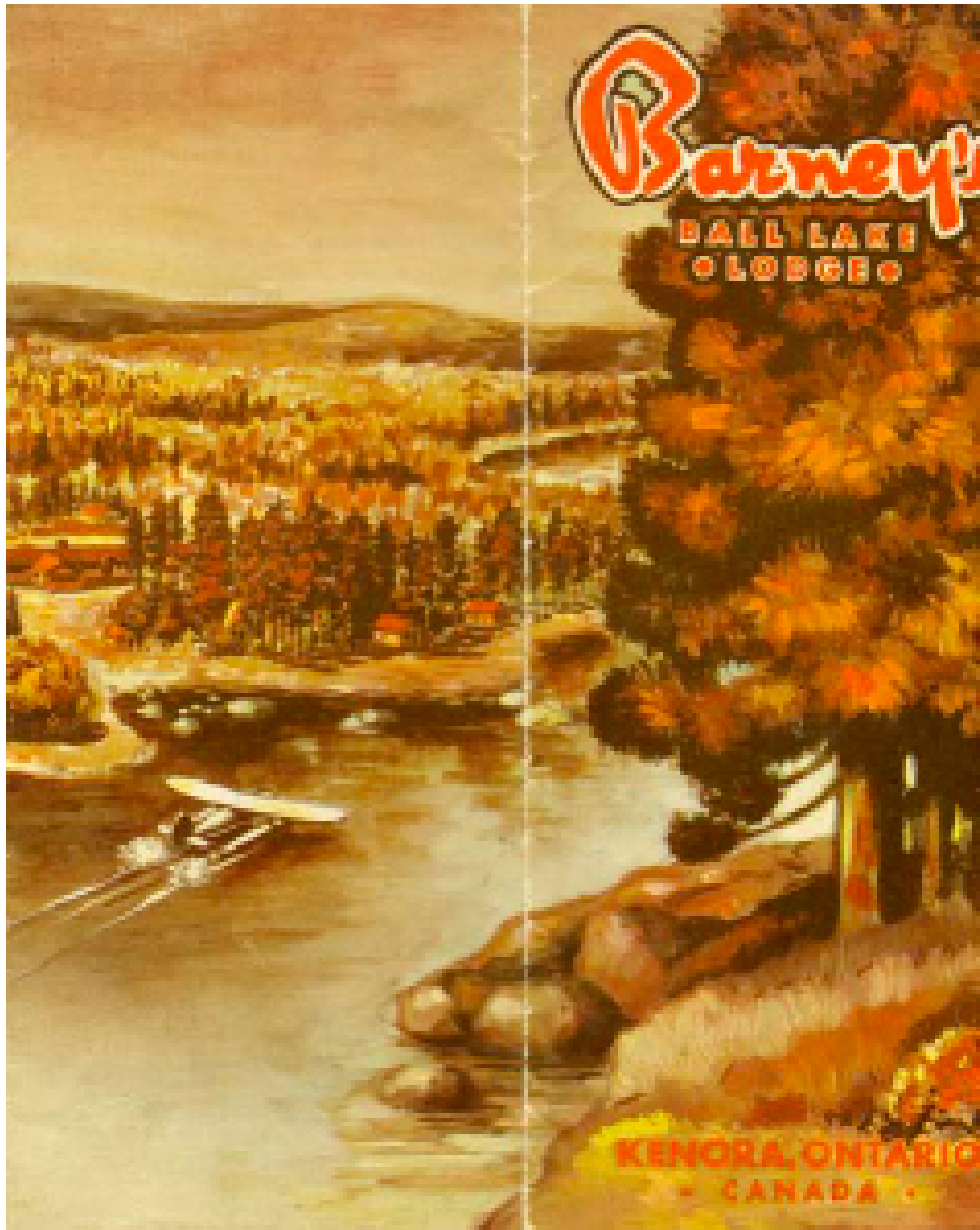


Figure 4. Front and back cover of Ball Lake Lodge brochure, c. 1955. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

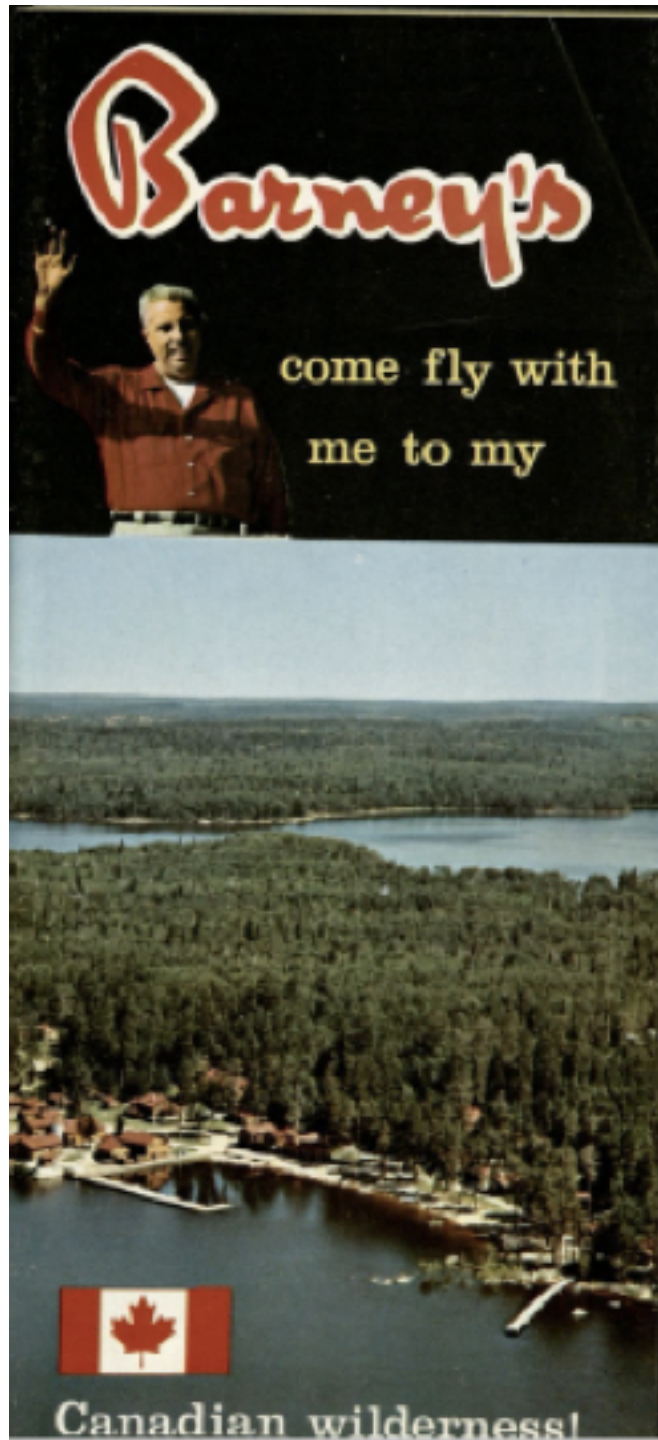


Figure 5. Front cover of promotional brochure, Ball Lake Lodge, c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 6. Photograph of interior of Ball Lake Lodge. c. 1960. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 7. Front and back cover image of Ball Lake Lodge promotional brochure. c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

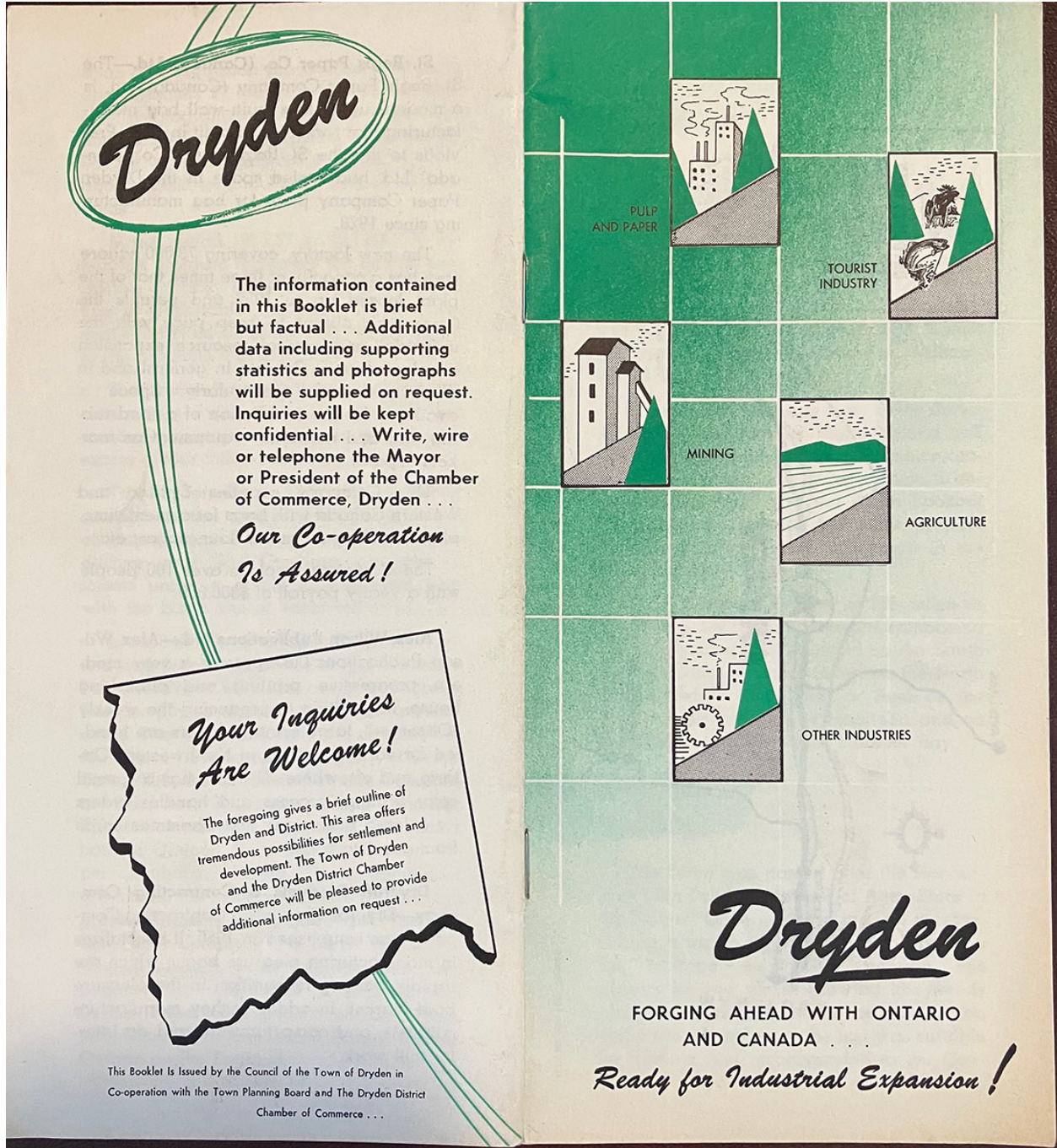


Figure 8. Front and back cover image of brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author's collection.

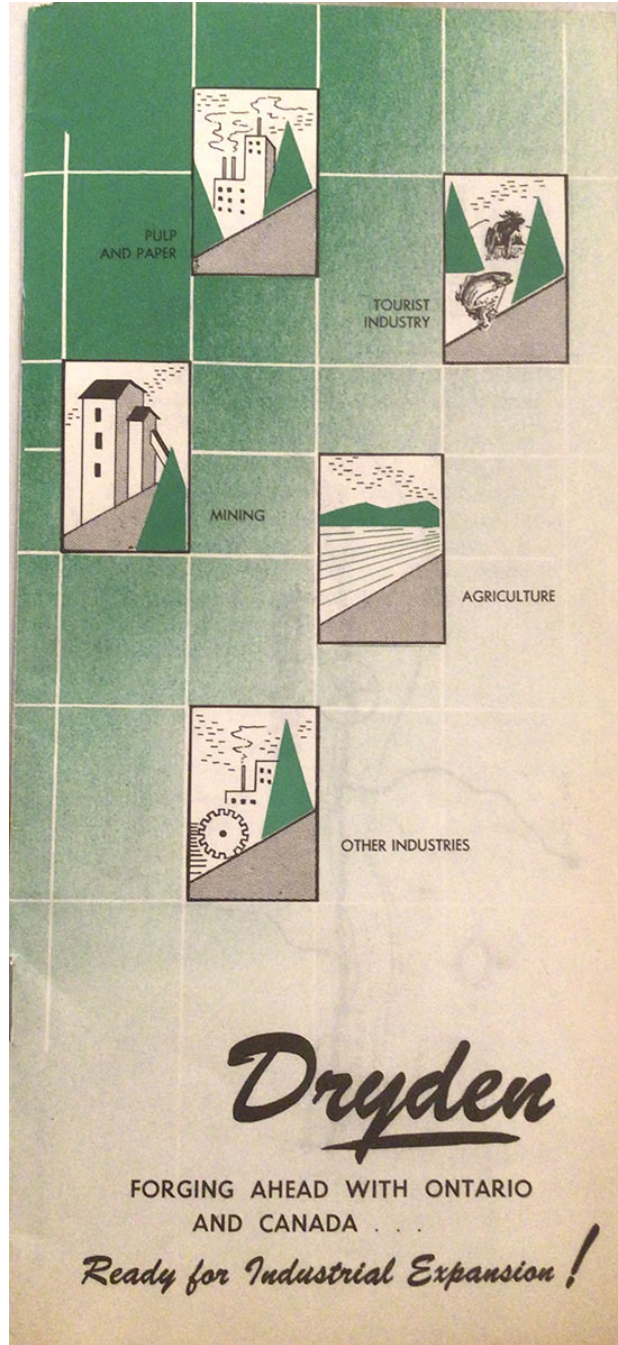


Figure 9. Front cover image of brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author's collection.

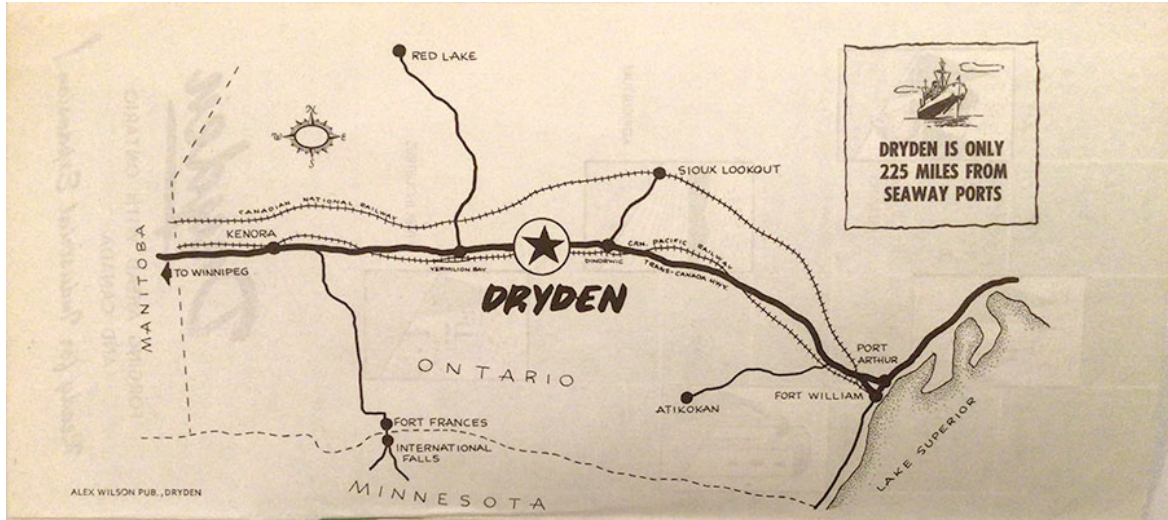


Figure 10. Illustrated map of Dryden and region with primary transportation routes from brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!* The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author's collection.



Figure 11. Centrefold colour photograph and illustrations of industry and regional map from brochure *Dryden: Forging Ahead with Ontario and Canada... Ready for Industrial Expansion!*

The Dryden District Chamber of Commerce, Wilson Printers, c. 1960. Author's collection.



Figure 12. Front cover of brochure *Hi Neighbour: Welcome to Our Open House*. Kenora Newsprint Mill, The Ontario-Minnesota Pulp and Paper Co. Ltd. c. 1960. Author's collection.

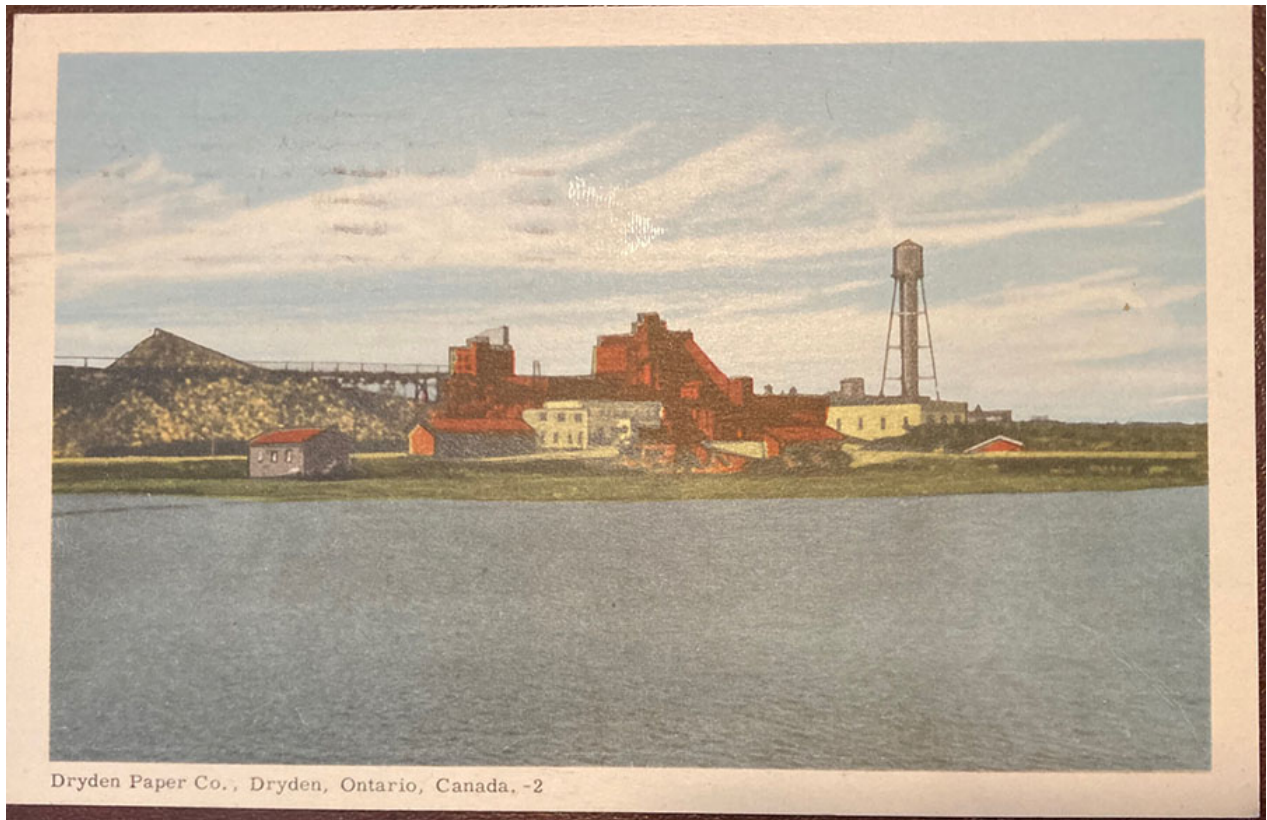


Figure 13. Colourized photo postcard of the Reed Mill, with inscription “Dryden Paper Co., Dryden, Ontario, Canada.” Printed by The Photogelatine Engraving Co. Ltd. Toronto, c. 1940–45. Author’s collection.



Figure 14. Black and white photo postcard with manuscript inscription “Dryden Paper Co., Dryden, Ont.” Dryden, Ontario, publisher, photographer, and date unknown. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 15. Colour photo postcard featuring aerial views of the Reed Mill, Dryden, Ontario. c. 1970. Photo by R. Ettinger, Northern Specialty Postcard Ltd. Thunder Bay, ON, Lawson Packaging Pacific, Vancouver, BC. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

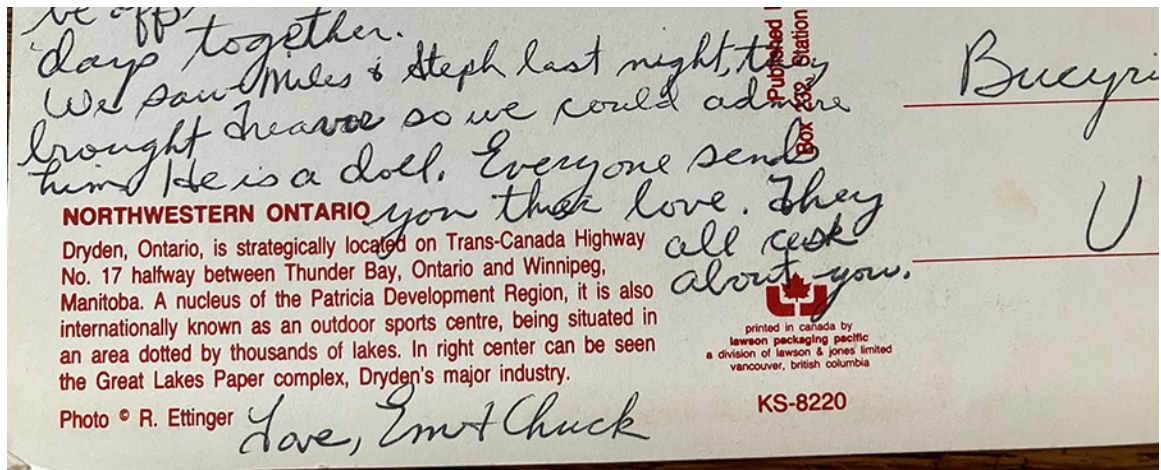


Figure 16. Detail of informational text on verso of postcard featuring aerial views of the Reed Mill, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1970. Photo by R. Ettinger, Northern Specialty Postcard Ltd. Thunder Bay, ON; postcard printed by Lawson Packaging Pacific, Vancouver, BC. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

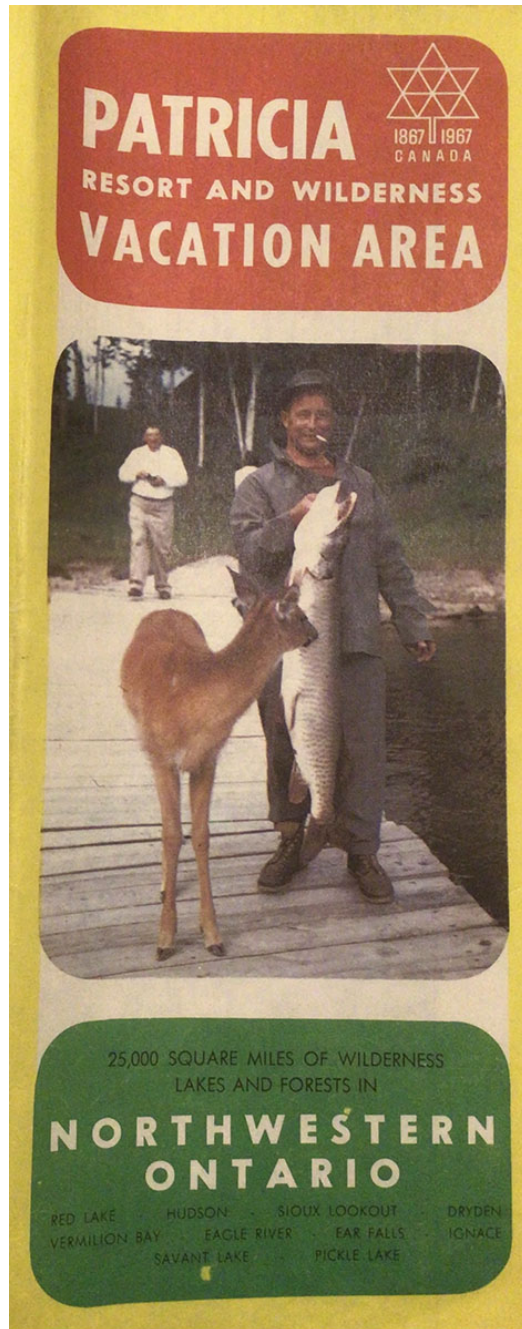


Figure 17. Front cover of brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

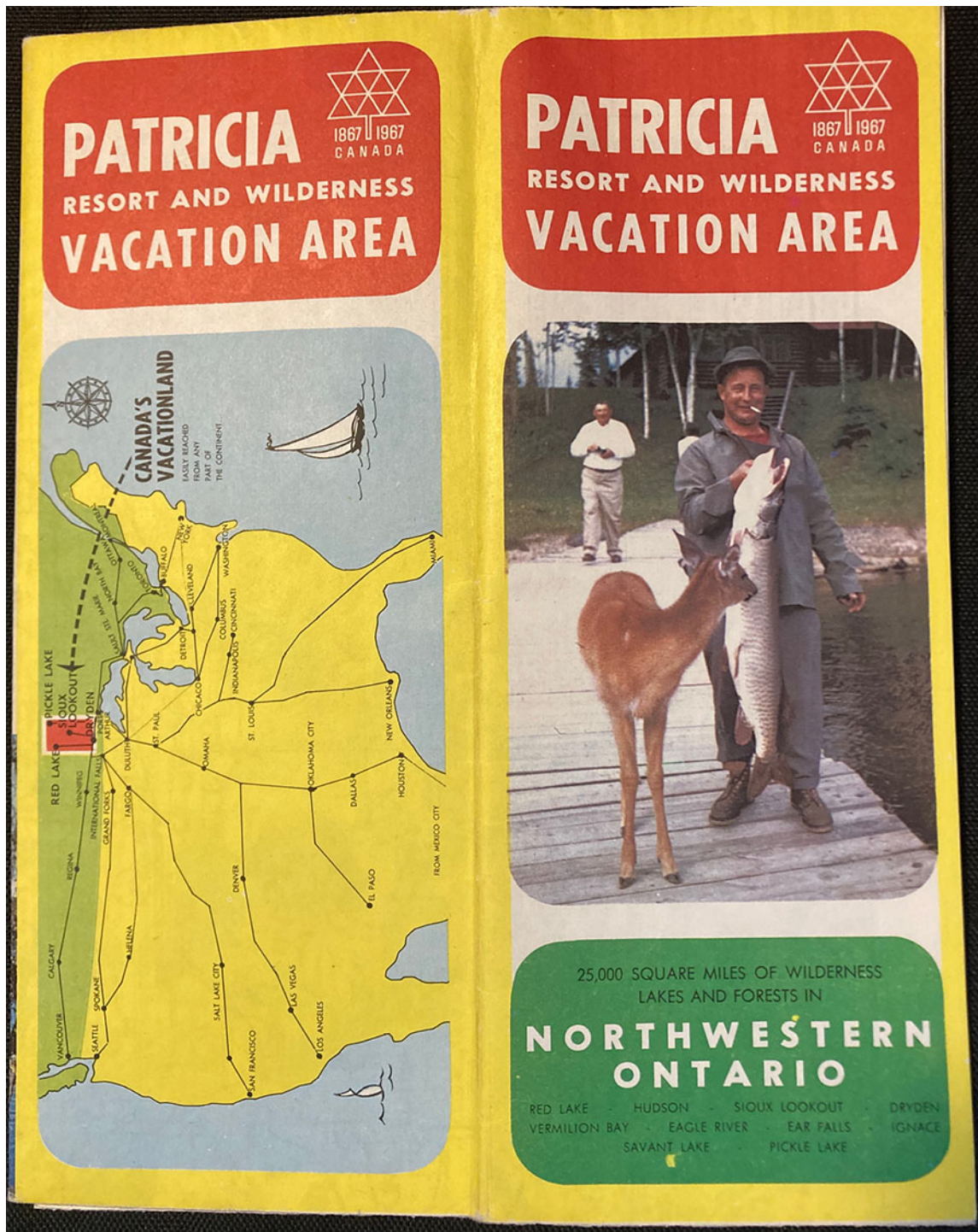


Figure 18. Front and back cover of brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 19. Map indicating the vacation region in relation to US flight hub cities, brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

HUDSON

The Community of Hudson with a population of approximately six hundred and fifty lies along the south shore of Lost Lake which is part of the southern portion of Lac Seul. A mile to the south lies Big Vermilion Lake, so Hudson can justly claim to be "The Natural Gateway to the Vermilion and Lac Seul Waters."

For the visitor, Hudson provides; good stores, supplying provisions, clothing and dry goods, fishing tackle, hardware, and camping equipment; hotel; rooming house; restaurants; garage; outboard sales and service; fish packing and icing plant; telephone, telegraph and express service



OJIBWAY COUNTRY

The Sioux Lookout area has come to be known as Ojibway country. It was near the narrows at Frog Rapids, between Abram and Pelican lakes, that a legendary battle was fought between the Ojibways and marauding Siouxs.

Figure 20. Illustration and description of "Ojibway Country" in brochure *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*, The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967.

Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

STURGEON LAKE, SAVANT LAKE AND PICKLE LAKE

Highway 599, a new vacation highway extending north for some 240 miles has now been opened to the public. This is a new gravel highway, starting north from Ignace to Savant Lake and Pickle Lake. Tapping a hitherto untouched area, this road opens tremendous possibilities to the fisherman and hun-



Figure 21. Photograph of fishing guide preparing lunch on the shore for tourists in brochure, *Patricia Resort and Wilderness Vacation Area*. The Patricia Regional Tourist Council, Dryden, Ontario, c. 1967. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 22. Stills of fish and waterways from promotional film, *Outdoors Country*. Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, produced by Ashley and Crippen, 1957, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10-1 [ontario.ca/archives](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>



Figure 23. Stills depicting clichés of “tourist photographer” and “skilled Ojibway fishing guide” from film *Outdoors Country*, Ontario Department of Travel and Publicity, produced by Ashley and Crippen, 1957, The Archives of Ontario, RG 5-2-0-10-1 ontario.ca/archives, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwoleWw8q8c>.

BULLETIN FROM **Barney's**

**BALL LAKE
• LODGE •**
BOX 50, KENORA
ONTARIO, CANADA

I AM SICK BUT RECOVERING

HELL YES,
I'VE GOT
MERCURY
PROBLEMS!!

We regret to announce that due to mercury pollution in some lakes in the territorial waters of the district of Kenora, Barney's Ball Lake Lodge is not open. The lodge is ready to operate but we do not feel we can accept any guests until such time as the mercury pollution in the water and fish is at a safe level for human consumption. These levels are set by the International Health Authorities.

My business has been built on being honest and frank with my guests. I have been advised by the authorities that at the present time, the fish from these waters should not be eaten. Therefore, under the present circumstances, I do not feel that you could have a safe and enjoyable trip. The source of the pollution has been stopped and I am hoping that it won't be long before all of our valued guests will be able to return for another memorable fishing trip to Barney's.

We will be taking tests of the water and fish frequently and will keep you informed of the situation during the summer. Until such time as Barney's Ball Lake Lodge will be able to reopen, let us help you arrange a fishing trip to a lodge located on a lake that does not have mercury problems.

For further information write: Barney's Ball Lake Lodge, Box 50, Kenora, Ontario, Canada or phone, Area code 807 468-6092 or 468-9121.

BARNEY LAMM
BARNEY'S BALL LAKE LODGE.

Figure 24. Illustrated “sick fish” letter, cancelling the 1970 summer season at Ball Lake Lodge. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

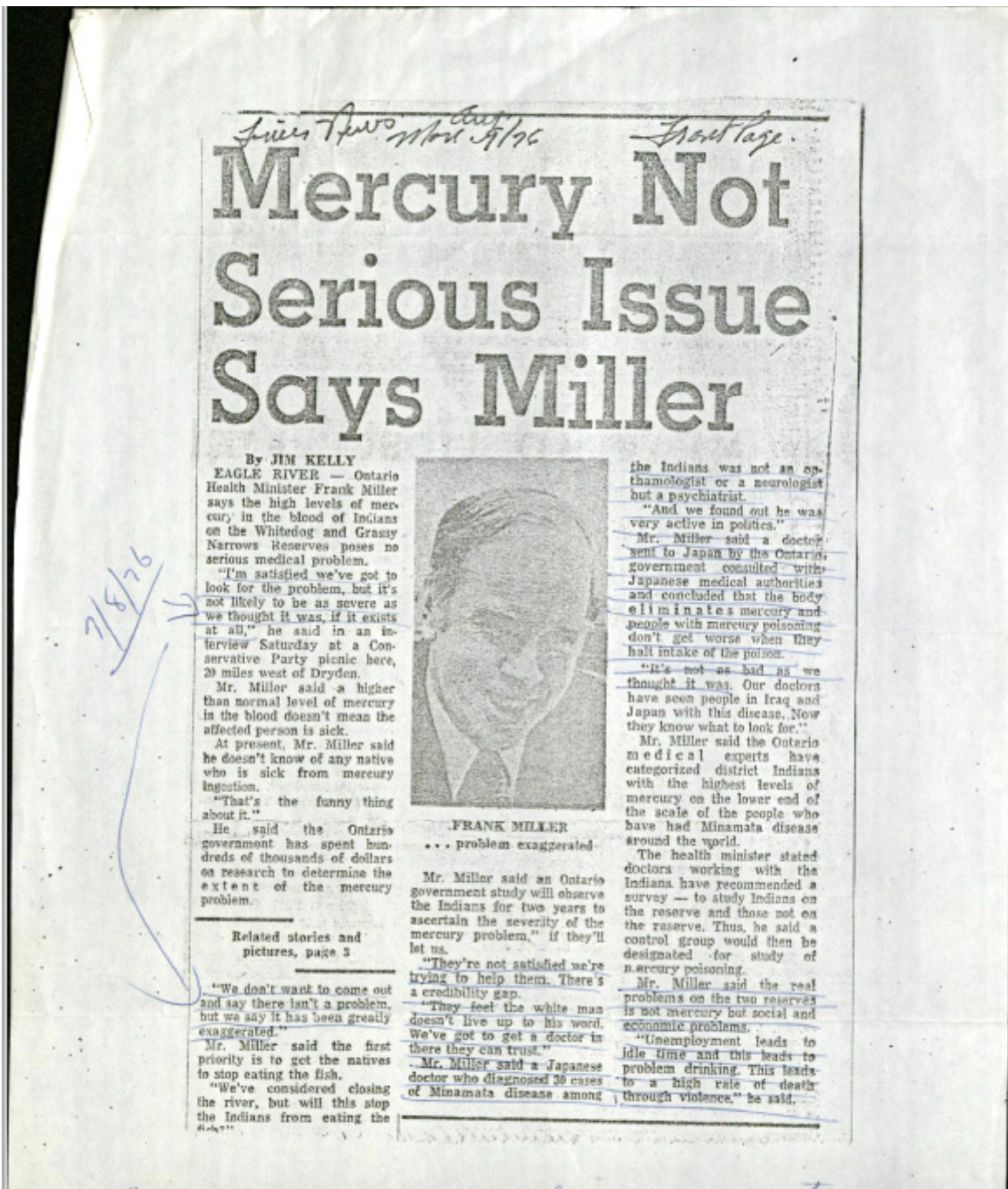


Figure 25. Photo of Ontario Health Minister, Frank Miller in article "Mercury Not Serious Issue" with hand-written annotations by Marion Lamm, Jim Kelley, *Kenora Miner and News*, 7 August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

No ban on fishing needed, says doctor

"I do not believe that sport fishing should be banned in the river systems around Grassy Narrows and Whitesog reserves in North-western Ontario because of mercury contamination," said Dr. Thomas W. Clarkson, researcher from the University of Rochester N.Y. who is working with the government on the mercury problems in these areas.

In an interview with Bob Ehlers, member of the Association of Great Lakes Outdoor Writers (AGLOW) last Friday Dr. Clarkson also said that he never made the statement that there is a 20-in-one chance that Chicagnese who ate English River fish may exhibit some of the symptoms of mercury poisoning. (This statement appeared in a Chicago newspaper June 11.

The following paragraph contains an account of Mr. Ehlers' meeting with Dr. Clarkson, when they discussed the subject of mercury contamination in the river systems around Grassy Narrows and Whitesog. The account is in Mr. Ehlers' own words.

An Article such as the one that appeared in the Chicago paper is another example of where careless statements by the media can be damaging and misleading.

Another example we discussed is the continued use of the words "Wabigoon-English River systems". Such a heading condemns the whole English River, whereas only a small section of the River below Grassy Narrows and on to the west is affected.

Reference was directed to the Fifth Estate program and CBC, in which the doctor stated he also was misquoted. He said he wasn't even in Canada when it was filmed.

At this point, I would like to state that Dr. Clarkson is a very dedicated man. He is doing a job that must be done, and in the process, if his findings and reports are related and used wrongly for the benefit of or by anyone, it is not his fault.

He no doubt realizes that the Camp Operators can be hurt by the false and erroneous reporting done at times by the media, and is truly sorry for some.

In reference to Minamata, which I asked him about, Dr. Clarkson does not feel the mercury poisoning here in Canada will be as serious as the Minamata disease. There is no comparison between the outbreak in Japan or Iraq.

Here and in Quebec, the people are exposed repeatedly, yet they show high levels in the summer and lows in the winter.

With reference to people asking him about the mercury problem up here, he stated that 100 or so people had contacted him. He told them there was no reason for them not to go fishing up here, and that he felt they could have shore lunches of fish for five to seven days, without the worry of mercury poisoning.

We got around to discussing the Green Book (a Dr. Clarkson call it) on Mercury Levels in fish from North-western Ontario, 1970-1975. It is the full report put out by the Ministry of the Environment, dated April 1975.

His feeling is that the findings and reports are very accurate, for both the Co-System and Off-System lakes.

The book presents in a very thorough way the full picture of the mercury levels in fish. It is his belief that every camp owner should have a copy of this report, so maybe the Government will have to do some extra printing.

I asked Doctor Clarkson why the Indian guides state they are expected to eat fish on shore lunches. I mentioned, that I was quite sure that no camp operator would

compel the guides to eat fish, and that they certainly didn't have to eat them if they didn't want to.

Why they do it he does not know, but they still continue to do so. There must be a reason. Maybe someday we will find out why.

In summary, it was an excellent interview, and the information he so readily gave, should be of valuable help to all of us. I thank him very much, for the opportunity of meeting him and obtaining at first-hand some information on aspects of this problem.

What can we do?

The filming in the White Dog and Grassy Narrows area is over, the Cousteau Society crew has packed up and left. And in leaving, where does this leave the Camp Operators?

Probably, right behind the 8-ball again, maybe even more so than this past year, when it comes to luring new customers to their camps.

We will have enough problems getting our old customers back, if the film series to be shown, is anything like the previous ones.

I find it hard to believe it will be any different. I don't recall seeing the T.V. crews doing any filming around Tourist camps or reserves in our low mercury areas.

What can be done, some of us will be asking? Easing as how we don't have our own T.V. shows, showing the good areas of Northwestern Ontario, we can do one of two things. We can sit back and wait to see the filming done on T.V. this fall, and then start "cussin' all over again. Or, we can start acting for ourselves, and quit waiting for the Government or someone else to do the job. I prefer the latter, how about you? Here is what we can do:

First of all, let's co-operate together, get behind our local tourist outfitter groups, give them our full support, and all start working together for a change.

Then go to the various Ministry Departments, and ask for the information you are seeking and in need of. It is there, available to us all, and they will be only too glad to help.

Why do I say this, because I know, they have bent over backwards to get all the information I was seeking. You can, for example, get the latest reports on fish testing in many lakes from 1970-1975.

If your particular lake or lakes isn't included, it does not mean they were not doing their job, it means it wasn't necessary to do any testing there.

Now, let's get out all of our guest registration cards and make with pen and paper. Tell all your old customers the fish in your lake or lakes are O.K. for eating so well as catching. They will be glad to hear from you, and will know you have

their interest at heart. For all you know, he may be sitting down there, thinking his fishing days are top-pot at your place, and you can't blame him.

You, yourself, are the only one who can convince that old customer that you have no mercury problem in your area.

I'll admit, a good blanket statement by the Ontario Government, on all the facts, would be a big help to all of us. It is just quite possible, that once the government sees the Operators band together to protect their future, they will jump in with both feet to help too.

But one thing is sure, we cannot keep up this attitude of ours "Wait and it may all quiet down". As I see it, the only way it will quiet down, is for all of us to start working at it.

Bob Ehlers
AGLOW

DRYDEN, ONTARIO - WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18, 1976

DRYDEN, ONTARIO - WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1976

Figure 26. Press clipping, Bob Ehlers Aglow, "No Ban on Fish Needed," *The Dryden Observer*, August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 27. Poster, *Here's What Your Provincial Government is Doing to Encourage Tourism in Your Area*, Ontario Department of Tourism, May 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

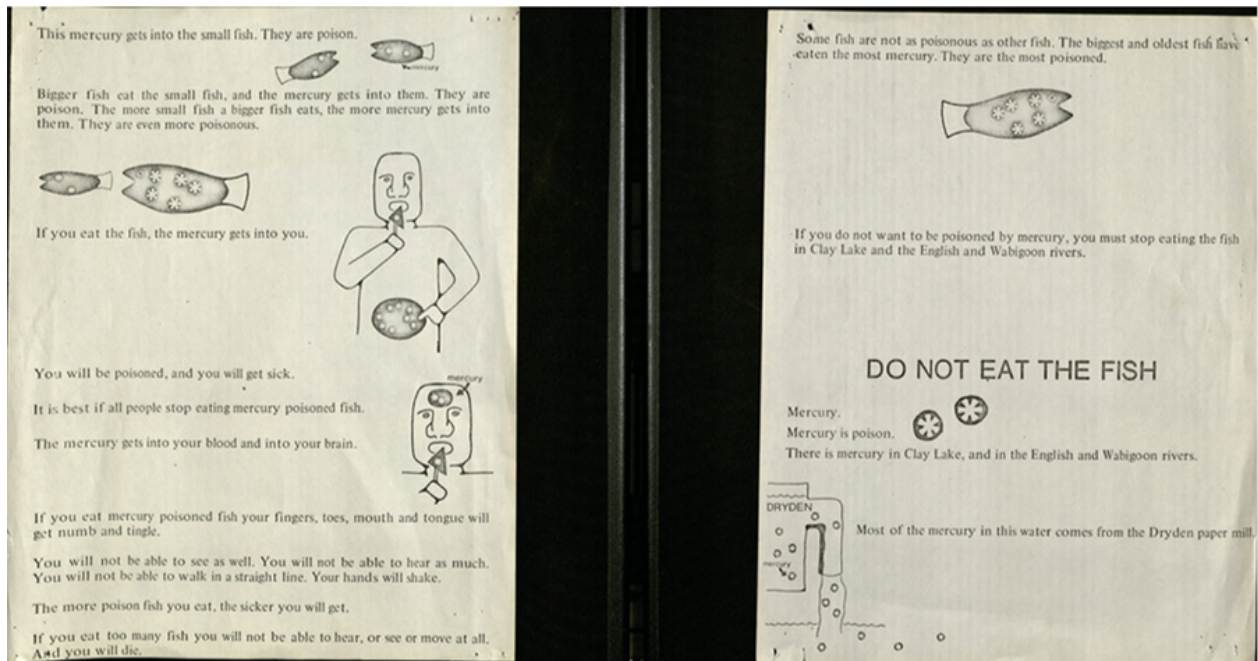


Figure 28. Two-page poster, *Do Not Eat the Fish*. Publisher unknown, c. 1970. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

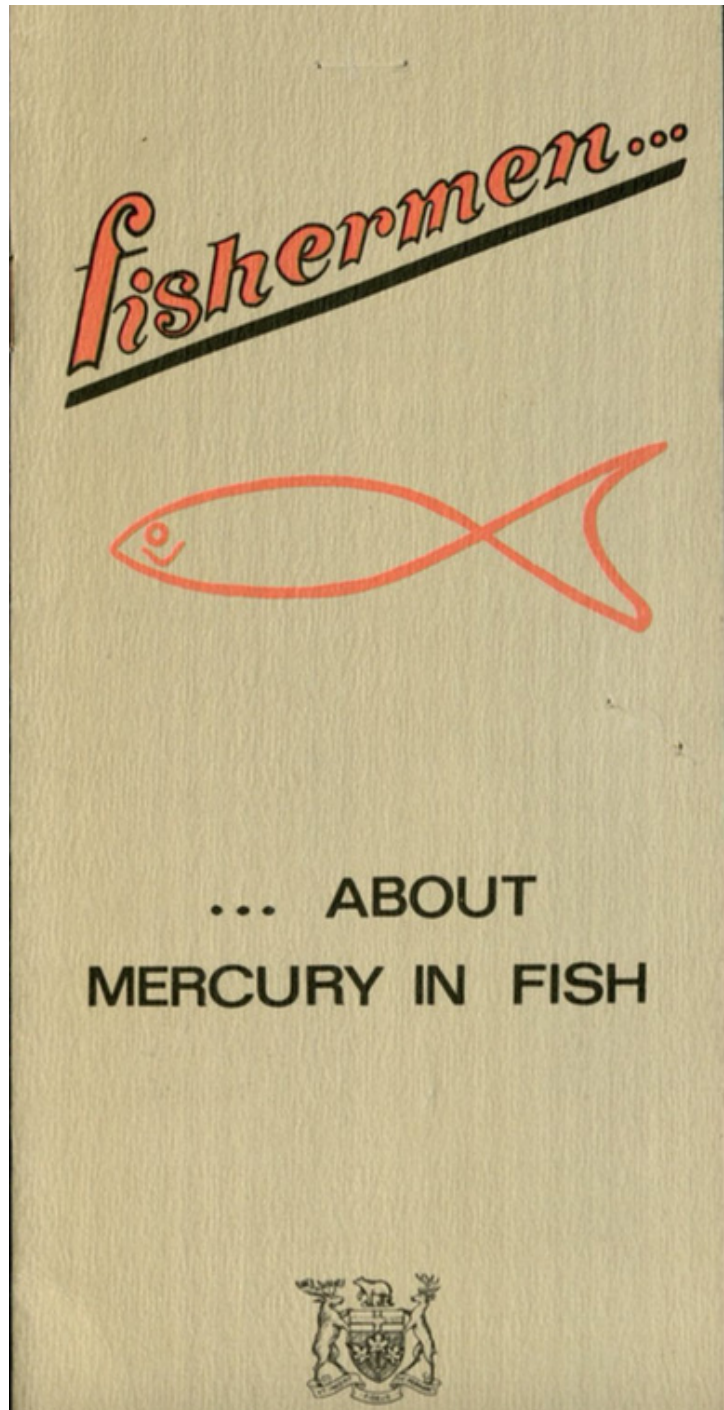


Figure 29. Brochure cover, *Fishermen... ABOUT MERCURY IN FISH*, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Hon. René Brunelle, c. 1972. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Cousteau team here to probe mercury

By DAVE GAREAU
of our staff

Philippe Cousteau, the 55-year-old son of famed underwater explorer Jacques Cousteau, is a man who has led an adventurous life. Together with his father and the elaborate research team that is the Cousteau Society, he has travelled the far reaches of the globe to study the magic of the sea and the phenomenon that is marine life.

Philippe is on a different track now, though, one that is still intrinsic to men's future with the sea but that is much more gruesome in nature.

The man has come to Kenora to make a film on the pollution of the area's waterways and the ever-growing global threat of industrial contamination of our life source—namely mercury poisoning of fresh water.

The film will be one of a six-part television series focused on the ecology of the earth's water and will be matched with a film to be made about Minamata Bay, Japan.

Minamata Bay is the location of the first known serious case of mercury contamination caused by industrial pollution. It is the namesake of Minamata disease, the horrible body-twisting sickness attributed to mercury poisoning.

Mr. Cousteau and his eight-man team arrived in Kenora Tuesday evening in the flying, floating wonder that is their sea plane laboratory. They have come in from Los Angeles, by way of Duluth, Minnesota, and their first task upon touch-down here was to get clearance from the Canadian customs officials and to develop an orientation with the Kenora area.

Tuesday evening saw Philippe and a few of the team drive to Winnipeg to take care of the customs matter, while the rest remained here to secure and prepare equipment for their forthcoming work.

The Cousteau plane, which is equipped with living accommodations, plus a massive collection of media and data gathering machinery is harbored in the Kenora Bay of the Lake of the Woods, directly across from the Holiday Inn.

Barney Lamm, a prominent local figure in the battle over mercury

contamination of the English-Wabigoon River system, was involved in bringing the Cousteau project to document the waters of the Kenora area.

Mr. Lamm was forced to close his exclusive tourist lodge, Barney's Ball Lake Lodge, situated on Ball Lake, north of Kenora, on the English River six years ago when it was found the waters were seriously contaminated with mercury.

As a result he instituted law suits against the provincial government, the Dryden Pulp and Paper Company Limited and the Dryden Chemical Company for several millions of dollars and has brought a great deal of international focus on the alleged poisoning of local waterways.

For the most part Philippe Cousteau had no organized itinerary when he landed in Kenora. It was simply a matter of gathering, within the approximate six days of his stay, all of the film footage, interviews and scientific data that will be required to put together a well-made documentary.

Wednesday morning saw the team attend the quarter-annual meeting of a federal government research committee that is examining the scientific health aspects of the mercury poisoning. The conference, which is usually closed to the press and public, included Whitedog band leader Isaac Mandamin, Grassy Narrows band leader Joe Quagant, two other active fishing guides from the English-Wabigoon system, and approximately 12 federal and provincial health authorities.

Armed with film and sound equipment, the Cousteau team recorded the meeting in its entirety.

The government-appointed research committee is an on-going group that is gathering data on the mercury situation, trying to determine the nature of the mercury threat and examining all possible solutions to the problem, everything from introducing alternate food sources to attempts at mercury decontamination.

At yesterday's meeting the Cousteau team saw Dr. Tom Clarkson, a specially-appointed mercury researcher from the University of Rochester in New York

State, introduce the results of recent blood and hair testing that was done on both the Grassy Narrows and Whitedog Indian Reserves. The tests taken, he explained, seemed to indicate that the older people on both reserves had higher mercury levels than the young, and that mercury levels are much higher during some months of the year than in others. The next step in this research, he said, would be to discover the relationship between age, location, season and current fish intake with the various mercury levels.

It was concluded by both the medical personnel and government officials that an epidemiological study of the area must now be made to discover the true nature of the mercury poisoning. An epidemiological study is one that makes a complete scrutiny of a disease to determine all of its characteristics. It usually involves elaborate research and at the Wednesday meeting it was suggested that the best way to study the mercury situation and have the necessary data collected would be through a university research team.

The recording of the research committee meeting being the first step in Cousteau's documentary, the latter half of the day was spent beginning research, doing some initial filming and generally getting oriented with the area.

Philippe Cousteau travelled with Barney Lamm to Reddit where they retrieved some spare parts for the airplane. Other members of the team travelled out onto the Lake of the Woods to film fishermen and take some scenic shots for the production.

Still another crew rummaged the streets of Kenora, talking to residents and getting a feel of local attitudes toward the mercury poisoning.

The majority of outdoor footage to be taken for the film will be done near and around the Whitedog and Grassy Narrows Indian Reserves, and in the English-Wabigoon River area. Now that the introductory steps of the expedition have been taken in Kenora, the team will be flying north for their wilderness footage. According to team members this will include both land and underwater filming.



INDIAN LEADER ATTENDS — Chief Isaac Mandamin was on hand at the government committee meeting on mercury pollution held at Kenora's Holiday Inn Wednesday. Among other things the committee heard that

older Indians on the reserve appear to be more susceptible to mercury build-up than the young. It was recommended that an epidemiological study of mercury poisoning should be started as soon as possible. (Staff photo)



MERCURY TEST RESULTS — Dr. Tom Clarkson, a special researcher from the University of Rochester who has been asked by the federal government to study the Kenora area mercury problem, took part in a government committee meeting Wednesday to discuss the actual health threat of mercury-polluted fish. The

Cousteau Society was on hand to film the meeting for a show they are doing on mercury contamination. Here Dr. Clarkson explains the results of some recent testing he has done at Grassy Narrows and Whitedog Indian Reserves. (Staff photo)

Figure 30. Press clipping, "Cousteau Team Here to Probe Mercury," *Kenora Miner and News*, 5 August 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

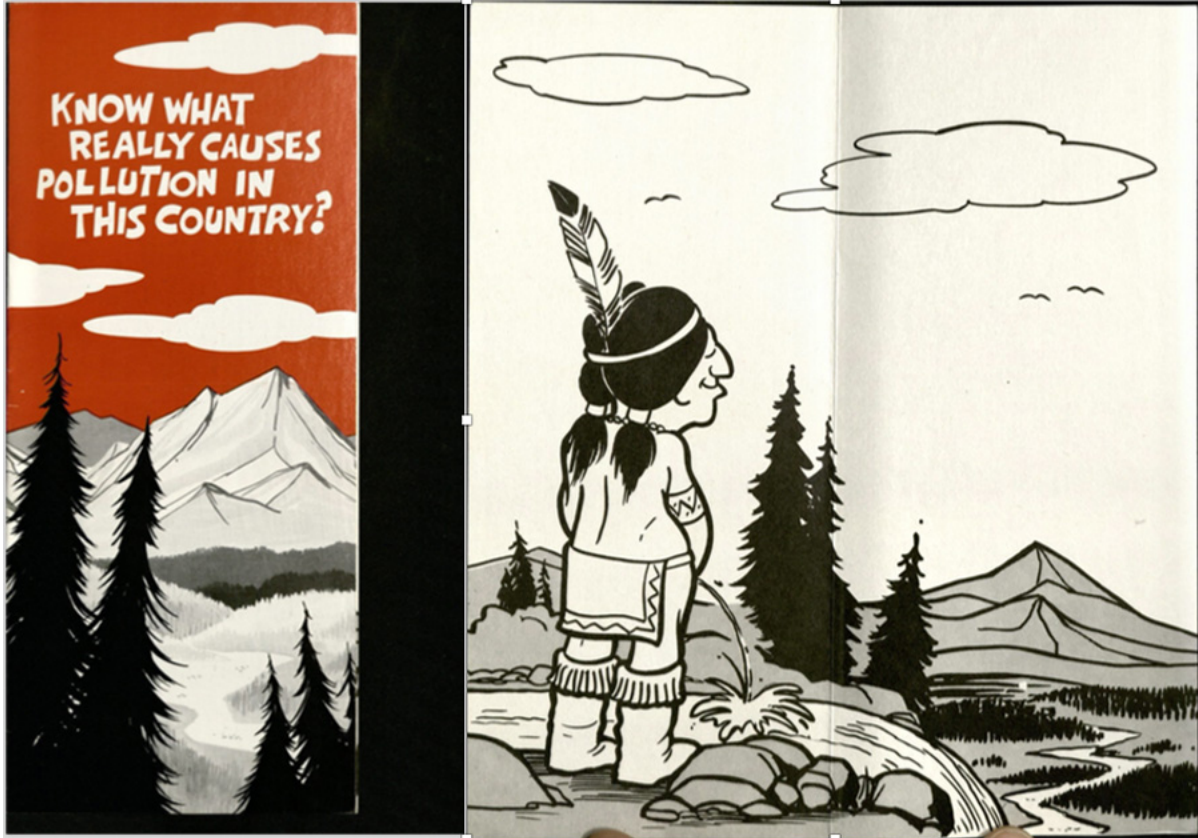


Figure 31. Cover and interior illustration of a greeting card sent to Marion Lamm in 1976. Peppermint Printing. Publisher and location unknown. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

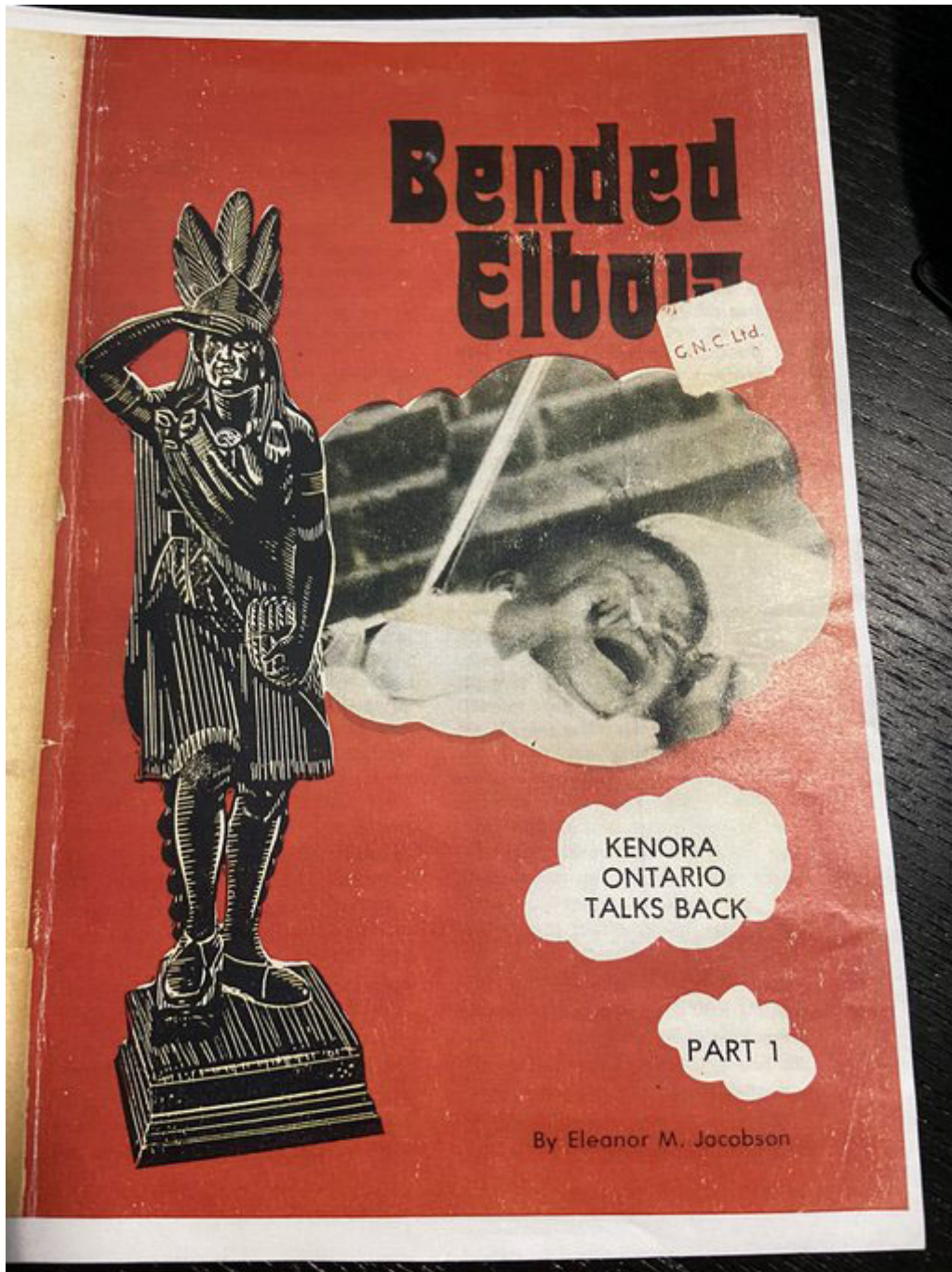


Figure 32. Cover image of publication, *Bended Elbow*, publisher and author, Eleanor M. Jacobson, Kenora, Ontario, c. 1975. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



OPIRG-WATERLOO
PHYSICS 226
University of Waterloo
885-1211 ext. 2578
(519) 884-9020

October 5, 1977

Mr. M. Nakamura
Director of Community Relations Unit
Human Rights Commission
400 University Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 1T7

Dear Mr. Nakamura:

Enclosed is a photo copy of a studio card which was brought to our attention by a person in Manitoba who received it anonymously in the mail.

We feel this company should be investigated to determine whether they are being allowed to sell such racist material in Canada. We would also be interested in learning more about the company itself - who owns it, where they are located, etc. Our own inquiries have failed to turn up any information.

We look forward to hearing from you regarding this matter.

Sincerely,

Crystal Hutchinson
Crystal Hutchinson

copy to:

Manitoba Human Rights Commission

ONTARIO PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP

Figure 33. Letter from Marion Lamm's collection assistant to the Human Rights Commission, Toronto, Ontario in response to racist greeting card. October 5, 1977. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 34. Colour snapshot of unknown Grassy Narrows family, unknown women in centre, and Aileen M. Smith on right, taken during Japanese scientific delegation visit to Grassy Narrows in 1975 or 1976. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.



Figure 35. Black and white photograph, a group portrait of the Grassy Narrows delegation in Minamata, Japan with scientists and members of the Minamata Citizen's Alliance, 1975, Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Wilderness and industry, Dryden, 1976.



136

Figure 36. Dick Wallace, *Wilderness and Industry, Dryden, 1976*, black and white photograph reproduced in George Hutchison and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977): 136. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

Andy Keewatin at Chisso dump site, Japan, 1975.

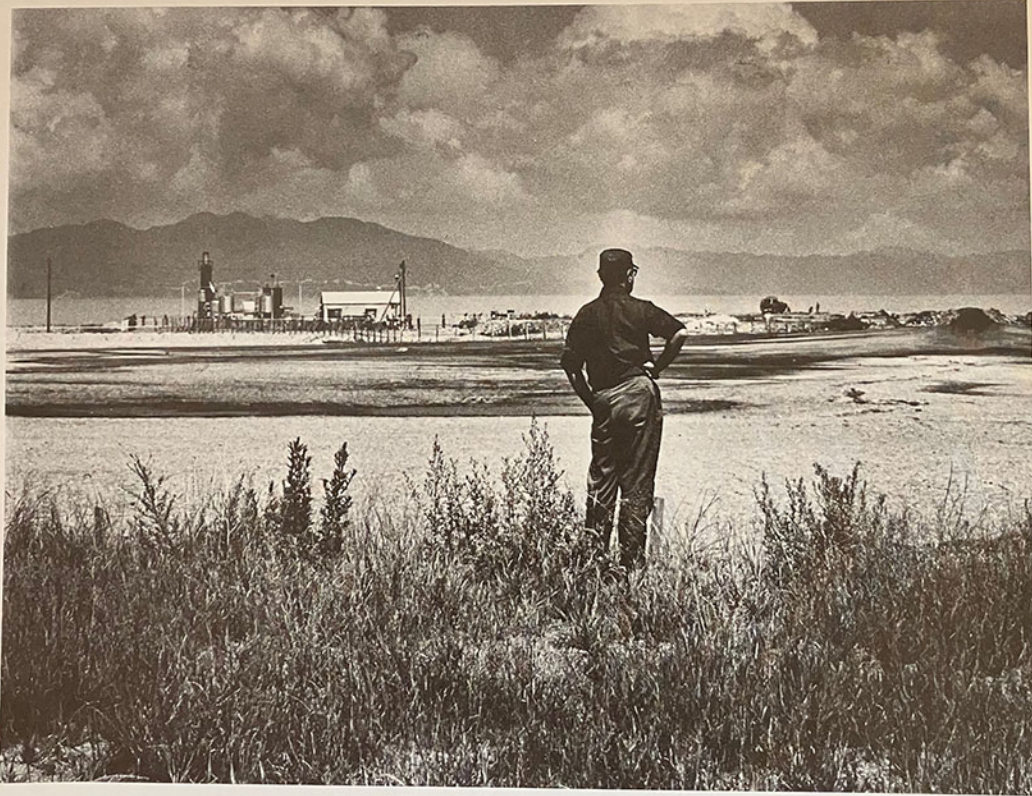


Figure 37. Dick Wallace, *Andy Keewatin at Chisso Dump Site, Japan, 1975*, black and white photograph reproduced in George Hutchison and Dick Wallace, *Grassy Narrows* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1977): 121. Marion Lamm Mercury Collection, Environmental Science and Public Policy Archives, Harvard College.

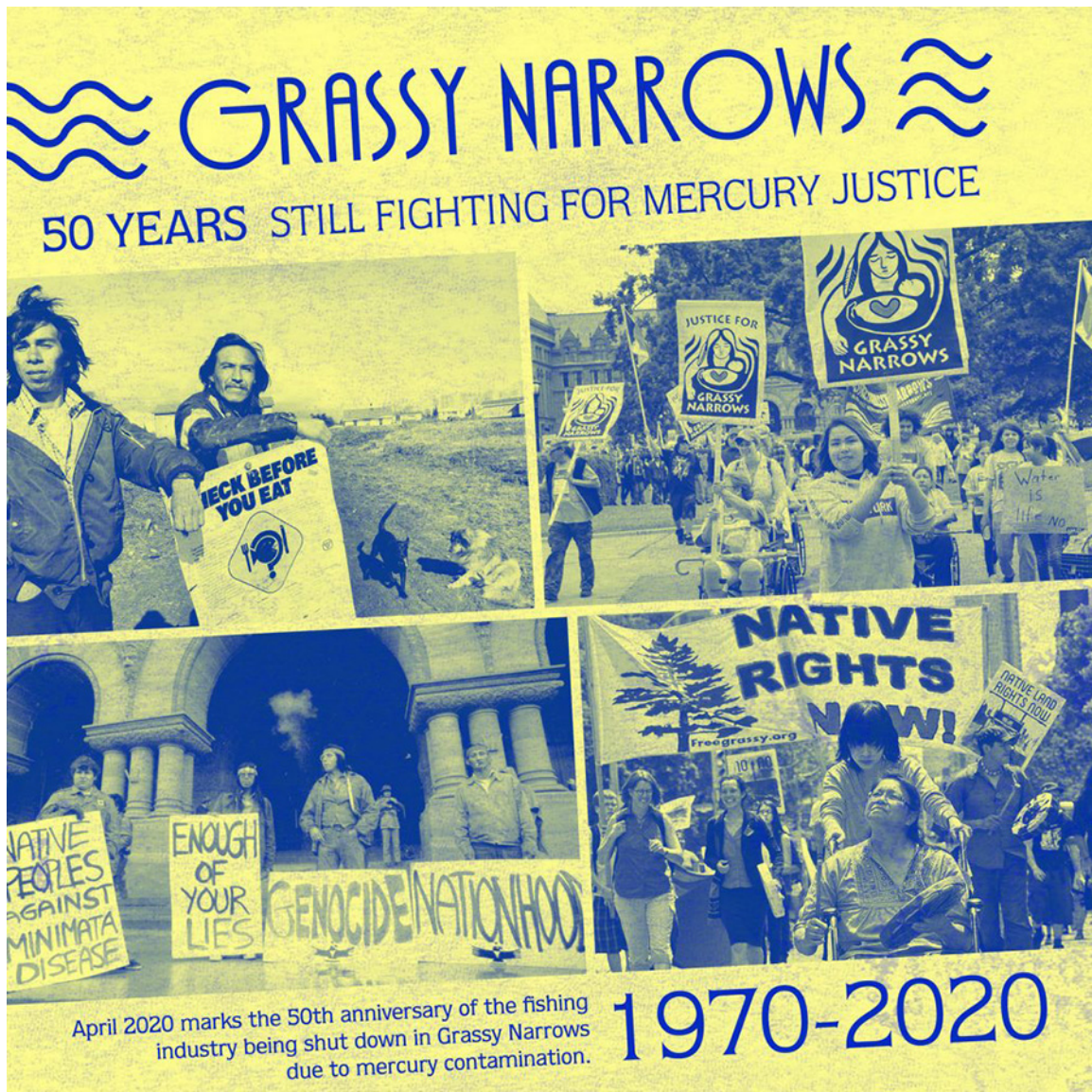


Figure 38. Poster produced to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the closure of the fishing industry in Grassy Narrows. Published by Free Grassy (2020) <https://freegrassy.net/we-have-never-experienced-such-concern-transnational-bonds-of-solidarity-from-minamata-to-grassy-narrows-and-whitedog-first-nations/>. Author's collection.



Figure 39. Rendering of proposed Mercury Survivors Home and Care Centre in Grassy Narrows, rendering by Bret Cardinal of BD Cardinal & Associates, reproduced from Beverly Andrews, “Grassy Narrows Unveils Mercury Treatment Centre Design but Wonders Whether Government Is Committed to Building It,” *APTN National News* (2017), <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/grassy-narrows-unveils-mercury-treatment-centre-design-but-wonders-whether-government-is-committed-to-building-it/>