Notes

Introduction

1. The panorama was a huge painting comprised of canvases enclosed in a circular building known as a rotunda, where the spectator contemplated the view from a raised platform in the centre of a circle. The word was coined by Irishman Robert Barker to describe his circular painting of Edinburgh and the surrounding countryside in 1789. Individual panoramas at Leicester Square often exhibited for a year.

2. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.


4. The number of expeditions here is taken from W. Gillies Ross, who provides an excellent quantitative analysis of the search efforts. ‘The Type and Number of Expeditions in the Franklin Search 1847–59’, Arctic 55, no. 1 (March 2002): 57–69.

5. Historian of Science Nanna Katrine Luders Kaalund draws attention to the fact that nineteenth-century British Arctic expeditions were ‘inherently international projects’ that included a reliance on Indigenous peoples, foreign national expedition members, and the knowledge acquired by previous expeditions, regardless of nationality. ‘What Happened to John Franklin? Danish and British Perspectives from Francis McClintock’s Arctic Expedition, 1857–59’, Journal of Victorian Culture 25, no. 2 (2020): 300–14 at p. 301.
9. Savours, North West Passage, 56.
12. The Inuit homeland of Canada consists of four regions together called Inuit Nunangat. Nunavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region include the entire Canadian Arctic archipelago, while Nunavik covers northern Québec, and the Inuit region of Labrador is called Nunatsiavut. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, ‘Inuit Regions of Canada’ (Ottawa, 2019). www.itk.ca/about-canadian-inuit/
15. Russell Potter focuses on panoramas and engravings in Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818–1875 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007) and Robert G. David gives more attention to the

16. It is important to acknowledge that this book draws primarily on records created by Europeans, as opposed to Indigenous Arctic peoples, making the narrative necessarily a one-sided one.


22. Ibid., 23.

23. A newspaper article in 1855 noted that the practice of filling windows with lithographs was extensive. ‘The Art of Lithography’, *Morning Chronicle*, 18 January 1855.


29. For example, see MacLaren, ‘Aesthetic Map’, 89–103; Martin, ‘No Earthly Pole’, 87–100; Spufford, Some Time, 58; David, British Imagination, 12.


33. Ibid., 53; 77.

34. Ibid., xxii.


37. Uvedale Price, An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape (London: Robson, 1796), 61.

38. Ibid., 82.

39. Ibid., 26–7; 70.

40. For example, William Combe and Thomas Rowlandson, The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque (London: Ackermann, 1812). New editions of the book were published many times during the nineteenth century.


45. Such misconceptions have become apparent to the author in response to this research. In fact, over four million people live above the Arctic Circle.
48. Spufford, Some Time, 188.
49. David, British Imagination, 47–8; 50.
50. It is important to note that the map in Figure 0.1 does not show the full extent of Indigenous settlement, only that which was closest to the routes and winter quarters of the maritime search expeditions. There were, and still are, many more Indigenous communities in the Arctic.
51. Palaeo-Inuit cultures had spread across the Bering Strait to Greenland from around 2500 BC; prior to the Franklin searches, contact between Inuit and Europeans had been happening for centuries through exploration, trading, and whaling. Olive Patricia Dickason, Canada’s First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from the Earliest Times (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 56; 67.
53. William Hulme Hooper, Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, with Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as far as the Mackenzie River, and Cape Bathurst (London: John Murray, 1853).
54. Sera-Shriar discusses the ethnologist and surgeon Richard King, who had travelled in the Arctic between 1833 and 1835 and published a ‘detailed and sensitive’ three-part series on Inuit in 1848. One of King’s objectives in doing so was to correct the errors of others who had published, particularly in relation to the Inuit ‘Intellectual Character’. ‘Arctic Observers: Richard King, Monogenism and the Historicisation of Inuit through Travel Narratives’, Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 51 (2015): 23–31 at pp. 28–9.
58. Invented traditions and place are explored in Karen Till, ‘Neotraditional Towns and Urban Villages: The Cultural Production of a Geography or

59. These local names survive in the unpublished written records of expedition members and do not appear on official maps.


61. These are locale (a setting for everyday life), location (a node linking the place to wider networks), and sense of place (identification with a place as distinctive and connected to personal identity). John A. Agnew, Place and Politics in Modern Italy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 16.

62. Pratt, Imperial Eyes, 201.

63. An imagined geography is the knowledge of a space through images and texts. Joanne P. Sharp, Geographies of Postcolonialism: Spaces of Power and Representation (London: Sage, 2009), 12.


66. Lawrence A. Palinkas and Peter Suedfeld stress ‘studying positive aspects is not intended to deny the existence of negative ones, but assessment of either alone results in an incomplete and therefore inaccurate picture of polar service’. Positive effects include enjoyment of the natural environment, the balance of novelty and familiarity, free time, and salutogenic after-effects such as a sense of personal achievement, resoluteness, resiliency, and intimacy with fellow crew members. ‘Psychological Effects of Polar Expeditions’, Lancet 371 (January 2008): 153–63 at pp. 158–9.

67. Model sledges and lyrics of ‘Arctic jingling’ were among the ‘coveted’ items that former expedition members gave each other. James Nelson to William T. Mumford, 9 September [no year given], in W. T. Mumford, Private Journal of an Expedition to the Arctic Regions to Ascertain the Fate of Sir John Franklin ... in the Years 1852. 3. 4 [1 March 1852–24 October 1854], W. T. Mumford Fonds [1852–97], MG24-H80, LAC, Ottawa.

68. Palinkas and Suedfeld, ‘Psychological Effects’, 158.


70. Vivid accounts of dressmaking and theatricals are found in [William Chimmo], Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman (London: J.D. Potter, 1860).
79. Where this was not possible, high-quality photographs were obtained from the institution.
82. Ibid., 3.
83. Ibid., 12.
85. Ibid., 8.
90. Ibid., 1b.
91. Ibid., 1c.

108. The Admiralty offered double pay to participants, once the ship passed north of the Arctic Circle.
110. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.

1 ‘On the Spot’


11. We are fortunate to have a library catalogue in existence that details the collection on an Arctic search ship. Henry Briant, ‘A Catalogue of the Library Established on board HMS Assistance’ [1853], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, mg No7/08K, RGS, London.
12. The instructions given to Franklin on 5 May 1845 stated: ‘on your arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this office, in order to lay before us a full account of your proceedings in the whole course of your voyage, taking care before you leave the ship to demand from the officers, petty officers, and all other persons on board, the logs and journals they may have kept, together with any drawings or charts they may have made, which are all to be sealed up, and you will issue similar directions to Captain Crozier and his officers. The said logs, journals or other documents to be thereafter disposed of as we may think proper to determine.’ British Parliament, ‘Papers and Correspondence relative to the Arctic Expedition under Sir John Franklin’, in Arctic Blue Books Online: British Parliamentary Papers on Exploration in the Canadian North, 1818–1878, indexed by Andrew Taylor (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003), 1848a, 7, www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/subject/arcticstudies/arcticbb/.


17. Briant, ‘Catalogue’, 7. It is likely that many of the same books were in the library when the Assistance formed part of the Austin expedition from 1850 to 1851. The catalogue was printed on board and done in a manner that makes it difficult to count the number of books and periodicals with exactitude.


19. From my study of Briant’s catalogue, the estimated percentages by subject area of the contents of the Assistance’s library are as follows: Geography 26%; History 20%; Literature, Languages, and the Arts 20%; Science 13%; Religion 10%; Miscellaneous 9%; Periodicals 2%. These figures are based on my own
calculations. Fictional narratives such as *Gulliver’s Travels* also appear in the catalogue.


21. Ibid., 87.

22. Ibid., 74.


26. Ibid., 658.


35. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, 144.


46. While man-hauling is associated with British polar exploration, dogs were also used to pull sledges on the Franklin search expeditions.
48. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 64. The special instruction given to Browne was as a result of his work on the Ross expedition (1848–9), after which his visual records were used as the basis of the panorama *Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions* (examined in Chapter 4) and a folio of lithographs *Ten Coloured Views* (examined in Chapter 5).
52. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 75. Officers were attuned to observing potential sources of coal in the Arctic, the mining of which would avoid having to transport coal from England for the steamers.
57. Add MS 35304, Barrow Bequest, vol. 5, BL.
70. I am grateful to Sue Jones at the University of Oxford for identifying the dance depicted.
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73. Ibid., 35. The women were half-Danish and half-Inuit. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 201.


76. ‘I enclose a hurried sketch I took of one of them and got her to write her name underneath it is not a very ladylike hand but still not bad.’ James Blair Grove to John Barrow, 17 June 1852, Add MS 35307 Sir Edward Belcher’s Expedition, Manuscripts, BL.


78. Robert McCormick to John Barrow, 9 June 1852, Add 35307 Sir Edward Belcher’s Expedition, Manuscripts, BL.


80. Although such unframed pictures could conceivably be rolled up, such an item would still be difficult to conceal and transport in bad weather; they would inevitably have become damaged while hauling a sledge for fourteen days to the *Resolute* at Melville Island. Robert McClure, *The Discovery of the North-West Passage*, ed. Sherard Osborn (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1856), 288.

81. The 1849 watercolour from the Ross expedition is threaded with string, forming a loop at the top, and was found in his journal from Russian America during the winter of 1850 to 1851, which he spent with two other members of the Collinson expedition. The picture shows the two ships *Enterprise* and *Investigator* in the ice of Barrow Strait. Edward Adams, MS 1115, Journal [12 October 1850 to 3 July 1851], SPRI, Cambridge.

82. Robert Dawes Aldrich, *Sailing on the Midnight Deep* [1850–1], PAH0072, NMM, Greenwich; Aldrich, *Morn Alas Will Not Restore Us* [1850–1], PAH0071, NMM, Greenwich. The paintings are catalogued as such, although, being affixed to card (a common occurrence with such material), it is not possible to see if they were signed and dated on the reverse.

83. *A Select Collection of Songs* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1806), 6–7; *The Universal Songster; or, Museum of Mirth* (London, 1826), 2:103.
84. Aldrich sang a song of his own composition at the close of the Royal Arctic Theatre on board the Assistance on 4 March 1851 to the air of ‘Hearts of Oak’. Sherard Osborn and George F. McDougall, Illustrated Arctic News (London: Ackermann, 1852), 42.


87. Also known as a mock moon, a paraselene is ‘an optical phenomenon resulting from the refraction and reflection of moonlight within ice crystals in cirrus or cirrostratus cloud’. Ian Ridpath, A Dictionary of Astronomy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 350.

88. Robert Dawes Aldrich, Paraselene [1850–1], PAG8004, NMM, Greenwich.


90. William T. Mumford, The First View of the Coast Greenland 21.5.52 [1852], ICON5577, LAC, Ottawa.


93. William Blakey, An Incident in the Search for Sir John Franklin [1854], PAG8039, NMM, Greenwich.


103. Ibid., 101.


107. The clerk of the *North Star* (1849–50), James Rutter, did write ‘on the spot’ on his work, possibly because, as a clerk and not a midshipman, he was less familiar with the conventions of naval drawing.


109. Ibid., 57.


111. Walter May Fonds [1852–4], MG24-H31, LAC, Ottawa.

112. Robert McCormick, Journal [28 April–21 June 1852], MS 3374; Journal [19 August–11 September 1852], MS 3375; Journal [August–September 1852], MS 3376; Journal [August–September 1852], MS 3377, Sketchbook, [1852–3], MS 3382, Wellcome Institute, London.

113. W. T. Mumford, Private Journal of an Expedition to the Arctic Regions to Ascertain the Fate of Sir John Franklin ... in the Years 1852. 3. 4 [1 March 1852–24 October 1854], W. T. Mumford Fonds MG24-H80, [1852–97], LAC, Ottawa.

114. HMS *Assistance* and HMS *Intrepid* visited the bay; according to Sherard Osborn: ‘The fact of the “North Star” having wintered last year in Wolstenholme Sound, or “Petowack”, was elicited ... The “Assistance” and “Intrepid”, therefore remained to visit that neighbourhood ... So ended the memorable 14th of August.’ Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 86–7.

115. [Unknown Artist], *North Star Mount in Wolstenholme Sound, SE. 1.8 miles: land of a brownish purplish tinge, August 15th 1850* [1850], T3262 / nla.obj-133007737, NLA, Canberra. It was not possible to view this painting in person, but the National Library of Australia helpfully emailed a digital photograph.
116. The *North Star* had broken out of her winter quarters on 1 August 1850, and Saunders mentions that ‘during the latter part of July the ice decayed in an astonishingly rapid manner; the floe, which some short time ago was 4 feet in thickness, was now broken into small pieces, and was fast disappearing, so much that the water alongside the ship on the surface was perfectly fresh’. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1851a, 60.


118. Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy*, 57. In the nineteenth century, watercolours were sold as hard dry cakes that needed to be rubbed in a small amount of water to create paint.


120. Adams, Journal, Entry for 8 August 1848.

121. Adams, Journal, Entry for 8 July 1848.


123. William T. Domville, P35CAL, P36CAL, P37CAL, P38CAL, NMM, Greenwich. The calotype (also known as the talbotype) was an early photographic process, patented in 1839 by William Henry Fox Talbot, which competed with the daguerreotype. Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003), 102. May wrote: ‘I have been amusing myself by endeavouring to prepare paper for the Talbotype. But I have not succeeded as well as I should have expected.’ May, Journal, Entry for 15 July 1852.


129. May, Journal, Entry for 30 November 1852. Here, May has left a blank space for the word beginning with ‘P’. Perhaps he wanted to check the term or its spelling before entering it in his journal. When May mentions bringing out
his drawings, he is referring to the illustrations for the ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’. In fact, the picture appears on the title page of the second issue (December 1852). The oval-shaped picture is painted in blue and white and affixed to the magazine.


2 ‘Breathing Time’

1. Walter W. May, Journal of HMS Assistance [20 April 1852–19 August 1853], Walter May Fonds MG24-H31: Entry for 2 December 1852, LAC, Ottawa. See also entries for 21, 28 October; 2, 8, 30 November; 14, 20, 21 December 1852. Dissolving views involved the use of two of more lanterns so that an image could be superimposed on another similar image, which would then fade. This gave the impression of the uninterrupted transformation of a scene. Kevin Rockett and Emer Rockett, Magic Lantern, Panorama and Moving Picture Shows in Ireland, 1786–1909 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 42.

2. Sherard Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine and North Cornwall Gazette. Published in Winter Quarters, Arctic Regions’ [28 October 1852–12 February 1853]: Add MS 35305, Barrow Bequest, vol. 6, Western Manuscripts, BL. Although the full title indicated it was ‘published’, this referred to its availability for both ships’ companies in winter quarters. The ink illustrations were drawn directly onto the manuscript while the watercolour paintings were affixed to it.

3. It is not known if the original manuscript exists, but a facsimile of the ‘Illustrated Arctic News’ was engraved and published when the expedition returned. The facsimile is discussed throughout the chapter: Osborn and McDougall, Illustrated Arctic News, 1852. Each page of the Illustrated Arctic News can be viewed online on the Royal Museums Greenwich website: https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/137953.html.

4. While the term ‘illustrated’ implies text accompanied by visual material in either black and white or colour, the term ‘illuminated’ specifically indicates colour as a feature.


6. William Barr, Arctic Hell-Ship: The Voyage of HMS Enterprise 1850–55 (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2007); Andrew Lambert, The Gates of Hell: Sir John Franklin’s Tragic Quest for the North West Passage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Ken McGoogan, Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of Scotsman John Rae, the Arctic Adventurer who Discovered the
Fate of Franklin (London: Bantam, 2002). It should be noted that Lambert’s book was titled Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation in the UK (London: Faber & Faber, 2009).


8. Henry Briant, ‘A Catalogue of the Library Established on board HMS Assistance’ [1853], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, mg No7/o8K, RGS, London. The entries in the catalogue suggest that bound volumes of periodicals were on board, although this is not certain.


13. Ibid., 347.

14. Ibid., 352; 358.


16. Ibid., 165.

17. Ibid., 161.


32. William Edward Parry established that the practice of amusements would negate boredom and listlessness during the long Arctic winter. Blum, ‘Polar Periodicals’, 171.
34. Rob Shields, Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics (London: Routledge, 1999), 158.
35. The ‘Polar Almanac for 1854’ printed by Henry Hester on board the Enterprise is not included here. The forty-page ‘Almanac’ differs from the periodicals in its intention and recorded more factual information about the voyage. Neither does the figure include periodicals on private expeditions.
36. Hoag, ‘Caxtons of the North’, 102. The ‘Weekly Guy’ was a four-page periodical printed on the Plover from November 1852 to February 1853.
when the ship was under the command of Rochfort Maguire. John Simpson, ed. ‘Weekly Guy’ [1852–3], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, item 7 rgs302369/No7/08K, RGS, London.

37. Hoag, ‘Caxtons of the North’, 102; May, Journal, Entry for 11 October 1852. Printing presses were first brought on board for printing messages to be distributed in the Arctic, but were also used to print playbills, songs, and announcements.


39. John Bertie Cator, Article from the Arctic Charivari [6 August 1851], Erasmus Ommanney Collection EO/3/3, RGS, London.


41. Not enough information exists on two of the periodicals that do not survive (‘Gleaner’ and ‘Arctic Charivari’). I am grateful to Mary Caton Lingold at the Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library for kindly scanning and emailing ‘Flight of the Plover’ documents free of charge.

42. Albert Hastings Markham, The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S. (London: John Murray, 1917), 120. The original contains more illustrations than the published version.

43. Osborn and McDougall, Illustrated Arctic News, 1852; Arctic Miscellanies, 1852. The original ‘Aurora Borealis’ exists in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. I was, however, unable to view it in the course of this research.


50. Markham, Arctic Navy List, 35.


52. Andrew Lambert, Tragic Hero, 230.

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54. Walter William May, A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made during the Voyage up Wellington Channel (London: Day and Son, 1855).
55. The ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’ is 34 × 28 cm and the Illustrated Arctic News facsimile is 47.5 × 29.3 cm.
56. I have not yet been able to trace the whereabouts of the actual manuscript of the ‘Illustrated Arctic News’.
57. This was highly likely to have been due to a breakdown in the social cohesion of the group under Belcher’s command.
59. Ibid., p. viii.
60. The author here implies that the term ‘magazine’ is associated with a lack of ‘news’. Printed advertisement for the ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine and North Cornwall Gazette. Published in Winter Quarters, Arctic Regions’ [1852], Add MS 35305, Barrow Bequest, vol. 6, Western Manuscripts, BL.
61. May, Fourteen Sketches, 1855. Anonymity was common in journalism prior to the 1860s (Sullivan, British Literary Magazines, p. xii), and the entire magazine, both the text and the illustrations, is made up of anonymous contributions, although it is likely that the identity of some of the authors was known.
63. May, Journal, Entry for 8 November 1852.
70. [William Chimmo], Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 300–1.
72. Davis-Fisch, Loss and Cultural Remains, 33.

I deal with these aspects in Chapters 4 and 5.

Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 4 [February 1853]: 3.

Ibid., 6.

Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 2 [December 1852]: 8.

Clements Markham, Private Journal from HMS Assistance [1850–51], The Sir Clements Robert Markham Collection CRM/3: 33, RGS, London.

Clements Markham, Franklin’s Footsteps: A Sketch of Greenland, along the Shores of Which His Expedition Passed, and of the Parry Isles, where the Last Traces of It Were Found (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), 79.

Richard Altick, Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997), 6. Punch measured 28 × 22 cm, making it smaller than both the ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’ and the Illustrated Arctic News.

Altick, Punch, p. xvi.

Cruikshank’s Table-Book measured 23.8 × 17.1 cm. George Cruikshank, George Cruikshank’s Table-Book, ed. Gilbert Abbott and A. Beckett (London: Punch, 1845); Briant, ‘Catalogue’, [1853].

Sullivan, British Literary Magazines, 505.


Max Keith Sutton, “‘Inverse Sublimity’ in Victorian Humour”, Victorian Studies 10, no. 2 (December 1966): 177–92 at p. 188.


Altick, Punch, p. xxiv.


Ibid., 156.

Colley, Victorians in the Mountains, 30–2.


Ibid., 10.

George Back, Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.S. Terror (London: John Murray, 1838), 427.

Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 4 [February 1853]: 8. The missing word has the same number of letters as the Terror.

Ibid., 4 [February 1853]: 9. Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’ influenced literary depictions of ice throughout the nineteenth
century. The use of quotations from the poem in Arctic narratives is discussed in Chapter 3.

100. Ibid., 4 [February 1853]: 9.
101. Ibid., 4 [February 1853]: 10.
104. It was felt by writers such as William Gilpin that cows, with their rough coats, fitted with the picturesque aesthetic. Gilpin believed that three cows was the ideal number to have in a picture. William Gilpin, Observations, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland (London: Cadell and Davies, 1808), xl–xli.
105. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 4 [February 1853]: 13. Cape Farewell is at the southern tip of Greenland and would be passed on the return journey to Britain.
109. Arctic Miscellanies, 41.
111. Abraham Bradford, Journal of Her Majesty’s Sloop Resolute [28 February 1850–9 October 1851], ADM 101/117/3, TNA UK; Osborn and McDougall, Illustrated Arctic News, 44.
116. Quoted in Markham, Sir Clements R. Markham, 120.
117. For example, those involved in the production of an Arctic periodical could instantly see and hear the reactions of the entire readership (the ship’s company) in a way that was not possible in the metropole.
118. Two nights of theatre and a masquerade, followed by late-night singing and dancing, were held during September 1849 on the Herald and the Plover. William Simpson, Diary Written on board HMS Plover [January 1848–December 1850], JOD/76: Entry for 18 and 29 September 1849, NMM, Greenwich; [Chimmo], Euryalus, 299–311.
121. Markham, *Sir Clements R. Markham*, 120. As neither of the two periodicals apparently survives, only second-hand references to them are available.
123. The present-day communities at Resolute (Qausuittuq) and Grise Fiord (Aujuittuq) were created in the 1950s by the forced relocation of Inuit from other areas. Arctic Bay, a distance of 350 km to the southeast as the crow flies, would have been the closest Inuit settlement.
125. *Arctic Miscellanies*, 275–7; 264–7; 284.
126. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, Supplement [January 1853]: 6. The supplement was part of the January issue and is bound with the entire manuscript, because so many contributions had been received from expedition members.
127. Two titles by G. P. R. James, *The Robber* (1838) and *The King’s Highway* (1840), were listed in the library catalogue of the *Assistance* in 1853.
128. By 1852, when the expedition left England, Frances Milton Trollope had published numerous works. Her son, Anthony Trollope, to whom the allusion could also refer, also became a popular novelist. Although the latter had published three novels by 1852, it was not until the late 1850s that he became well known. *Literature Online*, s.v. ‘Trollope, Anthony’, by Mark Turner (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 2001).
130. William Hulme Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, with Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as far as the Mackenzie River, and Cape Bathurst* (London: John Murray, 1853); Maguire, *Journal*, 1888.
137. Colburn & Co. Publishers, handbill advertising *Arctic Miscellanies*, [1852]. The price was twelve shillings.
139. ‘The Fac-simile of “The Illustrated Arctic News”, Published On Board H. M.S. Resolute’, Literary Gazette, 10 April 1852.
140. ‘Arctic Miscellanies’, Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, 4 January 1852.
141. ‘Illustrated Arctic News’, Literary Gazette, 10 April 1852.
142. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’. Osborn’s note also confirms that the paper was made up of contributions and not merely written by him.
143. Ibid.
144. May, Journal, Entry for 11 October 1852.
145. I am grateful to Peter Martin for drawing my attention to the lack of marginalia, in response to a paper I gave on the ‘Hidden Histories of Polar Exploration’ panel at the International Conference of Historical Geographers, 2018.
146. It seems that initially the paper was called the ‘Victoria Gazette’ but that at some point before the production of the first issue its name was changed to the ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’.
148. Arctic Miscellanies, 248.
149. Other types of souvenirs were created during the voyage by the carpenter William T. Mumford, on Kellett’s arm of the Belcher expedition, who ‘completed the fleet of model sledges to the number of eleven’. William T. Mumford, Private Journal of an Expedition to the Arctic Regions to Ascertain the Fate of Sir John Franklin ... in the Years 1852. 3. 4 [1 March 1852–24 October 1854], W. T. Mumford Fonds [1852–97], MG24-H80: Entry for 11 February 1854, LAC, Ottawa; James Nelson to William T. Mumford, 9 September [Year?], in Mumford, Private Journal.
154. It is notable that, while expedition members used the word ‘sojourn’ to refer to their winter in the ice, popular media was fond of using the word ‘imprisonment’.

3 ‘These Dread Shores’

narrative of John Ross, *Voyage of Discovery . . . for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin’s Bay* (London: John Murray, 1819).

2. That number does not include three folios of lithographs that included short written accounts and could arguably be thought of as pictorial narratives; two published versions of on-board periodicals; subsequent editions of several books; journals published posthumously after the period; or compilations put together by publishers.


4. As far as we know, all the authors were male.


11. Sheila Watt-Cloutier, *The Right to Be Cold: One Woman’s Fight to Protect the Arctic and Save the Planet from Climate Change* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), p. xxv.


15. The English Catalogue of Books from 1835 to 1863 (London: Sampson Low, 1864). Clements Markham, *Franklin’s Footsteps: A Sketch of Greenland, along the Shores of which His Expedition Passed, and of the Parry Isles, where the Last Traces of It were Found* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853); Edward Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1855).


23. The haphazard nature of the library catalogue, printed on board by the clerk, makes exact calculations impossible. For example, entries may be listed only by author or by one word of the title or in the following manner: ‘Mast. Two Years before the’. Briant, ‘Catalogue’, 17.


28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., 157.

30. Ibid., 157–8.

31. William Hulme Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski, with Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, as far as the Mackenzie River, and Cape Bathurst* (London: John Murray, 1853), 408–9.

32. Ibid., 409–10.

33. Ibid., 412.


45. During the late 1840s, many of the officers who later served on the Arctic search expeditions, including Sherard Osborn, William Henry Browne, Frederick George Mecham, and Francis Leopold McClintock, were serving on naval ships, some on survey missions, in the Pacific.
47. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 116. Tahiti was known as Otaheite in this period.
49. ‘Calving’ occurs when chunks of ice break off a glacier’s terminus.


57. ‘As may well be imagined my time was now fully engaged, and my pencil and sextant were rarely out of my hand by night more than day.’ Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 66.


59. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 76; 115. All of the plates in the book can be viewed in high resolution on the website *The Illustration Archive*: https://illustrationarchive.cf.ac.uk.

60. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 107; 8.

61. Ibid., 65. The theory of the Open Polar Sea gained currency in the late eighteenth century and became popular during the Franklin searches. Its proponents believed that the North Pole was situated in an open sea surrounded on the fringes by ice.


63. Ibid., 435.


66. Hayes, *Arctic Boat Journey*, 186. Several new and illustrated editions of Hayes’s book were published in the 1860s and 1870s, including a French translation.


Many men participated in successive voyages and spent several winters in the Arctic. Some of the crew of the Plover voluntarily spent six winters, from 1848 to 1854, in the Bering Strait area.


Korte, English Travel Writing, 105.

1848; 1850; 1852; 1853; 1857; 1858.


Ibid., 46–7.

Kane, U.S. Grinnell Expedition, p. v.


By contrast, Snow’s narrative, Voyage of the Prince Albert, was priced at twelve shillings.

Sutherland, Journal of a Voyage, p. xliii.

Sutherland, Journal of a Voyage, p. xliii.

McClintock, Voyage of the ‘Fox’, 152.

Osborn, Stray Leaves, 47.


Ibid., 6. Anthropology became popular in 1860s as a broader method of study.

92. Ibid., 423–4.
100. Prichard, ‘Ethnology’, 430; 426. Explorers were not averse to digging up Inuit graves.
106. Private, unpublished journals from the Bering Strait region also attest to social interaction in the contact zone. For example, when three Iñupiat men died after being driven out to sea on a piece of ice, John Matthews, the *Plover’s* boatswain, recorded their loss with regret: ‘One of them was a great friend of mine, the Whale Chief.’ John Matthews, *The Journal of John Matthews from September 1850 to April 1855*, written during a voyage in search of the Franklin Expedition, [1850–5] mg N07/11D: Entry for January 1854. Monograph Collection, RGS, London.
109. It is not known who made the initial sketches in the Arctic; those in the book are attributed to an F. Skill. There was no F. Skill listed on the ship’s muster list. The captions on most of the illustrations are short, further suggesting that the artist was not on the expedition.
111. Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (London: Robson, 1796), 59.


115. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 211.

116. Some of the work by Aron from Kangeq in the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Oslo from 1860 shares similar traits, for example, *Tuluit Nunaliartut* [1860], UEM30049, Kulturhistorisk museum, Oslo.


120. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 51.

121. Ibid., 51.

122. Ibid, 73.

123. Ibid., 206.

124. Ibid., 28.


130. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 204. In this case, the text of the narrative concerning the men is more positive than the scene transferred to print.

131. For example, Walter May prepared some drawings for McClintock’s narrative, despite not having been on the expedition, and a later edition of Hayes’s *Arctic Boat Journey* included illustrations of selected passages of the narrative text, obviously produced long after Hayes’s experience.


133. Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*, 158.

134. Ibid., 157.


136. The entire book with colour images is available online: https://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/37131055492003d.pdf.

137. Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*, 155.


144. The graves were those of three members of the Franklin Expedition who had died during the first year of the voyage.


156. William Henry Browne, *The Devil’s Thumb, Ships Boring and Warping in the Pack* (London: Ackermann, 1850). Browne’s lithographs are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The set of lithographs can be viewed on the Royal
4 ‘Never to Be Forgotten’

3. Hyde, Panoramania, 39. To put this cost into perspective, lotions, powders, and remedies such as ‘Johnson’s American Soothing Syrup’, for the relief of teething in children, were advertised at over twice the price of entry to a panorama. Classified Advertisements, Observer, 20 January 1850.
5. Like the majority of panoramas from the nineteenth century, Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions does not survive. Sometimes panoramas were sent to other cities to be exhibited; some panoramas were destroyed by fire; storage of these immense paintings was problematic, and many panoramas were ‘obliterated’ by painting a new scene on the canvas. ‘Panoramas’, Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts 316, 21 January 1860.
6. William Henry Browne, letter to the editor, The Times, 29 December 1849; Literary Gazette, 5 January 1850; Athenaeum, 12 January 1850. Browne further stated in the letter that he was ‘the only officer or person in the Enterprise who took any drawings of those regions during the late expedition under Sir
James Ross, and which drawings the Admiralty have allowed Mr. Burford, of
Leicester Square, to use’.  
8. ‘The Drama and Public Amusements’, Critic, 15 November 1850.  
9. Earlier Arctic exploration had inspired panoramas such as North Pole (1819) and Spitzbergen (1820) in London and Frozen Regions (1820) in Dublin. Space does not permit an exploration of these fascinating panoramas here; Kevin Rockett and Emer Rockett give an excellent account of the Arctic panorama in Dublin, while Russell Potter provides an exceptional survey of the London panoramas. Kevin Rockett and Emer Rockett, Magic Lantern, Panorama and Moving Picture Shows in Ireland, 1786–1909 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011); Russell Potter, Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818–1875 (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007).  
10. Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper, 18 November 1849.  
11. From advertisements, it is not entirely clear what form View of the Polar Regions took, but the Examiner noted that the view was ‘very graphically painted, on a small scale, by Messrs Danson and Son’. It was accompanied by the Ruins of Netley Abbey and Tchin Shau, or Golden Island, in China. ‘Miscellaneous’, Examiner, 29 December 1849; Advertisement, Examiner, 12 January 1850; Advertisement, Observer, 20 January 1850.  
12. ‘Christmas Exhibitions’, Theatrical Journal, 3 January 1850. A moving panorama involved a long, horizontal canvas attached to rollers. The painting was unrolled to display a sequence of scenes before an audience and was often accompanied by music or commentary. From 19 July to 21 August 1850, this panorama was showing in Dublin twice a day, along with ‘appropriate music and descriptive lecture and anecdotes’. A ‘descriptive book’ of the panorama was also available. Freeman’s Journal, 19 July 1850.  
13. Advertisement, Athenaeum, 30 March 1850; Advertisement, Athenaeum, 4 May 1850.  
15. Ibid., 7.  
16. Ibid., 17. The Ross expedition was deemed a failure by the press, having returned with no trace of Franklin. Janice Cavell, Tracing the Connected

19. Potter, Arctic Spectacles, 82.
20. Ibid., 83
28. Ibid., 137.
29. Burford, ‘Summer and Winter Views’, 10. Distemper was a cheaper, non-durable, water-based medium.
32. Taylor, Leicester Square, 467.
33. ‘Miscellaneous’, Musical World, 29 June 1850.
34. Taylor, Leicester Square, 469.
38. Ibid., 90.
39. A Section of the Rotunda in Leicester Square. From Robert Mitchell, Plans and Views in Perspective of Buildings Erected in England and Scotland; and...
essay to elucidate the Grecian, Roman and Gothic Architecture (London: Wilson and Co., 1801), plate 14. This section shows a view before the third storey was added.

40. I am grateful to Elizabeth Tilley for drawing my attention to this detail regarding the women. The print shows twenty-three women, ten men, and two children visiting the panorama. A high-resolution digital version of this image is available online from the British Library Collections: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/section-of-the-rotunda-leicester-square#.


42. Altick, Shows of London, 133.


44. ‘Miscellaneous’, Examiner, 29 December 1849.

45. ‘Madame Tussaud’s’, Theatrical Journal, 3 January 1850.

46. The average length of a panorama’s run at Leicester Square during the late 1840s and 50s was about a year. Altick, Shows of London, 140.

47. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.


49. ‘Drama and Public Amusements’, Critic, 15 November 1850.

50. Arctic panoramas had twice been painted at this venue. In 1819, View of the North Coast of Spitzbergen had been based on the drawings of Lieutenant Beechey, and in 1834, Burford and Selous painted A View of the Continent of Boothia, based on Captain John Ross’s visual records.


54. ‘Professor Leslie’s Lectures on Painting’, Athenaeum, 17 February 1849.

55. Ibid.


57. Athenaeum, 16 February 1850.

58. ‘Minor Topics of the Month’, Art Journal, March 1850.

59. ‘The Drama and Public Amusements’, Critic, 1 May 1850.

60. ‘The Drama and Public Amusements’, Critic, 15 November 1850.

61. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Era, 24 February 1850.
62. ‘Burford’s Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Morning Chronicle, 11 February 1850.
63. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.
69. For example, William Henry Browne, Baseelan Island and Part of Mindanao Island [1844], ADM 344/1459, Admiralty Records, TNA UK.
70. William Henry Browne, Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition (London: Ackermann, 1850).
72. SPRI, Cambridge and NMM, Greenwich.
75. ‘Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller’, Household Words, 20 April 1850.
77. Ibid.
79. Arctic Miscellanies, 195.
80. Edward Belcher, The Last of the Arctic Voyages, 2 vols. (London: Lovell Reeve, 1855), 1:213. Here, Belcher refers to the ‘cheerless’ reputation of the long Arctic winter that was apparently much commented upon in Britain.
81. ‘Burford’s Arctic Panorama’, Illustrated London News, 16 February 1850.
82. ‘Minor Topics of the Month’, Art Journal, March 1850.
83. ‘Panorama of the Polar Regions’, Literary Gazette, 18 February 1850.
84. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.
85. ‘Notes of the Month’, Gentleman’s Magazine, March 1850.
86. William Henry Browne, Valley of the Glaciers [1848], PAH0066, NMM, Greenwich. While the composition of the panorama is the same as this sketch, Burford may well have used additional drawings by Browne and his prior knowledge of Arctic and Alpine subject matter to enhance the scene.
87. J. D. Gilpin, ‘Outline of the Voyage of H.M.S. Enterprize and Investigator to Barrow Strait in Search of Sir John Franklin’, Nautical Magazine 19 (January 1850): 8–19; 82–90; 160–70; 230 at p. 15. Gilpin records that later a gale was blowing, causing the ships to become endangered. Another picture by Edward Adams, Glacier Bay, copied from Lieut Brown by candle light, showing a similar scene, exists at SPRI. www.spri.cam.ac.uk/museum/catalogue/article/y83.11.12/.
90. How much control Browne would have had over the production of the lithographs is unclear, but, as a lieutenant, he may have had little say in their rendering, and the Admiralty may have controlled their publication.
91. ‘A Visit to the Arctic Discovery Ships’, Household Words, 20 April 1850.


101. Although I did not locate an obvious prototype sketch for the winter view by Browne, it is possible that it could be in private ownership.


103. Ibid.

104. Although there are no Inuit shown in the representation, it is important to note that the expedition, unlike those approaching from the Pacific or overland from the south, wintered in an area far from Indigenous settlements.


108. [William Chimmo], *Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman* (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 300–1.


113. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions, Leicester Square’, *Era*, 24 February 1850.


115. Catherine Lanone, ‘Arctic Spectacles in *Jane Eyre* and *Villette*’, *Brontë Studies* 34, no. 2 (July 2009): 117–26 at pp. 120; 118.

116. [Chimmo], *Euryalus*, 306; 308–9.

117. Ibid., 309


120. ‘Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller’, *Household Words*, 20 April 1850.


123. ‘Panorama of the Polar Regions’, *Observer*, 10 February 1850.


133. Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero*, 166.


135. Logbook HMS Enterprize [1848–9], ADM/55/44, Admiralty Records, TNA UK.

136. Ibid., Entry for 28 November 1848.

137. Ibid., Entry for 24 January 1849.


141. Belcher, *Arctic Voyages*, 1:174. In 1850, due to the more southerly location of the magnetic north pole, the aurora would have been more visible at lower latitudes than it is today.
142. Ibid., 180. The aurora is still often referred to as female in twentieth-century popular discourse.
145. William Parry noted, on his third Arctic voyage to discover the Northwest Passage (1824–5), that it was only on the return journey to England in autumn, as the ship sailed to more southerly latitudes in Davis Strait and across the Atlantic, that the aurora was frequent and spectacular: ‘The next brilliant display . . . which far surpassed anything of the kind observed at Port Bowen [in the Arctic], occurred on the night of the 24th of September, in latitude 58°1/₂.’ This line of latitude crosses the north of mainland Scotland. Parry described the display at length and referred to the aurora’s ‘undulating motion . . . called the “merry dancers”, which are seen in beautiful perfection at the Shetland Islands’. Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1826), 148–9.
146. McCorristine, “‘Involuntarily We Listen’”, 31.
147. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Era, 24 February 1850.
148. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, Observer, 10 February 1850.

5 ‘Power and Truth’

3. Advert, Publishers’ Circular, 1 August 1854; Cresswell, War, Ice and Piracy, 118.
4. ‘Art’, Critic, 1 March 1850.
6. The cost of the lithographs ranged from sixteen shillings to two pounds and two shillings per set and is discussed further on p. 146.
Notes to pages 144–7

10. ‘The North-West Passage’, Morning Chronicle, 24 October 1853.
22. Advertisement, Athenaeum, 23 February 1850.
23. Publishers’ Circular, 1 August 1854. The eight views, with a map, were printed in ‘coloured tints’.
24. ‘The North-West Passage’, Morning Chronicle, 24 October 1853.
27. ‘The Art of Lithography’, Morning Chronicle, 18 January 1855. The lithographs do not appear to have been reproduced as engravings in periodicals.
28. Advertisement, Morning Chronicle, 24 October; Advertisement, Athenaeum, 14 January 1854.
29. All the lithographs from this folio are available to view in high resolution on the Royal Collection Trust website: www.rct.uk/collection/search#1/collection/750930/arctic-expedition-in-search-of-sir-john-franklin-1848–49.
31. The author of the text is anonymous.
33. Advertisement, *Athenaeum*, 23 February 1850. The advertisement in the *Critic* on 1 March used the same text.
34. ‘Art’, *Critic*, 1 March 1850.
35. ‘Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition’, *Athenaeum*, 2 March 1850.
36. ‘Art’, *Critic*, 1 March 1850.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
40. ‘Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition’, *Athenaeum*, 2 March 1850.
42. William Henry Browne, letter to the editor, *The Times*, 29 December 1849; *Literary Gazette*, 5 January 1850; *Athenaeum*, 12 January 1850. (See also Chapter 4, footnote 6.)
43. The fact that one lithograph caption, in error, refers to Leopold Island instead of Somerset Island also indicates that Browne was not supervising the work of the printers.
44. Lithography was associated with the production of knowledge, particularly in sciences such as natural history. Moreover, their expensive price raised them above popular culture.
45. The connections between the watercolour *Valley of the Glaciers, Greenland* and the lithograph *Great Glacier, Near Uppernavik* are discussed in Chapter 4.
49. The house, renovated and expanded, still exists today and trades as King Sitric Restaurant and Accommodation.
57. This lithograph is referred to as ‘Prince Regent’s Inlet’ in the list of titles at the start of the bound version of the set of lithographs, but the title ‘The Sledges Arriving at the Southern Depôt’ is used on the lithograph itself.
58. ‘Art’, *Critic*, 1 March 1850.
60. Ibid., 68.
62. L. H. Neatby, ‘Robert J.L. McClure (1807–1873)’, *Arctic* 38, no. 1 (March 1985): 70–1 at p. 70. The McClure expedition was the first to cross the passage, but they did not officially ‘navigate’ it; this was not achieved until the Norwegian Roald Amundsen’s Gjøa expedition (1903–6).
64. I am very grateful to Chloe Phillips at Norfolk Record Office for photographing Cresswell’s work, as I was unable to travel to the archives personally. The pictures are contained in an album.
66. Ibid.
68. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.
69. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.
71. The set of lithographs in its entirety is available to view online courtesy of TPL: https://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/408043.pdf.
72. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Brown’s Island, Coast of America* [1850], WMH 3–1-D4–1, NRO, Norwich.
73. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Discovery of Barings Island September 6th 1850* [1850], WMH 3–1-D4-1, NRO, Norwich.

74. Not the expedition member of the same name.


76. Ibid.

77. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.


79. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Position of H.M.S. Investigator after Heavy Pressure, 1852* [1852], WMH 3–1-D4-1, NRO, Norwich.

80. Advertisement, *Morning Chronicle*, 24 October 1853. Inglefield’s narrative *A Summer Search* had been published in June 1853, and in December the Gallery of Illustration was showing five ‘Polar views . . . the whole, or nearly so, being taken from the spirited sketches of Captain Inglefield’. The views were accompanied by a lecture; the whole exhibition was ‘new and delightful. Everyone seemed charmed by it.’ ‘Entertainments for Christmas’, *Examiner*, 24 December 1853.

81. ‘The North-West Passage’, *Athenaeum*, 29 October 1853.

82. Inglefield’s lithographs can be viewed on the Royal Museums Greenwich website: [https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/156627.html](https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/156627.html).

83. See Introduction, footnote 74. I have come across this print on seven book covers to date.

84. Alex Armstrong, *A Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the North-West Passage; with Numerous Incidents of Travel and Adventure during nearly Five Years’ Continuous Service in the Arctic Regions while in Search of the Expedition under Sir John Franklin* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 420.


86. McClure had ordered all journals and many other possessions to be left aboard when the ship was abandoned in 1853. Johann Miertsching, *Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850–1854*, trans. L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 192. Thus, recollections like Miertsching’s were written after the expedition, and no journal by Cresswell exists for the period while he was on the *Investigator* from 1850 until the abandonment of the ship.


92. Ibid.
93. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Position of H.M.S. Investigator, Sept 19, 1851* [1851], WMH 3–1-D4-1, NRO, Norwich.
97. Sherard Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine and North Cornwall Gazette’. Published in Winter Quarters, Arctic Regions [28 October 1852–12 February 1853]: Add MS 35305, Barrow Bequest, vol. 6, Western Manuscripts, BL.
100. See, for example, Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 145–6.
106. PAF7055; PAF7056; PAF7060, NMM, Greenwich.

114. May, Fourteen Sketches, 3.


117. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 3 [January 1853]: 1. ‘Piling the agony’ is a phrase that Osborn also used in Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal (1852) and may have an American origin. It indicates an excessive use of ornamentation and adjectives in written work, what may be termed purple prose today: ‘A tendency towards what the Americans term “piling the agony” is the besetting sin of poets these days.’ Northern Tribune, 1854, 169.


119. Walter William May, Division of Sledges Passing Cape Lady Franklin [1853/4], PAF7055, NMM, Greenwich; Walter William May, X.—Division of Sledges Passing Cape Lady Franklin (London: Day & Son, 1855). The latter is available to view on the Royal Museums Greenwich website: https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/137982.html.

120. ‘Fine Arts’, Morning Chronicle, September 11, 1850.


122. An Admiralty publication on Inuit vocabulary included the phrase ‘I want to buy twelve good dogs / Well trained to draw sledges’. John Washington, Eskimaux and English Vocabulary, for the Use of the Arctic Expeditions, Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (London: John Murray, 1850), 104.


125. Ibid., 4 [February 1853]: 25.


128. Lisa Bloom, Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 120.

129. Duffy, Landscapes of the Sublime, 105.
131. Ibid., 25.

## 6 Conclusion

8. Keith Battarbee and John Erik Fossum, ‘NACS and the Arctic’ (lecture, Nordic Association of Canadian Studies XI, University of Turku, Finland, 14 August 2015).
11. Ibid., 50.
13. Ibid., 230.
15. [William Chimmo], *Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman* (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 218.