

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.
3. On 19 May 1845, the *Terror* and the *Erebus* sailed from the Thames towards the Canadian Arctic archipelago. Europeans last saw the expedition at the end of July in Melville Bay (off the west coast of Greenland). All of the 129 men on board died during the expedition. Neville W. Poulson, *British Polar Exploration and Research: A Historical and Medallic Record with Biographies 1818–1999* (London: Savannah Publications, 2000), 59. Russell Potter notes that, in the last twenty-five years, the Franklin story has inspired 'more than two dozen novels, three documentaries, various plays, poems, and radio dramas, an Australian musical, and a German opera'. *Finding Franklin: The Untold Story of a 165-Year Search* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), p. xvi.
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.

6. Chauncey C. Loomis, 'The Arctic Sublime', in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U. C. Knoepfelmacher and G. B. Tennyson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 95–112 at p. 96.
7. William Jerden (ed.), 'Panorama of the Polar Regions', *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 16 February 1850.
8. Richard Cyriax, *Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition: The Franklin Expedition. A Chapter in the History of the Royal Navy* (London: Methuen, 1939) and Ann Savours, *The Search for the North West Passage* (London: Chatham, 1999) are both excellent on the topic.
9. Savours, *North West Passage*, 56.
10. Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 151; 166.
11. Savours, *North West Passage*, 186–9.
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/
13. For example, monographs include Francis Spufford, *I May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996); Eric G. Wilson, *The Spiritual History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Peter Davidson, *The Idea of North* (London: Reaktion, 2005); Jen Hill, *White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York, 2008); Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019). More recently, the volume edited by Heidi Hansson, Maria Lindgren Leavenworth, and Anka Ryall, *The Arctic in Literature for Children and Young Adults* (London: Routledge, 2020), makes a valuable contribution to the literature.
14. The work of art historian Ingeborg Høvik is a notable exception, including 'Arctic Images 1818–1859' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2013); 'Framing the Arctic: Reconsidering Roald Amundsen's Gjøa Expedition Imagery', *Nordlit* 25 (2015): 137–60; 'Reproducing the Indigenous: John Møller's Studio Portraits of Greenlanders in Context', *Acta Borealia* 33, no. 2 (2016): 166–88; 'Girlhood in the Arctic: Word-Image Relations in R. M. Ballantyne's Canadian Adventures', in Hansson, Lindgren Leavenworth, and Ryall, *The Arctic in Literature*, 89–106.
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

- metropolitan Arctic in *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). Both books are excellent resources for the study of the visual Arctic in the nineteenth century, although the broad time span covered by each does not allow for in-depth analysis of individual works. Laurie Garrison gives an excellent account of the subjective responses possible to an Arctic panorama in ‘Virtual Reality and Subjective Responses: Narrating the Search for the Franklin Expedition through Robert Burford’s Panorama’, *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10, no. 1 (February 2012): 7–22. Both Ian MacLaren and Constance Martin prioritise lithographs: Ian S. MacLaren, ‘The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859’, *Arctic* 28, no. 2 (June 1985): 89–103; Constance Martin, ‘“Toward no Earthly Pole”: The Search for Franklin in Nineteenth Century Art’, *Inter-Nord* 19 (1990): 87–100.
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.
 17. Richard Harding, *Modern Naval History: Debates and Prospects* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 124; 27.
 18. Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 336.
 19. Margaret Topping, ‘Travel Writing and Visual Culture’, in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2016), 78–88 at p. 79.
 20. Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 8.
 21. Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.
 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.
 24. Richard C. Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 28.
 25. Geoff Quilley, ‘“By Cruel Foes Oppress’d”: British Naval Draughtsmen in Tahiti and the South Pacific in the 1840s’, *Journal of Historical Geography* 43 (January 2014): 71–84 at pp. 71–2.
 26. Richard Sha explains the association of sketches with authenticity. *Visual and Verbal Sketch*, 4.
 27. Michael E. Leek, *The Art of Nautical Illustration* (Royston: Quantum Books, 2002), 81.
 28. Barry Venning, ‘Turner’s Whaling Subjects’, *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 983 (February 1985): 75–83.

29. For example, see MacLaren, 'Aesthetic Map', 89–103; Martin, 'No Earthly Pole', 87–100; Spufford, *Some Time*, 58; David, *British Imagination*, 12.
30. MacLaren, 'Aesthetic Map', 90–1; 101.
31. As a philosophical concept, the sublime is attributed to Longinus, a first- or third-century AD philosopher. Initially intended to refer to a moment of sudden elevation in discourse, it alluded to moments of greatness. Malcolm Heath, 'Longinus and the Ancient Sublime', in *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Timothy M. Costello (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11–23 at p. 23. The ideals of the formal picturesque aesthetic developed from seventeenth-century Italian landscape painting. Malcolm Andrews, *The Idea of the Picturesque and the Vogue for Scenic Tourism*, vol. 1 of *The Picturesque: Literary Sources and Documents*, ed. Graham Clarke (Mountfield: Helm Information, 1994), 3–6.
32. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. xxi.
33. *Ibid.*, 53; 77.
34. *Ibid.*, xxii.
35. Melissa McBay Merrit, 'The Moral Source of the Kantian Sublime', in Costello, *The Sublime*, 37–49 at p. 37.
36. Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 38–9.
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.
41. William Gilpin published recommendations for sketching British landscape from 1748 to 1792. Andrews, *Picturesque*, 11–12.
42. David Cordingly, *Marine Painting in England 1700–1900* (London: Studio Vista, 1974), 12; 135.
43. David, *British Imagination*, 18–19; Heidi Hansson, 'The Gentleman's North: Lord Dufferin and the Beginnings of Arctic Tourism', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 1 (February 2009): 61–73 at p. 61.
44. Heidi Hansson, 'Introduction: The Arctic in Literature for Children and Young Adults', in Hansson, Lindgren Leavenworth, and Ryall, *The Arctic in Literature*, 5–26 at p. 5.

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.
46. Adriana Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 9.
47. Stefan Jonsson, 'Where Humanism Finds Its Ends: Lessons from Pia Arke and Katarina Pirak Sikku on the Difficulty of Narrating the Arctic', *Studies in Travel Writing* 20, no. 3 (September 2016): 226–36 at p. 229.
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.
52. Richard Vaughan, *The Arctic: A History* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 20–2.
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.
55. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 7.
56. Majid Yar, 'Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis', *Surveillance and Society* 1, no. 3 (2003): 254–71 at pp. 260–1.
57. Loomis, 'Arctic Sublime', 109.
58. Invented traditions and place are explored in Karen Till, 'Neotraditional Towns and Urban Villages: The Cultural Production of a Geography or

- “Otherness”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 11, no. 6 (1993): 709–32 at p. 710.
59. These local names survive in the unpublished written records of expedition members and do not appear on official maps.
 60. The term *topophilia* ‘couples sentiment with place’. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, And Values*, Morningside ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 113.
 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.
 64. Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), 163.
 65. William Barr, *Arctic Hell-Ship: The Voyage of HMS Enterprise 1850–55* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2007).
 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.
 69. Francis McClintock, *The Voyage of the ‘Fox’ in the Arctic Seas: A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and His Companions* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. xxii.
 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).

71. Julie F. Codell, 'The Art of Transculturation', in *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, ed. Julie F. Codell (London: Routledge, 2016), 1–17 at p. 12.
72. William J. Mills, *Exploring Polar Frontiers: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 417.
73. Cresswell was in the Baltic when the lithographs were being produced for publication. Advert, *Publishers' Circular*, 1 August 1854; Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy: The Remarkable Career of a Victorian Sailor: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Gurney Cresswell*, ed. Dominick Harrod (London: Chatham Publishing, 2000), 118.
74. Books that use *Critical Position of H.M.S. Investigator* for their covers include Johann Miertsching, *Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850–1854*, trans. L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967); L. H. Neatby, *The Search for Franklin* (Worthing: Littlehampton Book Services, 1970); Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy* (2000); Ken McGoogan, *Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of Scotsman John Rae, the Arctic Adventurer Who Discovered the Fate of Franklin* (London: Bantam, 2002); Edward Adams, *Into the Savage Land: The Alaskan Journal of Edward Adams*, ed. Ernest Sipes (Surrey, BC: Hancock House, 2007); Martin W. Sandler, *Resolute: The Epic Search for the Northwest Passage and John Franklin, and the Discovery of the Queen's Ghost Ship* (New York: Sterling, 2008); Brian Payton, *The Ice Passage: A True Story of Ambition, Disaster, and Endurance in the Arctic Wilderness* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2010).
75. Anna Green, *Cultural History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.
76. Susan Close, 'The Camera and the Contact Zone: Re-Envisioning the Representation of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian North', in Codell, *Transculturation in British Art*, 111–24 at p. 112.
77. Susanne von Falkenhausen, *Beyond the Mirror: Seeing in Art History and Visual Culture Studies*, trans. Nicholas Grindell (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020), 11.
78. Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Image Matters', *Historical Journal* 51, no. 3 (2008): 777–91 at p. 778.
79. Where this was not possible, high-quality photographs were obtained from the institution.
80. Jordanova, 'Image Matters', 779.
81. Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 2.
82. *Ibid.*, 3.
83. *Ibid.*, 12.
84. Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 9.
85. *Ibid.*, 8.

86. Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 53–4.
87. Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts* (London: Routledge, 2008), 11.
88. Library of Congress, *Thesaurus for Graphic Materials* (Washington, DC: Prints and Photographs Division, 2010), www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/tgm/item/tgm008237/.
89. Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 1a.
90. *Ibid.*, 1b.
91. *Ibid.*, 1c.
92. Ian Chilvers (ed.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 172.
93. Henry Huntington and Gunter Weller, 'Introduction', in *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, ed. Carolyn Symon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–20 at p. 2.
94. Charles Emmerson, *The Future History of the Arctic: How Climate, Resources and Geopolitics are Reshaping the North and Why It Matters to the World* (London: Vintage, 2011), 3–4.
95. Huntington and Weller, 'Introduction', 2.
96. Michael Byers, *Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009), 109–10.
97. Qikiqtani Inuit Association, *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories 1950–1975: Resolute Bay* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2013), 9.
98. Michael Durey, 'Exploration at the Edge: Reassessing the Fate of Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition', *The Great Circle* 30, no. 2 (2008): 3–40 at p. 34.
99. P. R. Dawes and R. L. Christie, 'Geomorphic Regions', in *Geology of the Innuitian Orogen and Arctic Platform of Canada and Greenland*, ed. H. P. Trettin (Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1991), 40–4.
100. J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 203–5.
101. Bumsted, *Peoples of Canada*, 319.
102. Durey, 'Exploration at the Edge', 24.
103. Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund, 'From Science in the Arctic to Arctic Science: A Transnational Study of Arctic Travel Narratives, 1818–1883' (PhD thesis, York University, Toronto, 2017), 184.
104. Janice Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture 1818–1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 219. Subsequently, more searches for evidence took place; in 2008, Parks Canada began sonar scanning near King William Island and

- located the *Erebus* and the *Terror* in 2014 and 2016. Pertinent sources for the Franklin mystery are: Owen Beattie and John Geiger, *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition* (London: Bloomsbury, 1987); Durey, ‘Exploration at the Edge’ (2008); Janice Cavell, ‘Going Native in the North: Reconsidering British Attitudes during the Franklin Search, 1848–59’, *Polar Record* 45 (2009): 25–35; Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero* (2009); S. Mays, G. J. R. Maat, and H. H. Boer, ‘Scurvy as a Factor in the Loss of the 1845 Franklin Expedition to the Arctic: A Reconsideration’, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 25 (2015): 334–44; R. S. Taichman, T. Gross, and M. P. Maceachern, ‘A Critical Assessment of the Oral Condition of the Crew of the Franklin Expedition’, *Arctic* 70, no. 1 (March 2017): 25–36. Garth Walpole gives an excellent account of the recovery of artefacts from the expedition in *Relics of the Franklin Expedition: Discovering Artifacts from the Doomed Arctic Voyage of 1845*, ed. Russell Potter (Jefferson: McFarland, 2017).
105. Loomis, ‘Arctic Sublime’, 109.
 106. Ross, ‘Franklin Search’, 65.
 107. Erika Behrlich Elce (ed.), *As Affecting the Fate of my Absent Husband: Selected Letters of Lady Franklin Concerning the Search for the Lost Franklin Expedition, 1848–1860* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 4.
 108. The Admiralty offered double pay to participants, once the ship passed north of the Arctic Circle.
 109. William Henry Browne, *Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition* (London: Ackermann, 1850); Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *A Series of Eight Sketches in Colour . . . of the Voyage of H.M.S. ‘Investigator’* (London: Day and Ackermann, 1854); Walter William May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made during the Voyage up Wellington Channel* (London: Day and Son, 1855).
 110. ‘Panorama of the Arctic Regions’, *Observer*, 10 February 1850.

1 ‘On the Spot’

1. Edward Belcher, *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang: during the Years 1843–46: Employed Surveying the Islands of the Eastern Archipelago*, 2 vols. (London: Reeve, Benham, and Reeve, 1848).
2. William Henry Browne, *Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition* (London: Ackermann, 1850); ‘Sir James Ross’ Arctic Expedition’, *Illustrated London News*, 17 November 1849.
3. William Henry Browne, *Rough Sketch Moored to an Iceberg* [1848], N: 1993, SPRI, Cambridge.

4. An interesting parallel can be discerned with women's sketches in the Romantic period. Richard Sha observes that many of them are unsigned: 'the ultimate indication of self-effacement, women's sketches virtually refuse to stand as self-contained works of art'. *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 93.
5. Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Diana Donald, 'The Arctic Fantasies of Edwin Landseer and Briton Riviere: Polar Bears, Wilderness and Notions of the Sublime', *Tate Papers* 13 (April 2010), www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/arctic-fantasies-edwin-landseer-and-briton-riviere-polar-bears; Laurie Garrison, 'Virtual Reality and Subjective Responses: Narrating the Search for the Franklin Expedition through Robert Burford's Panorama', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10, no. 1 (February 2012): 7–22; Ian S. MacLaren, 'The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859', *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 89–103; Constance Martin, "'Toward No Earthly Pole": The Search for Franklin in Nineteenth Century Art', *Inter-Nord* 19 (1990): 87–100; Russell Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818–1875* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007).
6. Geoff Quilley, "'By Cruel Foes Oppress'd": British Naval Draughtsmen in Tahiti and the South Pacific in the 1840s', *Journal of Historical Geography* 43 (January 2014): 71–84 at p. 84.
7. Felix Driver, 'Material Memories of Travel: The Albums of a Victorian Naval Surgeon', *Journal of Historical Geography* 69 (July 2020): 32–54 at p. 33.
8. Felix Driver, 'Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (December 2004): 73–92 at p. 86.
9. Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund, 'From Science in the Arctic to Arctic Science: A Transnational Study of Arctic Travel Narratives, 1818–1883' (PhD thesis, York University, Toronto, 2017), 180.
10. In the popular historical novel by Rudy Wiebe, *A Discovery of Strangers* (1994), the character of Robert Hood struggles to aesthetically tame the landscape and frame his sketches as picturesque entities. Susan Birkwood, 'From "Naked Country" to "Sheltering Ice": Rudy Wiebe's Revisionist Treatment of John Franklin's First Arctic Narrative', *Nordlit* 23 (2008): 25–38 at p. 35.
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/o8K, 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/.
13. Trevor Harvey Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration 1818–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 173.
14. Claudio Greppi, ‘“On the Spot”: Traveling Artists and the Iconographic Inventory of the World, 1769–1859’, in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, ed. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 23–42 at p. 28.
15. Driver, ‘Distance and Disturbance’, 88.
16. The first book may be R. P. Noble, *A Guide to Water Colour Painting, with an Illustration in Colour* (London: George Rowney, 1850). The second is George Field, *Rudiments of the Painters’ Art; or a Grammar of Colouring, Applicable to Operative Painting, Decorative Architecture, and the Arts* (London: John Weale, 1850).
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.
18. These books were probably Robert Hunt, *Photography: A Treatise on the Chemical Changes Produced by Solar Radiation, and the Production of Pictures from Nature, by the Daguerreotype, Calotype, and Other Photographic Processes* (London: Griffin, 1851); William Thornthwaite, *A Guide to Photography, Containing Simple and Practical Details* (London: Horn, Thornthwaite, and Wood, 1845).
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.
20. Alexander von Humboldt, 'Landscape Painting', in *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, vol. 2, trans. under the superintendence of Edward Sabine (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans and John Murray, 1849), 74–91.
 21. *Ibid.*, 87.
 22. *Ibid.*, 74.
 23. Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 248–9.
 24. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, 142; Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 192–9.
 25. Bernard Lightman, 'The Visual Theology of Victorian Popularizers of Science: From Reverent Eye to Chemical Retina', *Isis* 91, no. 4 (December 2000): 651–80 at pp. 653–5.
 26. *Ibid.*, 658.
 27. Moshe Barasch, *Modern Theories of Art: From Winckelmann to Baudelaire* (London: New York University Press, 1990), 246.
 28. Luciana Martins, 'The Art of Tropical Travel, 1768–1830', in *Georgian Geographies: Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 72–91 at pp. 73; 75.
 29. Lindsay Stainton, *Nature into Art: English Landscape Watercolours* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 13.
 30. Marcia Pointon, 'Geology and Landscape Painting in Nineteenth-Century England', in *Images of the Earth*, 2nd ed., ed. Ludmilla Jordanova and Roy Porter (London: British Society for the History of Science, 1997), 93–123 at pp. 97–8.
 31. Martins, 'Tropical Travel', 81.
 32. Erika Behrisch Elce, "'Adapted for Travellers in General": En Route with the British Admiralty's Manual of Scientific Enquiry', *Journeys* 15, no. 1 (2014): 1–22 at p. 6.
 33. Briant, 'Catalogue', 1.
 34. John F. W. Herschel, ed., *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Her Majesty's Navy and Adapted for Travellers in General. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty* (London: John Murray, 1849), p. i.
 35. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, 144.
 36. Herschel, *Admiralty Manual*, p. iii.
 37. Charles Darwin, 'Geology', in Herschel, *Admiralty Manual*, 180.
 38. Louis Agassiz, *Études sur les Glaciers* (Neuchâtel: Jent and Gassmann, 1840).

39. William J. Hamilton, 'Geography', in Herschel, *Admiralty Manual*, 134.
40. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy: The Remarkable Career of a Victorian Sailor: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Gurney Cresswell*, ed. Dominick Harrod (London: Chatham Publishing, 2000), 56.
41. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1850a, 66.
42. Neville W. Poulson, *British Polar Exploration and Research: A Historical and Medallion Record with Biographies 1818–1999* (London: Savannah Publications, 2000), 59.
43. James J. Rutter, *A View of the Three Glaciers at the Eastern Extremity of Wolstenholme Sound* [17 June 1850], ADM 344/2020, Admiralty Records, TNA, London. A version of the painting exists in the British Library as part of the Barrow bequest: Add MS 35304, Barrow Bequest, vol. 5, BL. The inscription 'sketched and drawn from nature' does not appear on this version, suggesting that it is a copy of the painting in TNA. The version in the British Library is unsigned.
44. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1851a, 62.
45. Ronald Heus, Hein A. M. Daanen, and George Havenith, 'Physiological Criteria for Functioning of Hands in the Cold', *Applied Ergonomics* 26, no. 1 (1995): 5–13 at pp. 6; 11.
46. While man-hauling is associated with British polar exploration, dogs were also used to pull sledges on the Franklin search expeditions.
47. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 14.
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).
49. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 30.
50. Martin J. S. Rudwick, 'The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science 1760–1840', *History of Science* 14 (1976): 149–95 at p. 153.
51. William Henry Browne, *Cape Walker Encampment* [1851], Y: 54/19/9, SPRI, Cambridge.
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.
53. Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 137–8.
54. Barry Lopez, *Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape*, 2nd ed. (London: Harvill Press, 1999), 226.
55. John Franklin Ayles, *Perilous Position of HMS North Star, Sept 21st 1849, NE end of Baffin's Bay* [1849], ADM 344/2030, Admiralty Records, TNA, London.

56. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1851a, 57.
57. Add MS 35304, Barrow Bequest, vol. 5, BL.
58. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1850a, 65.
59. Erika Behrisch, “‘Far as the Eye Can Reach’”: Explorers’ Poetry in the Arctic 1832–1852’, in ‘Science and Victorian Poetry’, ed. Gowan Dawson and Sally Shuttleworth, special issue, *Victorian Poetry* 41, no. 1 (Spring 2003), 73–92 at p. 73.
60. Behrisch, ‘Explorers’ Poetry’, 85.
61. Behrisch, ‘Explorers’ Poetry’, 77.
62. Richard C. Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 68.
63. Majid Yar, ‘Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis’, *Surveillance and Society* 1, no. 3 (2003): 254–71 at pp. 260–1.
64. Walter William May, on Belcher’s expedition from 1852 to 1854, wrote that he ‘attempted to make a sketch’ of a particularly beautiful scene. May, Journal, Entry for 30 November 1852. Austin expected his officers to ‘make’ sketches of headlands. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 14.
65. Helen M. Rozwadowski, ‘Small World: Forging a Scientific Maritime Culture for Oceanography’, *Isis* 87 (2005): 409–29 at pp. 424–5.
66. William T. Domville, JOD/67, Private Journal, NMM, Greenwich.
67. Library of Congress, *Thesaurus*, www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/tgm/item/tgmo11033/.
68. William T. Domville, *Esquimaux Dance aboard Resolute* [1852], JOD/67, Private Journal, NMM, Greenwich.
69. The dance and the Greenlanders’ knowledge of such dances seem to have made an impression on expedition members, and descriptions of it appear in many formats including: Walter W. May, Journal of HMS Assistance [20 April 1852–19 August 1853], Walter May Fonds MG24-H31: Entry for 8 June 1852, LAC, Ottawa; Henry Kellett to John Barrow, 9 June 1852, Add 35307 Sir Edward Belcher’s Expedition, Manuscripts, BL; James Blair Grove to John Barrow, 17 June 1852, Add 35307 Sir Edward Belcher’s Expedition, Manuscripts, BL; Edward Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1855), 1: 38; George Frederick McDougall, *The Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship ‘Resolute’ to the Arctic Regions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), 36; Emile de Bray, *A Frenchman in Search of Franklin: De Bray’s Arctic Journal 1852–54*, trans. and ed. William Barr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 23.
70. I am grateful to Sue Jones at the University of Oxford for identifying the dance depicted.

71. Belcher, *Arctic Voyages*, 38; McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 36; May, Journal, Entry for 8 June 1852; James Blair Grove to John Barrow, 17 June 1852; Henry Kellett to John Barrow, 9 June 1852.
72. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 27.
73. *Ibid.*, 35. The women were half-Danish and half-Inuit. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 201.
74. Bray, *Frenchman in Search*, 23.
75. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 36.
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.
77. *Illustrated London News*, 11 December 1852.
78. Robert McCormick to John Barrow, 9 June 1852, Add 35307 Sir Edward Belcher's Expedition, Manuscripts, BL.
79. Johann Miertsching, *Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850–1854*, trans. L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 99. It should be noted that Miertsching's 'daily journal was left behind on the ship', and he wrote this version with the aid of McClure's diary, his own notes, and his memory. Miertsching, *Frozen Ships*, 3.
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.
85. Thomas Haynes Bayly, *The Poetical Works of Thomas Haynes Bayly*, ed. Helena Beecher Haynes Bayly, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1844), 1:182–3.
86. William Gerard Don, ‘Reminiscences of the Baltic Fleet of 1855’ (Brechin, 1894), 124–5.
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.
89. Officers and Seamen of the Expedition, *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*, ed. James Donnet (London: Colburn and Company, 1852), 41.
90. William T. Mumford, *The First View of the Coast Greenland 21.5.52* [1852], ICON5577, LAC, Ottawa.
91. 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: Entry for 21 May 1852, LAC, Ottawa. Walter W. May, Journal of HMS Assistance [20 April 1852–19 August 1853], Walter May Fonds MG24-H31: Entry for 11 October 1852, LAC, Ottawa.
92. Richard Harding, *Modern Naval History: Debates and Prospects* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 119.
93. William Blakey, *An Incident in the Search for Sir John Franklin* [1854], PAG8039, NMM, Greenwich.
94. James Cook, *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), 36.
95. Edward Adams, Journal [12 October 1850–3 July 1851], MS 1115, SPRI, Cambridge.
96. Edward Adams, *Koutoküdluk – My First Love, 1851* [1851], Y: 83/11/55, SPRI, Cambridge.
97. Kristina Huneault, ‘Miniature Objects of Cultural Covenant: Portraits and First Nations Sitters in British North America’, *Canadian Art Review* 30, no. 1/2 (2005): 87–100 at pp. 87–8.
98. Adams, Journal, Entry for 11 January 1851.
99. H. Stevenson, ‘The Late Mr. Edward Adams’, *Ibis, a Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 2, no. 8 (October 1878): 420–42 at p. 422.

100. Heidi Hansson, 'The Gentleman's North: Lord Dufferin and the Beginnings of Arctic Tourism', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 1 (February 2009): 61–73 at p. 61.
101. Hansson, 'Gentleman's North', 61.
102. Chauncey C. Loomis, 'The Arctic Sublime', in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U. C. Knoepfelmacher and G. B. Tennyson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 95–112 at pp. 97–8.
103. *Ibid.*, 101.
104. Loomis, 'Arctic Sublime', 103.
105. Ann Radcliffe, 'The Snow-Fiend', in *Gaston de Blondeville and St. Alban's Abbey*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 4:192–5. Lines from the poem were also quoted in the *London Journal* as a 'perfectly true' description. 'The Arctic Expedition', 24 November 1849.
106. Greppi, "On the Spot", 23.
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.
108. Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy*, 56.
109. *Ibid.*, 57.
110. Edward Adams, Journal [8 May 1848–29 October 1849], MS 1461:1, Entry for 30 July 1848, SPRI, Cambridge.
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.
117. Berthold Seemann, ‘Flora of Western Eskimaux-Land’, in *The Botany of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald . . . during the Years 1845–51* (London: Reeve, 1852), 11–56.
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.
119. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Brown’s Island Aug 1848* [1848], WMH 3–1-D4-1, NRO, Norwich.
120. Adams, Journal, Entry for 8 August 1848.
121. Adams, Journal, Entry for 8 July 1848.
122. The set of photographs by Inglefield compiled in an album and presented to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1854 is available to view in high resolution on the Royal Collection Trust website: www.rct.uk/collection/2510457/h-m-ships-phoenix-talbot-in-search-of-sir-john-franklin-1854.
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.
124. Efram Sera-Shriar, ‘Anthropometric Portraiture and Victorian Anthropology: Situating Francis Galton’s Photographic Work in the Late 1870s’, *History of Science* 53, no. 2 (2015): 155–79 at p. 159.
125. Briggs, *Victorian Things*, 107.
126. Edward Augustus Inglefield, *The Church and Parsonage, Holsteinborg* [1854], G4271, NMM, Greenwich.
127. Edward Augustus Inglefield, *Unidentified Elderly Inuit Woman* [1854], G4269, NMM, Greenwich.
128. Sera-Shriar, ‘Anthropometric Portraiture’, 159.
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.

130. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 168–9.
131. Edward Adams, *Glacier Bay, copied from Lieut Brown by candle light* [1848–9], Y: 83/11/12, SPRI, Cambridge.

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.
5. ‘A Visit to the Arctic Ships’, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 25 May 1850.
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).
7. Officers and Seamen of the Expedition, *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*, ed. James Donnet (London: Colburn and Co., 1852); Sherard Osborn and George F. McDougall, *Illustrated Arctic News* (London: Ackermann, 1852).
 8. Henry Briant, 'A Catalogue of the Library Established on board HMS Assistance' [1853], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, mg N07/08K, RGS, London. The entries in the catalogue suggest that bound volumes of periodicals were on board, although this is not certain.
 9. Elaine Hoag, 'Shipboard Printing on the Franklin Search Expeditions: A Bibliographical Study of the Plover Press', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 38, no. 1 (2000): 7–71 at p. 28.
 10. Elaine Hoag, 'Caxtons of the North: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Arctic Shipboard Printing', *Book History*, 4 (2001): 81–114 at pp. 99; 85–6.
 11. David H. Stam and Deirdre C. Stam, 'Bending Time: The Function of Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century Polar Naval Expeditions', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 301–22 at pp. 302; 304.
 12. Erika Behrisch Elce, "'One of the Bright Objects that Solace Us in these Regions": Labour, Leisure, and the Arctic Shipboard Periodical, 1820–1852', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 46, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 343–67 at p. 344.
 13. *Ibid.*, 347.
 14. *Ibid.*, 352; 358.
 15. Hester Blum, 'The News at the Ends of the Earth: Polar Periodicals', in *Unsettled States: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies*, ed. Dana Luciano and Ivy G. Wilson (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 158–88 at p. 165.
 16. *Ibid.*, 165.
 17. *Ibid.*, 161.
 18. Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 28; 138.
 19. Colburn & Co. Publishers, handbill advertising *Arctic Miscellanies. A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search* [1852], Erasmus Ommanney Collection EO/3/3, RGS, London.
 20. Edward Sabine (ed.), 'The New Georgia Gazette or Winter Chronicle', [1819–1820] MS 438/12. SPRI, Cambridge. The manuscript was subsequently published as part of Parry's *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (London: John Murray, 1821).
 21. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 171.

22. 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 No7/11D: Entry for November 1852. Monograph Collection, RGS, London.
23. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 162.
24. *Arctic Miscellanies*, p. ix.
25. Heather Davis-Fisch, *Loss and Cultural Remains in Performance: The Ghosts of the Franklin Expedition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Heidi Hansson, 'Staging the Arctic 1819–1909 and 2014', *Nordlit* 35 (2015): 47–62; Moira Dunbar, 'The Royal Arctic Theatre, with Drawings from The Illustrated Arctic News published on board H.M.S. Resolute in the Canadian Arctic, 31 October 1850 to 14 March 1851', *Canadian Art* 15, no. 2 (1958): 110–113; Patrick B. O'Neill, 'Theatre in the North: Staging Practices of the British Navy in the Canadian Arctic', *Dalhousie Review* 74, no. 3 (1994): 356–84.
26. Phyllis J. Johnson and Peter Suedfeld, 'Coping with Stress through the Microcosms of Home and Family Among Arctic Whalers and Explorers', *History of the Family* 1, no. 1 (1996): 41–62 at pp. 42–3.
27. Lawrence A. Palinkas and Peter Suedfeld, 'Psychological Effects of Polar Expeditions', *Lancet* 371 (January 2008): 153–63 at p. 158.
28. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 1: 1.
29. Carolyn Strange, 'Reconsidering the "Tragic" Scott Expedition: Cheerful Masculine Home-making in Antarctica, 1910–1913', *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 66–88 at p. 73.
30. Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Canto edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 159.
31. Strange, 'Scott Expedition', 74.
32. William Edward Parry established that the practice of amusements would negate boredom and listlessness during the long Arctic winter. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 171.
33. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 86.
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.
 38. May, Journal, Entry for 11 October 1852.
 39. John Bertie Cator, Article from the Arctic Charivari [6 August 1851], Erasmus Ommanney Collection EO/3/3, RGS, London.
 40. John Simpson, 'Flight of the Plover' [1848], John Simpson Papers RL.01195, Box 1, RL, Duke University, North Carolina.
 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.
 44. Arthur L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 78.
 45. Clements R. Markham, *The Arctic Navy List 1773–1873* (1875; repr. Dallington: Naval and Military Press, 1992), 39.
 46. Sherard Osborn to William Penny, 27 September 1856, MS 116/57/1–12, SPRI, Cambridge.
 47. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy: The Remarkable Career of a Victorian Sailor: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Gurney Cresswell*, ed. Dominick Harrod (London: Chatham Publishing, 2000), 143.
 48. Markham, *Arctic Navy List*, 32–3. McDougall also produced some illustrations for 'Aurora Borealis'.
 49. John Bertie Cator, Diary HMS Intrepid [1850–51], 2: Entry for 28 May 1851, SPRI, Cambridge.
 50. Markham, *Arctic Navy List*, 35.
 51. May, Journal, Entry for 6 January 1854.
 52. Andrew Lambert, *Tragic Hero*, 230.
 53. Markham, *Arctic Navy List*, 35; Christopher Wood, *Dictionary of British Art*, vol. 4, bk. 1, *Victorian Painters* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1998), 348.

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.
58. Alvin Sullivan, ed., *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age, 1837–1913* (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. vii.
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.
62. May, Journal, Entry for 11 October 1852.
63. May, Journal, Entry for 8 November 1852.
64. Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines*, p. xvi; Patricia Anderson, 'Illustration', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Aldershot: Scolar, 1994), 127–42 at pp. 127–30.
65. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 1.
66. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 1.
67. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 2.
68. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 2.
69. *Arctic Miscellanies*, 202.
70. [William Chimmo], *Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman* (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 300–1.
71. Vern L. Bullough and Bonnie L. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 232–5.
72. Davis-Fisch, *Loss and Cultural Remains*, 33.
73. David A. Boxwell, 'The Follies of War: Cross-Dressing and Popular Theatre on the British Front Lines, 1914–18', *Modernism/Modernity* 9, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–20 at pp. 13–14. Boxwell discusses the divergent traditions of 'mimicry and mimesis' that became apparent in the history of female impersonation.
74. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 2.

75. Boxwell, 'Follies of War', 9–10.
76. I deal with these aspects in Chapters 4 and 5.
77. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 3.
78. *Ibid.*, 6.
79. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 2 [December 1852]: 8.
80. Clements Markham, Private Journal from HMS Assistance [1850–51], The Sir Clements Robert Markham Collection CRM/3: 33, RGS, London.
81. 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.
82. 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*.
83. Altick, *Punch*, p. xvii.
84. *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].
85. Sullivan, *British Literary Magazines*, 505.
86. Hoag, 'Shipboard Printing', 102.
87. Max Keith Sutton, "'Inverse Sublimity" in Victorian Humour', *Victorian Studies* 10, no. 2 (December 1966): 177–92 at p. 188.
88. Ann C. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (London: Routledge, 2016), 39–42.
89. Sutton, 'Victorian Humour', 182.
90. Mary Douglas, 'The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception', *Man* 3, no. 3 (September 1968): 361–76 at pp. 363; 368.
91. Altick, *Punch*, p. xxiv.
92. Aimar Ventsel, "'Our Beer is Better Than Theirs": Sub-cultural Comics as a Joking Relationship with Identity', *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, no. 46 (2010): 143–60 at p. 143.
93. *Ibid.*, 156.
94. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains*, 30–2.
95. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 7–10.
96. *Ibid.*, 10.
97. George Back, *Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.S. Terror* (London: John Murray, 1838), 427.
98. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 4 [February 1853]: 8. The missing word has the same number of letters as the *Terror*.
99. *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.
 102. Owen Beattie and John Geiger, *Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition* (London: Bloomsbury, 1987).
 103. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 1 [November 1852]: 8.
 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.
 106. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 2 [December 1852]: 20.
 107. Davis-Fisch, *Loss and Cultural Remains*, 29–30.
 108. Osborn and McDougall, *Illustrated Arctic News*, 17.
 109. *Arctic Miscellanies*, 41.
 110. Eveline G. Bouwers, *Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe: Comparing Cultures of Remembrance, c. 1790–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 202–7.
 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.
 112. Stam and Stam, 'Bending Time', 302; Behrisch Elce, 'Bright Objects', 347.
 113. Behrisch Elce, 'Bright Objects', 344.
 114. Johann Miertsching, *Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850–1854*, trans. L. H. Neatby (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 176.
 115. 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.
 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.

119. Simpson, 'Flight of the Plover', [1848].
120. Clements Markham, *Life of Sir Admiral Leopold McClintock* (London: John Murray, 1909), 113.
121. Markham, *Sir Clements R. Markham*, 120. As neither of the two periodicals apparently survives, only second-hand references to them are available.
122. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 163.
123. The present-day communities at Resolute (Qausuittuq) and Grise Fiord (Ajuittuq) 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.
124. Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 192.
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).
129. Rochfort Maguire, *The Journal of Rochfort Maguire 1852–1854*, ed. John Bockstoce (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), 1:85.
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*, 1988.
131. Miertsching, *Frozen Ships*, 36–7; Maguire, *Journal*, 1:130–1; McGoogan, *Fatal Passage*, 126–7.
132. Hoag, 'Shipboard Printing', 40–2.
133. Matthews, *Journal*, Entry for February 1853.
134. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 176–7.
135. Blum, 'Polar Periodicals', 173–6.
136. *Arctic Miscellanies*, p. viii.
137. Colburn & Co. Publishers, handbill advertising *Arctic Miscellanies*, [1852]. The price was twelve shillings.
138. 'Literature', *Era*, 3 May 1852.

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’.
147. May, Journal, Entry for 11 October 1852.
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.
150. Amanda Gilroy, ‘Introduction’, in *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775–1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 1–15 at p. 3.
151. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 4 [February 1853]: 28.
152. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 3 [January 1853]: 24.
153. Osborn, ‘Queen’s Illuminated Magazine’, 4 [February 1853]: 28.
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’

1. Hester Lynch Piozzi to John Williams, 12 April 1819, in *Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence*, ed. Robert McNamee et al. (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2008–17), www.e-enlightenment.com. The book she referred to was the

- 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.
 3. Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 8.
 4. As far as we know, all the authors were male.
 5. E. A. Inglefield, *A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin with a Peep into the Polar Basin* (London: Thomas Harrison, 1853), 41.
 6. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 201.
 7. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 61.
 8. Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 7.
 9. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6.
 10. Kirsten Hvenegård-Lassen, 'Journey to the Centre of the Ice: Narrating Ice-Core Drillings in Northern Greenland', *Studies in Travel Writing* 20, no. 3 (September 2016): 237–48 at p. 237.
 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.
 12. Jen Hill, *White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 42.
 13. Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund, '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. 311.
 14. Adriana Craciun, 'Writing the Disaster: Franklin and *Frankenstein*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 65, no. 4 (March 2011): 433–80 at pp. 435–7.
 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).
 16. Craciun, 'Franklin and *Frankenstein*', 457.
 17. Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852).

18. Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1.
19. Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 88.
20. See Adriana Craciun, 'What is an Explorer?', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 29–51.
21. Henry Briant, 'A Catalogue of the Library Established on board HMS Assistance' [1853], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, mg N07/08K, RGS, London. As well as the library, officers tended to bring their own books on board.
22. R. H. Dana, *Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea*, 4th ed. (London: Edward Moxon, 1845).
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.
24. For more on the literary technique of virtual witnessing, see Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 60–5.
25. Marina Warner, 'Imaginary Passages', *Third Text* 21, no. 3 (September 2007): 487–98 at p. 488.
26. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 157.
27. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 156.
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.
34. Isaac Israel Hayes, *An Arctic Boat Journey, in the Autumn of 1854*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867), 250–1.
35. William Parker Snow, *Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Narrative of Every-Day Life in the Arctic Seas* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 249.

36. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, 'Views and Visions of the Tropical World', in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, ed. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 3–20 at p. 8.
37. Alexander von Humboldt, 'Landscape Painting', in *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, vol. 2, trans. under the superintendence of Edward Sabine (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans and John Murray, 1849), 90–1.
38. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 35.
39. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 355.
40. Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 62.
41. Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 135–40.
42. Craciun, 'Franklin and *Frankenstein*', 449; Ian S. MacLaren, 'The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859', *Arctic* 28, no. 2 (June 1985): 89–103; Susan Birkwood, 'From "Naked Country" to "Sheltering Ice": Rudy Wiebe's Revisionist Treatment of John Franklin's First Arctic Narrative', *Nordlit* 23 (2008): 25–38.
43. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 70.
44. Ann Radcliffe, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794, through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany*, 2 vols. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1795) 1: p. vi.
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 Meham, and Francis Leopold McClintock, were serving on naval ships, some on survey missions, in the Pacific.
46. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 29.
47. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 116. Tahiti was known as Otaheite in this period.
48. Heidi Hansson, 'The Gentleman's North: Lord Dufferin and the Beginnings of Arctic Tourism', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 1 (February 2009): 61–73 at p. 64.
49. 'Calving' occurs when chunks of ice break off a glacier's terminus.
50. Robert Goodsir, *An Arctic Voyage to Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, in Search of Friends with Sir John Franklin* (London: John van Voorst, 1850), 53.
51. Marina Warner, *Once Upon a Time: A Short History of Fairy Tale* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 24.
52. A schooner is 'a small craft with two masts'. W. H. Smyth, *An Alphabetical Digest of Nautical Terms*, ed. Edward Belcher (London: Blackie and Son, 1867).
53. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 14.

54. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 41. The phrase ‘grim watchmen’ is likely taken from a poem, ‘Queen Victoria at Windsor’ by John Walker Ord, and refers to ‘giant oaks’: ‘These stalwart boughs for tempests have no fear, / But seem as steadfast now as in their prime: / Grim watchmen of the past—in hoary age sublime!’ *The Bard, and Minor Poems*, ed. John Lodge, 2nd ed. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1842), 159–64.
55. See for example Hayes, *Arctic Boat Journey*, 285–6.
56. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance; Interspersed with Some Pieces of Poetry*, 4 vols., 4th ed. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799), 2:170–1.
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.
58. Cian Duffy, *The Landscapes of the Sublime, 1700–1830: Classic Ground* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 105.
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.
62. Craciun, ‘Franklin and *Frankenstein*’, 463.
63. *Ibid.*, 435.
64. Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 200.
65. Janice Cavell, *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture 1818–1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 227.
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.
67. James Beattie, *The Minstrel; or, the Progress of Genius*, bk. 1 (London: Dilly, 1771), 31.
68. Robert Southey, *The Life of Nelson* (London: Collins, 1813), 24.
69. Tim Fulford, ‘Romanticism and Colonialism: Races, Places, Peoples, 1800–30’, in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1789–1830*, ed. Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35–47 at p. 37.
70. Constantine Phipps, *A Voyage towards the North Pole* (London: Bowyer and Nichols, 1774).

71. 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.
72. For example: Officers and Seamen of the Expedition, *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*, ed. James Donnet (London: Colburn & Co., 1852), 248; 261.
73. Korte, *English Travel Writing*, 105.
74. 1848; 1850; 1852; 1853; 1857; 1858.
75. Francis McClintock, *The Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas: A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and His Companions* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. iii; 17; 26.
76. MacLaren, 'Aesthetic Map', 95.
77. George Frederick McDougall, *The Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship 'Resolute' to the Arctic Regions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), 95.
78. Elisha Kent Kane, *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. A Personal Narrative* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854), 43; 44; 46–7.
79. *Ibid.*, 46–7.
80. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, p. v.
81. Peter Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits . . . in Search of the Missing Crews of H.M. Ships Erebus and Terror* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852) 2: pl. 4.
82. By contrast, Snow's narrative, *Voyage of the Prince Albert*, was priced at twelve shillings.
83. Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage*, p. xliii.
84. Sutherland, *Journal of a Voyage*, p. xliii.
85. McClintock, *Voyage of the 'Fox'*, 152.
86. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 47.
87. Ann Radcliffe, 'The Snow-Fiend', in *Gaston de Blondville and St. Alban's Abbey*, 4 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 4:192–5. The expeditions were much further north than Newfoundland and Labrador.
88. Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibition, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 88; 177.
89. Efram Sera-Shriar, '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 p. 24.
90. *Ibid.*, 6. Anthropology became popular in 1860s as a broader method of study.
91. James Cowles Prichard, 'Ethnology', in *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Her Majesty's Navy and Adapted for Travellers in*

- General. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, ed. John F. W. Herschel (London: John Murray, 1849), 423–44.
92. *Ibid.*, 423–4.
 93. Sera-Shriar, ‘Arctic Observers’, 23.
 94. Ellen Boucher, ‘Arctic Mysteries and Imperial Ambitions: The Hunt for Sir John Franklin and the Victorian Culture of Survival’, *The Journal of Modern History* 90 (March 2018): 40–75 at p. 61.
 95. Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 168.
 96. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.
 97. McClintock, *Voyage of the ‘Fox’*, 27.
 98. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 72.
 99. Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 214–15.
 100. Prichard, ‘Ethnology’, 430; 426. Explorers were not averse to digging up Inuit graves.
 101. Goodsir, *Arctic Voyage*, 27.
 102. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 63.
 103. Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813–1871* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), 140.
 104. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 128.
 105. Janice Cavell, review of *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration*, by Adriana Craciun, *Journal of Historical Geography*. Published electronically September 25, 2016: 2.
 106. Private, unpublished journals from the Bering Strait region also attest to social interaction in the contact zone. For example, when three Inupiat 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 No7/11D: Entry for January 1854. Monograph Collection, RGS, London.
 107. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 1853. All of the plates in the book can be viewed in high resolution on the website *The Illustration Archive*: <https://illustrationarchive.cf.ac.uk>. The entire book with colour plates can be viewed on the TPL website: <https://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/3713105541875od.pdf>.
 108. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 162.
 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.
 110. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 71–2.

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.
112. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 71.
113. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 61.
114. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 306.
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.
117. Goodsir, *Arctic Voyage*, 33.
118. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 74–5.
119. *Oxford English Dictionary*: ‘Of persons: Fair, pretty, “nice-looking”, pleasing: in modern use implying a lower or homelier style of personal beauty, which pleases but does not excite admiration.’ ‘Hideous’ on the other hand, implies something ‘repulsive, revolting’.
120. Hooper, *Tents of the Tuski*, 51.
121. *Ibid.*, 51.
122. *Ibid.*, 73.
123. *Ibid.*, 206.
124. *Ibid.*, 28.
125. Korte, *English Travel Writing*, 92.
126. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 155.
127. Goodsir, *Arctic Voyage*, 4.
128. Goodsir, *Arctic Voyage*, 13.
129. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 207. I deal with the paucity of printed representations of sledge dogs in Chapter 5.
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.
132. Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 94–5.
133. Keighren, Withers, and Bell, *Travels into Print*, 158.
134. *Ibid.*, 157.
135. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, 1854.
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.
138. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, p. vi.

139. Christine E. Jackson, 'M & N Hanhart: Printers of Victorian Music Covers', *Fontes Artis Musicae* 39, no. 3/4 (July–December 1992): 326–30 at p. 326. In the mid-nineteenth century, sheet music with illustrated covers, for popular songs intended to be performed in the home, could sell as many as 200,000 copies. Jackson, 'M & N Hanhart', 327.
140. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, p. v.
141. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 129.
142. Sherard Osborn and George F. McDougall, *Illustrated Arctic News* (London: Ackermann, 1852), 20. 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>.
143. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 128.
144. The graves were those of three members of the Franklin Expedition who had died during the first year of the voyage.
145. MacDougall gives a figure of 334 expedition members in his narrative. *Eventful Voyage*, p. xxxviii. My own calculation using the muster lists is 303. Neville W. Poulson, *British Polar Exploration and Research: A Historical and Medallic Record with Biographies 1818–1999* (London: Savannah Publications, 2000), 64–7; 87–9; 91–2.
146. McDougall, *Eventful Voyage*, 79; Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 107–20.
147. Osborn and McDougall, *Illustrated Arctic News*, 2.
148. George McDougall, *The 3 Graves – Beechey Is.d* [1850], PAG7997, NMM, Greenwich.
149. The letters 'A.B.' stand for Able Seaman, 'one who fully knew his trade'. This is above the Ordinary Seaman who was 'younger and less experienced'. Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, Canto edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 85.
150. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, 162; Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero*, 201.
151. Mark Metzler Sawin, 'Raising Kane: Elisha Kent Kane and the Culture of Fame in Antebellum America', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 3 (2008): 1–368 at p. 21.
152. Canadian Coast Guard, 'Ice Climatology and Environmental Conditions', in *Ice Navigation in Canadian Waters* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2014), www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/publications/icebreaking-deglacage/ice-navigation-glaces/docs/ice-navigation-dans-les-galces-eng.pdf.
153. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, 162.
154. Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero*, 202.
155. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, 85; 95.
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

- Collection Trust website: www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/750930/arctic-expedition-in-search-of-sir-john-franklin-1848-49.
157. Jules Verne, *The Adventures of Captain Hatteras*, trans. unknown (London: Ward Lock & Co., 1876), 93–8.
 158. McClintock, *Voyage of the 'Fox'*, 3rd ed., 1869. The first edition contained sixteen illustrations and four maps. The third edition had thirty illustrations and three maps.
 159. McClintock, *Voyage of the 'Fox'*, 71.
 160. Tabular icebergs have near vertical sides and flat tops.
 161. McClintock, *Voyage of the 'Fox'*, 3rd ed., 293.
 162. Kane, *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, 79.
 163. McClintock, *Voyage of the 'Fox'*, 146–7.
 164. Goodsir, *Arctic Voyage*, 23.
 165. Inglefield, *Summer Search*, 14.
 166. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 209.

4 'Never to Be Forgotten'

1. Tom Taylor, *Leicester Square; Its Associations and its Worthies* (London: Bickers and Son, 1875), 467.
2. Ralph Hyde, *Panoromania! The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London: Trefoil, 1988), 13. A valuable resource for the study of both moving and fixed (stable) panoramas is Laurie Garrison, ed., *Panoramas, 1787–1900: Texts and Contexts*, 5 vols. (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013).
3. Hyde, *Panoromania*, 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.
4. 'The Drama and Public Amusements', *Critic*, 1 December 1849.
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’.
7. ‘Panorama of the Polar Regions’, *Literary Gazette*, 18 February 1850; ‘Burford’s Panorama of the Polar Regions’, *Illustrated London News*, 23 February 1850.
 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 Messers 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.
 14. Laurie Garrison, ‘Virtual Reality and Subjective Responses: Narrating the Search for the Franklin Expedition through Robert Burford’s Panorama’, *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10, no. 1 (February 2012): 7–22 at p. 20.
 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*

- Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture 1818–1860* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 183–4.
17. Garrison, 'Virtual Reality', 14–15.
 18. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
 19. Potter, *Arctic Spectacles*, 82.
 20. *Ibid.*, 83.
 21. Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 154.
 22. Garrison, 'Virtual Reality', 8; Ralph Hyde, 'Burford, Robert (1791–1861)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3965?docPos=2.
 23. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 10.
 24. *Athenaeum*, 29 December 1849.
 25. Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibition, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 7–8.
 26. 'Panoramas', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* 316, 21 January 1860.
 27. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 137–8.
 28. *Ibid.*, 137.
 29. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 10. Distemper was a cheaper, non-durable, water-based medium.
 30. John Ruskin, 'Deucalion, and Other Studies in Rocks and Stones' (1878), in *Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903–12), 26:567. www.lancaster.ac.uk/users/ruskinlib/Pages/Works.html
 31. John Ruskin, 'Præterita. Outlines of Scenes and Thoughts Perhaps Worthy of Memory in my Past Life' (1886–9), in Cook and Wedderburn, *Works of John Ruskin*, 35:118.
 32. Taylor, *Leicester Square*, 467.
 33. 'Miscellaneous', *Musical World*, 29 June 1850.
 34. Taylor, *Leicester Square*, 469.
 35. Rockett and Rockett, *Magic Lantern*, 91–2.
 36. Ruskin, 'Præterita', in Cook and Wedderburn, *Works of John Ruskin*, 35:118.
 37. Alexander von Humboldt, 'Landscape Painting', in *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, vol. 2, trans. under the superintendence of Edward Sabine (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans and John Murray, 1849), 91.
 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 . . . an*

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#>.
41. 'Panoramas', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* 316, 21 January 1860.
42. Altick, *Shows of London*, 133.
43. Humboldt, 'Landscape Painting', 90.
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.
48. 'The Drama and Public Amusements', *Critic*, 15 April 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.
51. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 15; 'Mr. Burford's Panorama', *The Times*, 11 February 1850.
52. Humboldt, 'Landscape Painting', 90–1.
53. William Parker Snow, *Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin: A Narrative of Every-Day Life in the Arctic Seas* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 249.
54. 'Professor Leslie's Lectures on Painting', *Athenaeum*, 17 February 1849.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Nigel Leask, "'Wandering through Elbis": Absorption and Containment in Romantic Exoticism', in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1789–1830*, ed. Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 165–88 at p. 173.
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.
64. James McGuire and James Quinn, eds., *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), <http://dib.cambridge.org>.
65. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com.
66. Many letters, dating from 1818 to 1836, exist between Lieutenant James Browne and the Commissioners of Howth Harbour, beginning with: James Browne, Application for the position of harbour master at Howth, 1 June 1818, OPW/8/HOW/2686, Howth Harbour 1800–52, National Archives of Ireland, <http://www.nationalarchives.ie>. Boase tells us that William Henry Browne was the ‘son of Mr. Browne, harbour master at Dublin’. Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography* (Truro: Netherton & Worth, 1892–1921), 1:447.
67. A Constant Traveller, ‘To the Proprietor of the Freeman’s Journal’, *Freeman’s Journal*, 30 April 1825.
68. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 1:447; William O’Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary: Comprising the Services of All Living Naval Officers, Admirals, Captains, Commanders, Lieutenants, Masters, Engineers, Mates, Second-masters, Chaplains, Naval Instructors, Medical officers, Paymasters, and Assistant-Paymasters, together with those of the Officers of the Royal Marines*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1861), 1:134.
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).
71. Officers and Seamen of the Expedition, *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*, ed. James Donnet (London: Colburn & Co., 1852), 66.
72. SPRI, Cambridge and NMM, Greenwich.
73. Burford, ‘Summer and Winter Views’, 3.
74. Burford, ‘Summer and Winter Views’, 3.
75. ‘Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller’, *Household Words*, 20 April 1850.
76. Burford, ‘Summer and Winter Views’, 3.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 77.
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/.
88. A nunatak is 'an isolated peak of rock projecting above the surface of inland ice' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The three peaks represented in Browne's painting are now 'marginal rock islands at the icecap periphery'. Mauri Peltó, 'Upernavik Glacier Retreat, NW Greenland', *From a Glaciers [sic] Perspective*, <https://glacierchange.wordpress.com/2011/09/17/upernavik-glacier-retreat-nw-greenland>.
89. William Henry Browne, *Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition* (London: Ackermann, 1850). The set of lithographs can be viewed on the Royal Collection Trust website: www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/750930/arctic-expedition-in-search-of-sir-john-franklin-1848-49.
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.
92. 'Arctic Exploration', *New Monthly Magazine*, February 1860.
93. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 3.
94. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), 451–2.
95. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 4.
96. Jen Hill, *White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 76.
97. Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 196; 219; 296.
98. Garrison, 'Virtual Reality', 14–15.

99. Kirsten Hvenegård-Lassen, 'Journey to the Centre of the Ice: Narrating Ice-Core Drillings in Northern Greenland', *Studies in Travel Writing* 20, no. 3 (September 2016): 237–48 at p. 241.
100. Stefan Jonsson, 'Where Humanism Finds its Ends: Lessons from Pia Arke and Katarina Pirak Sikku on the Difficulty of Narrating the Arctic', *Studies in Travel Writing* 20, no. 3 (September 2016): 226–36 at p. 229.
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.
102. 'Sir James Ross' Arctic Expedition', *Illustrated London News*, 17 November 1849.
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.
105. *Illustrated London News*, 23 February 1850.
106. Heather Davis-Fisch, *Loss and Cultural Remains in Performance: The Ghosts of the Franklin Expedition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 44.
107. 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 No7/11D: Entry for May 1851. Monograph Collection, RGS, London.
108. [William Chimmo], *Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman* (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 300–1.
109. Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 168–9.
110. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 169.
111. William Henry Browne, *Coast of N. Somerset* [1849], N: 956, SPRI, Cambridge.
112. S. Renou, *Delineations Physical, Intellectual, and Moral, Exemplifying the Philosophy of Christianity* (London: Shaw and Sons, 1838), 193–4.
113. 'Panorama of the Arctic Regions, Leicester Square', *Era*, 24 February 1850.
114. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 9.
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
118. William Simpson, Diary Written on board HMS Plover [January 1848–December 1850], JOD/76: Entry for 28 August 1849, NMM, Greenwich.
119. *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1850.

120. 'Some Account of an Extraordinary Traveller', *Household Words*, 20 April 1850.
121. Goliath Muff [William Thackeray], 'The Sights of London', *Punch*, 6 April 1850.
122. 'Panorama of the Polar Regions', *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 16 February 1850.
123. 'Panorama of the Polar Regions', *Observer*, 10 February 1850.
124. 'Panorama of the Arctic Regions', *Era*, 24 February 1850.
125. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 4. Coruscations referred to the glimmering light of the aurora.
126. Burford, 'Summer and Winter Views', 14.
127. 'Burford's Panorama of the Polar Regions', *Illustrated London News*, 23 February 1850.
128. 'Burford's Panorama of the Polar Regions', *Illustrated London News*, 23 February 1850.
129. Shane McCorristine, "'Involuntarily We Listen": Hearing the Aurora Borealis in Nineteenth-Century Arctic Exploration and Science', *Canadian Journal of History* 48 (Spring–Summer 2013): 29–61 at p. 29.
130. Neil Bone, *Aurora: Observing and Recording Nature's Spectacular Light Show* (New York: Springer, 2007), 139.
131. Denison Olmsted, 'On the Recent Secular Period of the Aurora Borealis', *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* 8, no. 3 (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1856), 1–52 at p. 52.
132. J. E. P., 'Aurora Borealis', *National Magazine* (October 1830), 461–3.
133. Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero*, 166.
134. J. F. W. Herschel, 'Meteorology', in *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Her Majesty's Navy and Adapted for Travellers in General. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, ed. John F. W. Herschel (London: John Murray, 1849), 316.
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.
138. Gilpin, 'Outline of the Voyage', 86–7.
139. James Clark Ross, 'Narrative of the Proceedings of Captain Sir James C. Ross, in Command of the Expedition through Lancaster Sound and Barrow Straits', *Arctic Blue Books*, 1850a.
140. Osborn, *Stray Leaves*, 164.
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.
143. Walter W. May, *Journal of HMS Assistance* [20 April 1852–19 August 1853], *Walter May Fonds MG24-H31*: Entry for 10 December 1852, LAC, Ottawa.
144. May, *Journal of HMS Assistance*, Entry for 11 December 1852.
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 $58^{\circ}1_2$.’ 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.
149. William Jerden (ed.), ‘Panorama of the Polar Regions’, *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, 16 February 1850.

5 ‘Power and Truth’

1. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy: The Remarkable Career of a Victorian Sailor: The Journals and Letters of Samuel Gurney Cresswell*, ed. Dominick Harrod (London: Chatham Publishing, 2000), 107.
2. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *A Series of Eight Sketches in Colour . . . of the Voyage of H.M.S. ‘Investigator’* (London: Day and Ackermann, 1854).
3. Advert, *Publishers’ Circular*, 1 August 1854; Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy*, 118.
4. ‘Art’, *Critic*, 1 March 1850.
5. Book Review, *Art Journal*, April 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.
7. William Henry Browne, *Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition* (London: Ackermann, 1850).
8. Cresswell, *A Series of Eight Sketches in Colour*, 1854; Walter William May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made during the Voyage up Wellington Channel* (London: Day and Son, 1855).
9. ‘The Art of Lithography’, *Morning Chronicle*, 18 January 1855.

10. ‘The North-West Passage’, *Morning Chronicle*, 24 October 1853.
11. Cian Duffy, *The Landscapes of the Sublime, 1700–1830: Classic Ground* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 21.
12. B. E. Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 11.
13. Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 54.
14. Michael Clarke, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, 2nd ed., with Deborah Clarke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 145.
15. Michael Twyman, ‘The Illustration Revolution’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. David McKitterick, vol. 6, 1830–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 117–43 at p. 121.
16. Richard C. Sha, *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 1; 4; 12.
17. Tim Youngs, ed., *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), 9.
18. Martin J. S. Rudwick, ‘The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science 1760–1840’, *History of Science* 14 (1976): 149–95 at p. 156.
19. Naomi Hume, ‘The Nature Print and Photography in the 1850s’, *Photography* 35, no. 1 (2011): 44–58 at p. 54; Gunilla Törnvall, ‘From Copperplate to Color Lithograph: On the Modernisation of an Illustrated Flora 1800–1900’, *Book History* 20 (2017): 126–49 at p. 137.
20. Erika Piola, ‘The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture’, *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no. 2/3 (2014): 125–38 at p. 127.
21. Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800–1850: The Techniques of Drawing on Stone in England and France and Their Application in Works of Topography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 161.
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.
25. ‘List of New Books’, *Literary Gazette*, 23 June 1855.
26. Arthur L. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 78; 73.
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.

30. Browne, *Ten Coloured Views*, 5.
31. The author of the text is anonymous.
32. Advertisement, *Athenaeum*, 23 February 1850.
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.
39. Book Review, *Art Journal*, April 1850.
40. 'Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition', *Athenaeum*, 2 March 1850.
41. 'Ten Coloured Views', *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.
46. P. R. Dawes and R. L. Christie, 'Geomorphic Regions', in *Geology of the Innuitian Orogen and Arctic Platform of Canada and Greenland*, ed. H. P. Trettin (Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1991), 27–56 at pp. 40–4.
47. Rebecca Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting, 1825–75* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 4; 15.
48. Henry Briant, 'A Catalogue of the Library Established on board HMS Assistance' [1853], Arctic Pamphlets vol. 3, mg No7/08K, RGS, London.
49. The house, renovated and expanded, still exists today and trades as King Sitric Restaurant and Accommodation.
50. Aaron Clarke, Sarah Gatley, and Matthew Parkes, 'Fingal – County Geological Site Report', *The Geological Heritage of Fingal* (Dublin: Geological Survey of Ireland, 2007).
51. British Parliament, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1852b, 68; 71; 74–5.

52. Review of *Ten Coloured Views*, by William Henry Browne, *Art Journal*, April 1850.
53. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 79.
54. William Henry Browne, *Coast of N. Somerset* [1849], N: 956, SPRI, Cambridge.
55. Deniz Tekiner, *Modern Art and the Romantic Vision* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2000), II: 15.
56. Kate Flint, *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 120.
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.
59. Ann C. Colley, *Victorians and the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (London: Routledge, 2016), 57.
60. *Ibid.*, 68.
61. Review of *Ten Coloured Views*, by William Henry Browne, *Art Journal*, April 1850.
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).
63. L. H. Neatby, ‘Samuel Gurney Cresswell (1827–1867)’, *Arctic* 35, no. 4 (Dec 1982): 554–5 at p. 554.
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.
65. Review of *Series of Eight Sketches*, by Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Art Journal*, September 1854.
66. *Ibid.*
67. ‘Fine Arts’, *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1855.
68. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.
69. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.
70. Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy*, 57.
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.
75. Review of *Series of Eight Sketches*, by Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Art Journal*, September 1854.
76. *Ibid.*
77. ‘Fine Arts’, *Athenaeum*, 16 September 1854.
78. Review of *Series of Eight Sketches*, by Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Art Journal*, 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>.
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.
85. Review of *Series of Eight Sketches*, by Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Art Journal*, September 1854.
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.
87. Miertsching, *Frozen Ships*, 134.
88. Cresswell, *War, Ice and Piracy*, 76.
89. Armstrong, *Personal Narrative*, 405–6.
90. ‘H.M.S. “Investigator”, in the Arctic Regions’, *Illustrated London News*, 29 October 1853.

91. 'H.M.S. "Investigator", in the Arctic Regions', *Illustrated London News*, 29 October 1853.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Samuel Gurney Cresswell, *Position of H.M.S. Investigator, Sept 19, 1851* [1851], WMH 3-I-D4-I, NRO, Norwich.
94. Armstrong, *Personal Narrative*, 442–3.
95. Delia Millar, 'William Simpson (1823–1899)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25597.
96. Clements R. Markham, *The Arctic Navy List 1773–1873* (1875; repr., Dallington: Naval and Military Press, 1992), 35.
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.
98. 'Fine Arts', *Morning Chronicle*, 11 September 1850.
99. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 3.
100. See, for example, Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 145–6.
101. 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.
102. 'Fine Arts', *Morning Chronicle*, 11 September 1855.
103. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 4.
104. 'List of New Books', *Literary Gazette*, 23 June 1855.
105. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 7.
106. PAF7055; PAF7056; PAF7060, NMM, Greenwich.
107. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 4.
108. Walter William May, *Assistance in Tow of the Pioneer* [1853], PAF7061, NMM, Greenwich.
109. Walter William May, *Sledge Party Returning through Water in the Month of July* [1853/4], PAF7058, NMM, Greenwich. The painting is available to view on the Royal Museums Greenwich website: <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/101885.html>.
110. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 6.
111. Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 44–5.
112. Walter William May, *Loss of the McLellan* [1853/4], PAF7059, NMM, Greenwich; Walter William May, *II.—Loss of the McLellan* (London: Day & Son, 1855). The lithograph can be viewed on the Royal Museums Greenwich website: <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/110604.html>.

113. 'Destruction of Fourteen Vessels by Ice-Bergs in the Atlantic—Upwards of One Hundred Lives Lost', *Kerry Examiner*, 21 June 1850, Irish Newspaper Archive.
114. May, *Fourteen Sketches*, 3.
115. George Frederick McDougall, *The Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship 'Resolute' to the Arctic Regions* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), 64–5.
116. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 3 [January 1853]: 1.
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.
118. May, Journal, Entry for 15 July 1852.
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.
121. John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 21.
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.
123. William Barr, 'The Use of Dog Sledges during the British Search for the Missing Franklin Expedition in the North American Arctic Islands, 1848–59', *Arctic* 62, no. 3 (September 2009): 257–72 at p. 267.
124. Osborn, 'Queen's Illuminated Magazine', 1 [November 1852]: 24.
125. *Ibid.*, 4 [February 1853]: 25.
126. Barr, 'Dog Sledges', 271.
127. Andrew Lambert, *Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation* (London: Faber & Faber, 2009), 322; 332.
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.

130. Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 3.
131. *Ibid.*, 25.
132. Duffy, *Landscapes of the Sublime*, 117.
133. Hume, 'The Nature Print and Photography', 54.

6 Conclusion

1. Lisa Bloom, *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 6.
2. Walter W. May, Journal of HMS Assistance [20 April 1852–19 August 1853], Walter May Fonds MG24-H31: Entry for 11 October 1852, LAC, Ottawa.
3. Edward Belcher, *The Last of the Arctic Voyages* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1855), 2: 7.
4. Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 280.
5. Isaac Israel Hayes, *An Arctic Boat Journey, in the Autumn of 1854*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867), 331.
6. Carolyn Strange, 'Reconsidering the "Tragic" Scott Expedition: Cheerful Masculine Home-making in Antarctica, 1910–1913', *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 66–88 at p. 67.
7. Richard C. Powell, 'Inscribing the North: The Historical Geographies of Circumpolar Description' (paper, International Conference of Historical Geographers, Royal Geographical Society, London, 5 July 2015).
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).
9. Robert Burford, 'Description of Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions as Seen during the Expedition of Capt. James Clark Ross' (London, 1850), 4.
10. Michael Byers, *Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009), 48–9.
11. *Ibid.*, 50.
12. Adriana Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 225.
13. *Ibid.*, 230.
14. [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. A colour version can be viewed in high resolution on the National Library of Australia's website: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-133007737/view>.
15. [William Chimmo], *Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman* (London: J.D. Potter, 1860), 218.