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## Arctic exploration and the mobility of phrenology: John Ross's ethnographic portraits of the Netsilingmiut

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### ABSTRACT

Analysing a set of ethnographic images and illustrations resulting from John Ross's second voyage to find a Northwest Passage in 1829–1833, this article considers the ways in which Arctic exploration intersected with emergent scientific thinking about race and ethnicity in Britain. In particular, it examines how mobility impacted ideas of phrenology and scientific imaging in the context of the Arctic. As a practitioner of phrenology and member of the Edinburgh Phrenological Society, Ross's expertise in this new mental science certainly travelled with him to the Arctic. As his field drawings and book illustrations testify, however, Ross's knowledge was also affected by his immediate contact with the Inuit in Boothia Peninsula in Nunavut. Comparing Ross's field drawings and illustrations in his two-volume *Narrative* and *Appendix* to their accompanying texts and to select ethnographic illustrations produced by his fellow Arctic explorers, this article uncovers the material and conceptual transformations Ross's scientific visualisation of Inuit underwent during his physical movement between Britain and the Arctic.

### KEYWORDS

Phrenology; physiognomy; ethnographic portrait; Arctic exploration; John Ross; netsilingmiut

## 1. Introduction

When Captain John Ross (1777–1856) returned from his prolonged, four-year voyage to find a Northwest Passage in mid-October 1833, he was carrying data about a hitherto unknown Arctic people, he and his men had encountered in Boothia Peninsula, a large peninsula he named Boothia Felix in today's Nunavut.<sup>1</sup> Like the territory he nominally appropriated for Britain's Empire, Ross renamed this group of Netsilingmiut (also known as Netsilik Inuit) after the main benefactor of the expedition, Sir Felix Booth.<sup>2</sup> These so-called 'Boothians' were crucial to Ross's expedition in two ways. In the first instance, they played an active part in ensuring the well-being of the crew, through sociability and trade, in supplying the explorers with better clothing and fresh meat, and by giving geographical guidance to hunting grounds. They further helped Ross in mapping the area, frequently through the transcultural act of drawing maps on paper for the officers in the cabin of the ship.<sup>3</sup> In these ways, the Netsilingmiut contributed

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to the crew's sustenance and scientific results during the first phase of the expedition. Their active participation as skilful knowledge actors did not stand in the way of Ross turning them into objects of scientific study. This happened through his written and visual field notes that, upon the expedition's return to England, were reworked and reproduced in a variety of media to give what he presented as a comprehensive account of an unadulterated group of 'Esquimaux' to audiences in Europe.

Although Ross had no formal training in drawing and was limited in his talent as a draughtsman, he diligently produced at least eighty-three watercolour sketches in the Arctic.<sup>4</sup> Back in Britain, he used the field drawings as source material for the staging of at least three popular exhibitions in London in 1834, followed by the publication of a two-volume expedition account the next year.<sup>5</sup> The first volume, the *Narrative*, appeared in May 1835, and the second volume, the *Appendix*, was released five months later.<sup>6</sup> The context in which these images and text were produced followed a traditional pattern for travel and expedition accounts that has been identified by Robert Sayre.<sup>7</sup> The first part, the *Narrative*, presented a time-bound narration of the voyage alone, while the second part, the *Appendix*, contained the scientific reports. This two-part structure effectively represented the Inuit in two different ways; diachronically, through a series chronologically ordered meetings within the narrative of the expedition; and, synchronically, as part of a general portrayal of indigenous character and society.<sup>8</sup>

This basic structural division common to travel and expedition accounts, is reflected in the plates illustrating Ross's two volumes. As evidenced from the surviving field drawings, he was working within two distinct visual genres while in the Arctic. The first genre of field drawings, which can usefully be termed 'event scenes', showed moments of interactions with Inuit, as well as travels in the interior, campsites and the claiming of new lands, thus capturing the storyline of the expedition. The second genre of field drawings documented the expedition's scientific finds, primarily consisting of, in Ross's words, 'portraits' of Inuit individuals.<sup>9</sup> It was the reproductions of these sketches that then served as illustrations for the first chapter of Ross's *Appendix*, titled 'Sketch of the Esquimaux found in the Territory of Boothia Felix'. Numbering thirteen plates showing a total of twenty-six individuals, these were, like Ross's original field-drawings, rendered in a formulaic style that clearly recalls what Bernard Smith and Rüdiger Joppien coined the *ethnographic convention*, a lineage of European visual 'type' descriptions of non-Western peoples that usually placed unnamed single figures taxonomically against a neutral background.<sup>10</sup> This convention answered to European desires of gathering, representing, classifying and controlling the flow of information that followed the earliest encounters on the American continent.<sup>11</sup> Initially, the ethnographic convention applied a universalist model of humanity, where classifications of 'national types' were based on differences in clothing, degree of nakedness, attributes and ornamentation such as hairdo, piercing and tattoo. Although artists such as John White (1539–1593) applied various nuances of brown colour to the bodies of non-Europeans, skin colour did not signify race in the sixteenth century but was, Michael Gaudio explains, 'often understood as a removable costume'.<sup>12</sup> Embedded in European practices of the Transatlantic slavery, visual representations of Africans based on set, stereotypical physical features (hair, face and skin colour) began to emerge in the seventeenth century. As Rebecca Brienen notes, these physical alterations to the convention prefigure the 'racial' classifications that developed in ethnographic imaging in the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

While Ross's sketches follow this development in the ethnographic convention, they also depart from it in significant ways. Because they show named sitters and betray personalities beyond racial identification, Ross's representations also relate to the genre of portraiture, whose essential feature is visual likeness to the human original.<sup>14</sup> Building on Brien's definition, I employ the term *ethnographic portraiture* to my discussion of Ross's sketches and reproductions of Netsilingmiut in his *Appendix*.<sup>15</sup> My use of the term understands the ethnographic portrait as combining the ethnographic convention with traditional portraiture. As Brien points out, a crucial difference from traditional portraiture was that the ethnographic portrait, intimately connected to European colonialism, was created for consumption elsewhere and by other people than the (non-European) sitter and their family or community.<sup>16</sup> In her analysis of Albert Eckhout's (1610–1665) large paintings of non-European single figures from Dutch Brazil, Brien further defines the ethnographic portrait as 'carefully constructed from many different sources' that do not to represent an actual human original.<sup>17</sup> The intention was to give the *illusion* of likeness to real individuals, while simultaneously presenting an exemplar of the relevant 'race'.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of Ross, the ethnographic portrait works in quite the opposite way to those by Eckhout. On the one hand, Ross's inability to render the human body and face convincingly separates his works from Eckhout's professionally painted human figures. On the other hand, Ross's sketches referred to actual individuals, their actions and personalities as interpreted and filtered through his hand and mind. In this sense, Ross's ethnographic portraits are arguably closer to the traditional portrait than Eckhout's chimaeras of subjectivity.

Scholarship on Ross has largely overlooked his visual production as well as the scientific, intellectual context of his documentation (both visual and textual) of the Netsilingmiut.<sup>19</sup> Addressing this gap, my article considers the mobility of ideas of phrenology and ethnographic representation as visualised in the series of twenty-two sketches of Inuit that Ross created in the Arctic and their reproduction as ethnographic portraits with accompanying descriptions in the *Appendix*. Drawing on James A. Secord's understanding of science as a form of communication wherein processes of movement, translation and transmission are central, I argue that Ross's ethnographic account was materialised *in transit*, between his location (physically and intellectually) in Europe and the contact zone in Boothia Peninsula.<sup>20</sup> Linda Andersson Burnett discusses a similar dynamic in her article in this issue on the collecting of human and natural things by Hudson Bay Company men, where she demonstrates how the formation of ethnographic knowledge takes shape in different geographical locales and through Indigenous and European actors.

Ross acquired a Eurocentric, 'metropolitan' understanding of race and the categorisations of the 'Esquimaux' through his deep interest in and practice of phrenology. This framework of ideas, in addition to his familiarity with European traditions for ethnographic representation and expedition imaging, went with him to the Arctic. With his geographical relocation to Boothia Peninsula and his expedition's sustained cross-cultural contact with the local inhabitants, however, the clarity of scientific theory and standards for ethnographic imaging proved difficult to uphold. While the ethnographic portraits in Ross's *Appendix* were intended as valuable scientific data in a synchronically structured description of Inuit character and society, the plates contain awkward linkages

to personal anecdotes of meetings with different Inuit. Although these anecdotes in places supported what by then were stereotypical, Western ideas about the Inuit, these stories also, perhaps paradoxically, undermined his attempt to arrive at an objective representation of the 'Esquimaux type'.

As the ethnographic portraits in the *Appendix* suggest, the 'science' Ross produced from the encounters that his physical mobility made possible, were so fraught with inter-personal contacts that they baffled his aspirations to reduce land and people to ethnographic conventions and phrenological norms. The artificiality with which he fitted illustration to narrative in his *Appendix*, reveals how Ross's science was practiced in the space of uncertainty that mobility produced. The scientific result was a mix of phrenological theory, racial presumptions and observations made in the midst of encounters in which he left suggestive traces of bafflement and uncertainty.

## 2. Ross's *Appendix* and phrenology

Published in October 1835, the *Appendix* contained the sweeping scientific results of Ross's last voyage. In his coverage of a number of disciplines ranging from linguistics to zoology and marine biology to philosophy, medicine and meteorology, Ross's treatment of the Netsilingmiut in his opening 'Sketch' took a prominent place. Presenting a detailed ethnographic account, the chapter addressed, across twenty-five pages, aspects of the Netsilingmiut's customs and social organisation, including practices of marriage, burial, adoption, childrearing, hygiene and reciprocation through gift exchange. This was followed by the thirteen plates showing either an individual, couple or small group, each accompanied by a text of between one to two pages, making for a chapter of sixty pages overall.

Engraved as coloured lithographs by John Brandard, the plates accounted for two-thirds of all the images published in that volume, with the six remaining and frontispieces being representations of Arctic fauna, terrestrial refraction, northern lights and a portrait of Ross. It thus seems Ross considered his ethnographic account of a hitherto unknown people to be one of the most important scientific outcomes of his voyage.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the so-called 'Esquimaux' were already highlighted in the Preface to his *Appendix*, with Ross drawing his readers' attention to his first chapter, which he trusted would be read with interest.<sup>22</sup>

In the first two pages of his 'Sketch', Ross hinted at a relationship between his account of the 'Boothians' and the emerging life sciences of the nineteenth century, particularly those concerned with the study of race and physical appearances, such as comparative anatomy, phrenology and physiognomy. Claiming that the plates and their accompanying texts covered the 'stature, forms, and physiognomy' as well as the 'dresses' of the 'Esquimaux' in sufficient detail, Ross held that additional commentary on these subjects was unnecessary.<sup>23</sup> From here, Ross used the Netsilingmiut to exemplify a persistent pre-occupation of the emergent discourse of race, namely the concern for purity. As Bruce Buchan and Silvia Sebastiani point out, the idea of a lineage traceable to its origins became a crucial feature of discourse on race in the Scottish Enlightenment, not just as a means to classify presumed racial differences but just as important to illustrate the distant, indeed pre-historical story of supposedly savage humanity.<sup>24</sup> Establishing them as amongst 'the narrowest and most insulated tribe of men that has yet been

discovered by navigators', Ross went to great lengths to prove an almost total lack of external influences or knowledge about all other cultures.<sup>25</sup> In the process, he was able to bolster his own credentials as a discoverer of land and people new to European science. As he remarked in the Introduction to his *Narrative*, 'the results of my late expedition consist in the Discovery of King William's land; the isthmus and peninsula of Boothia Felix; the gulf of Boothia; the western sea of King William; and the true position of a northern magnetic pole'.<sup>26</sup> The inhabitants of the land (and waters) he claimed and named on behalf of the British crown were, according to his own estimations, equally virgin and isolated:

[E]ntirely unacquainted with Europeans [...] Thus ignorant of civilized society, they were equally unacquainted with the warlike tribes of America; whether those of their own race, or the races which are included under the general term Indians. The peculiar insulation of the tract to which they confine themselves, is not only the cause of this, but is likely to operate henceforward, without interruption.<sup>27</sup>

Ross's point with all of this was likely to certify that the Netsilingmiut were an ideal object of study, with the data he collected about them in the field giving invaluable insight into the original state of humankind. Ross's finds might shed light on processes of degeneration or, conversely, add knowledge about an earlier stage of human development. In the logic of early nineteenth-century thinking, the Netsilingmiut were a perfect, unadulterated sample or specimen through which to isolate and research questions surrounding the intellectual development and capacity of living 'savages'. It is in this context that Ross appears to have offered his 'Sketch' to the readers of his *Appendix*:

Here, if any where [*sic*], we ought therefore to find how the human mind is developed under the narrowest of education, in what manner the "light of nature" [...] operates on the moral character and conduct, and how far human reason can proceed [...] what belongs to the original mental constitution of these people, and what is derived from their narrow and limited intercourse with their own species, in a society so restricted in number, and so incapable of changing customs or altering habits, where there is nothing beyond themselves to see, and no one to imitate.<sup>28</sup>

Ross's interest in questions concerning the development of the human mind, and of the mental character of the Netsilingmiut specifically, is unsurprising given his background in phrenology.

Established by the German physicists Johann G. Spurzheim and Franz J. Gall at the end of the eighteenth century, phrenology was an emerging popular discipline of knowledge sponsored by a range of corresponding societies in Europe and the United States throughout the 1820s. As James Poskett explains, this new 'science of the mind' sat at the intersection of several sciences, drawing on both George Cuvier's comparative anatomy and the anthropology of Samuel George Morton.<sup>29</sup> Like comparative anatomy, phrenology used physical difference to define clear distinctions between Europeans and all others, in this case through a study of the skull. Phrenologists maintained that the psychological characteristics of a person were determined by the size and relationship between the various faculties of 'Benevolence', 'Combativeness' and 'Destructiveness' in the brain, all discerned from the shape of the cranium. A large skull with a high forehead was thus presumed to indicate a highly intelligent and moral person, while in a small skull with a low brow, these human faculties would be

overshadowed by ‘animal’ organs, which were held to be located behind the ear.<sup>30</sup> Considering the overall distinctions between ‘racial’ groups, advocates of phrenology argued that the large skulls considered characteristic of Europeans were not only proof of their superiority but served to justify why the British were fit to rule other peoples, such as ‘Hindoos’.<sup>31</sup> The overall logic, expressed here in the *Phrenological Journal and Miscellany*, explained how ‘without a considerable size in the brain, a nation can never maintain independence, but *cetris paribus*, must inevitably fall to a nation more highly endowed in this respect’.<sup>32</sup>

Ross was apparently familiar with the work of Gall and Spurzheim already some time before its introduction to Scotland in 1816.<sup>33</sup> Although this early exposure to their theories – which is said to have happened in Paris – had not made him an immediate convert to the discipline, Ross was nonetheless struck by the similarities between their thinking and observations he had been making independently at the time.<sup>34</sup> Apparently, Ross drew ‘hundreds of sketches of seamen’ during his early career and, after his initial introduction to phrenology, found that his sketches corroborated its principles – the head shapes documented in his sketches and accompanying notes corresponded with certain psychological characteristics.<sup>35</sup> On 1 May 1823, three years after its establishment, Ross joined the Edinburgh Phrenological Society as a corresponding member.<sup>36</sup> That same month Ross wrote to the society’s founder, George Combe, about work he was doing with ‘Irish Heads’.<sup>37</sup> Over the next few years, Ross became more involved in the society’s activities. He recruited new members, acquired the head of at least one convict for examination and submitted two articles for publication in its quarterly journal, *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany*.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Ross independently published a phrenological treatise on naval discipline, most likely based on his earlier and perhaps ongoing study of sailors under his command.<sup>39</sup> On top of all this, Ross set up a phrenological practice, serving people who wanted to check their intellectual, emotional and social character, or that of other family members.<sup>40</sup> Ross’s engagement with phrenology points to a central aspect of this (pseudo-scientific) discipline, namely that it was mainly a popular and not an academic science and appealed directly to the experiences and enthusiasms of corresponding members of public societies.<sup>41</sup> In this special issue, Matthew Birchall presents another example of the popular appeal of phrenology in his discussion of E. G. Wakefield and John Ward’s inclusion of the phrenological assessment of the Māori Nayti in a tract to encourage British emigration to New Zealand in 1837.

Arctic exploration was certainly central to the work of Ross’s fellow phrenologists, who frequently used in their research the descriptions of ‘savage’ peoples found in exploration and travel accounts from around the globe. We see this, for example, in an anonymously authored review of John Franklin’s account, *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823) that featured in *The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* in 1824.<sup>42</sup> In the review, the author mines Franklin’s text for phrenological data in support of topics ranging from the differences between English and Orkney seamen’s ‘organs of Cautiousness’ to the character of various Indigenous and ‘mixed’ peoples of Arctic Canada – including the large organs of ‘Constructiveness, Secretiveness, and Imitation’ allegedly found amongst the Inuit.<sup>43</sup> In two articles in the same journal, titled ‘On the Character and Cerebral Development of the Esquimaux’, the conservator at the Edinburgh Phrenological Society’s museum Robert Cox, makes similar use of Arctic

expedition accounts to substantiate his theories.<sup>44</sup> Turning to a broad selection of sources including comparisons of Inuit and Papuan skulls and texts by Spurzheim and Gall, Cox used the ‘rotundity of visage’ he found consistently depicted in engravings featured in accounts by Lyon, Parry, Frederick William Beechey and notably, Ross, to argue among other claims that ‘Esquimaux’ from Greenland and across Canada to the Bering Strait showed clear signs of a ‘lymphatic constitution’.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to a strong interest in and demand for data from the Arctic, Ross’s colleagues in the Edinburgh Phrenological Society encouraged explorers to carry out phrenological research on their travels. Some phrenologists thought the explorers were not making the most out of the excellent opportunities for research on offer in the Arctic. The anonymous review of Franklin’s account in 1824, articulated this position through a telling mixture of regret and criticism, arguing that,

they were placed in an enviable situation [...] They possessed opportunities of observing tribes very little removed from the condition of primitive nature, and not as mere passengers through their territory, but as sojourners among them [...] our present duty, therefore, shall be limited to pointing out how much more might have been gained had they been initiated into the doctrines of our science; and we hope hereby to induce future travellers to avail themselves of its aids.<sup>46</sup>

Only five years after this review, Ross set sail for the Arctic, perhaps with the ambition of being able to remedy this situation. It is not an unlikely assumption, especially considering that Ross’s voyage followed what appears to have been his most active years of engagement in the phrenological society in Scotland.

Ross’s familiarity with phrenological ideas and application in practice is noticeable early on in the *Narrative*, during the expedition’s first meeting with Inuit during their stop at Sisimiut (Holsteinborg) in Greenland. When hearing a Greenlandic woman singing, Ross evaluates the high quality of her song as a racial trait. He provides comparative material from Labrador as evidence, before commenting that ‘[t]he phrenologist may here seek to confirm their theory, as far at least as the existence of this single faculty [music] can assist them’.<sup>47</sup>

Ross’s physical mobility as an Arctic explorer enabled him to participate in the collecting of desirable human remains for phrenological research back in Britain. This is evidenced in the *Appendix*, where Ross describes how he seized upon the opportunity presented to him by the death of an elderly Inuit named Alictu to procure an ‘Esquimaux’ skull. Eager to obtain such a valuable specimen of natural history, Ross, together with the ship’s surgeon, broke into the igloo in which Alictu was buried and dismembered his body in order to steal his head.<sup>48</sup> Ross had intended to give this violent ‘find’ to the Phrenological Society and, although he had to leave it behind when forced to abandon his vessel at Victoria Harbour, he nonetheless took care to preserve a sample of Alictu’s hair to transport back to Britain.<sup>49</sup>

During this phase of the expedition, between early 1830 and late 1831, Ross produced his drawings of Netsilingmiut individuals in full figure. It is in this context of highly mobile encounters that these sketches, together with their reproductions and accompanying textual descriptions in Ross’s *Appendix*, should be understood. Ross’s physical mobility enabled him to encounter the Netsilingmiut, but those same encounters



unsettled his phrenological certainties. His visual record thus provides a unique insight into how European science developed in the uncertainties that mobility produced.

### 3. Ross's portraits of the Netsilingmiut

Ross most likely created all of his field portraits between January 1830 and the autumn of 1831. This was the period his expedition was in closest contact with the Netsilingmiut. Ross's twenty-two surviving sketches were all composed using a repeating template, with each image showing one subject, standing in full-length and facing forward. Dressed in their own, Indigenous clothing, Ross's sitters are placed on backgrounds that give little or no description of the surrounding environment. Revealing strong similarities with representations of non-Western peoples from previous centuries as well as costume book imagery more broadly, Ross's portraits clearly link to the ethnographic convention, as mentioned above. This formulaic approach to representation suggests that Ross conceived and produced his field drawings for the explicit purpose of scientific research.

Some obvious alterations were made to Ross's images as they were turned into lithographs and published in his *Appendix* about four years later: backgrounds were added, and the individuals featured in the field drawings were often grouped together. The reasons for such changes seem, in the first instance, to have been straightforward enough. Catering to the public's fascination for Arctic exploration and, to a European public, the 'frozen edges' of the 'known' world (and the British empire), the more elaborate though still generic Arctic surroundings appearing in most of the engravings, whether icy landscapes or igloo interiors, made the illustrations more visually interesting to the common reader. Within the limitations of the book format and dimensions of the illustrations, the added backgrounds invited the reader to imagine the 'Esquimaux' in their 'habitat' of pure nature.

The combining together of individuals into couples or groups may have similarly increased the visual interest of the prints for Ross's readers, although there may have been an even more practical rationale in this case – fewer prints, of course, meant lower production costs. On the other hand, Ross's seemingly haphazard gathering together of people, in several engravings in the individuals were not clearly linked, may reflect his experience of a fluid social organisation, with adoption, polygamy, spouse exchange, collective hunting and food sharing across and beyond the immediate family.<sup>50</sup> It is also just as likely that Ross's visual depictions reflected the changing conventions for ethnographic representation, perceptively described by Snait Gissis, whereby human differences were 'collapsed into the discourse on nature. Humans became classified and visually represented along the same lines as flora, according to similar assumptions about visible features'.<sup>51</sup> Those physical features themselves became clues to the social lives of the people depicted.

The way in which the plates were composed is easy enough to reconstruct from Ross's field drawings. The particular messages they were meant to convey are another matter. In the case of *Illictu and Otoogiu*, the fifth plate in Ross's *Appendix*, the individual figures appearing separately in two of Ross's field drawings are in effect collaged together, placed – still standing in the same postures and holding the exact same items in their hands – at the edge of a lake in an autumn landscape scattered with small towers of



**Figure 1.** John Ross. Otoogiu, 1830–1833, watercolour on paper, 24 × 16 cm. Y: 66/3/67. © Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.

stone (Figures 1 and 2). This background matches the opening paragraph of Ross’s two-page description for the plate, suggesting that Ross’s intention was to present ethnographic information about the Netsilingmiut’s methods for hunting reindeer.<sup>52</sup> This would seem the intention of the accompanying caption for the image:

Illictu and Otoogiu. Are represented standing at the pool of Shagavoke, where both salmon and reindeer are killed in the autumn; the piles of stones are erected by the natives, for the purpose of preventing the reindeer from passing along the shore when they wish to drive them into the pool. A man or a dog being sent among them make all to appear moving, which alarms the animals and causes them to take the water [*sic*]; where they are attacked and killed by men in canoes.<sup>53</sup>

Yet, only a brief paragraph describes reindeer hunting, thus suggesting that this was not Ross’s main concern. The choice to combine Illictu and Otoogiu together, like the inclusion of lakeshore with piled stones, almost seems random in being only tenuously related to the descriptions provided in Ross’s text.

It appears that Ross’s goal with *Illictu and Otoogiu* was to present physical and behavioural traits of the Netsilingmiut in as scientific a manner as possible. Like the template



**Figure 2.** John Ross (artist), John Brandard (engraver). Illictu and Otoogiu, coloured lithograph, 11.6 × 10.5 cm, published in Ross, John. *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second voyage in Search of a North-West Passage and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829–1833*. London: A. W. Webster, 1835. © University Library, UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

for his images, Ross was formulaic in his approach to writing. Following the introduction of each new name to his text, unless the person appears in one of the other plates in the *Appendix*, Ross systematically provided measurements of height and a brief note on appearance:

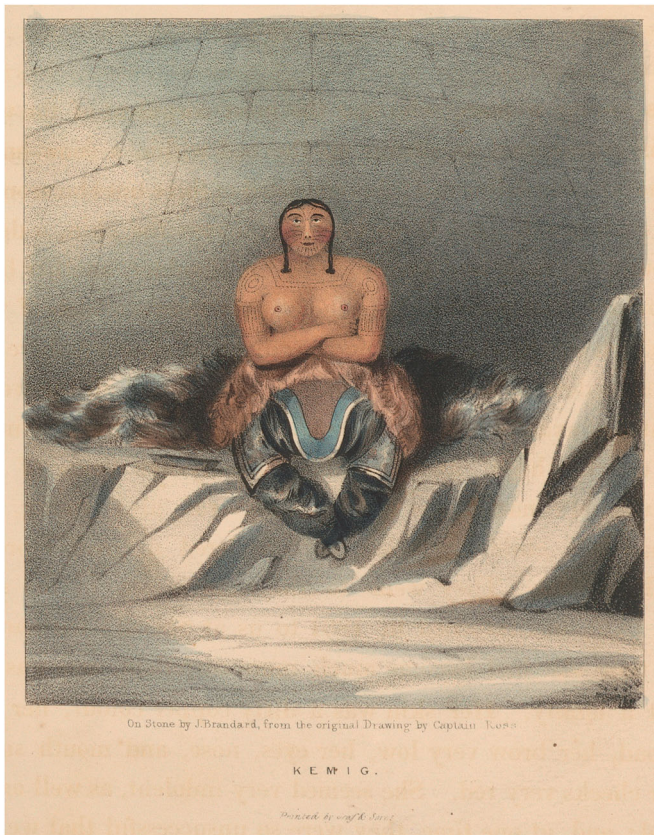
Otoogiu was five feet three inches and five-eighths high, inclining to corpulency, his face broad [...] His wife's name was Kuauga, who had two children; she was five feet three inches and a quarter high and rather good looking [...] Illictu, the son of Kunaua was a very fine lad about fifteen years of age, five feet six inches high.<sup>54</sup>

The presentation of this data, focussing on stature and physical description, places Ross's work in a tradition of European (and Scottish) ethnographic description that, from the late eighteenth century, sought to emphasise the supposed characteristics of race.<sup>55</sup> Ross's use of adjectives is incorporated within a narrative writing style that presents anecdotes about the individuals pictured and serves, together with the plate, to document the 'savage' condition of the 'Esquimaux'. What appear at first glance in the plate to be signifiers of the Netsilingmiut's material culture, are, in some cases, visual coding devices that reinforce notions promoted in Ross's text about their alleged inclination – like other 'savage' peoples – toward stealing, superstition and the like:

Otoogiu is represented with the magnifying lens which he had stolen in one hand, and a knife made of bone in the other [...] At that moment he had suspended to his neck a small phial containing an emulsion which the surgeon had given to him six months before, which instead of taking inwardly, as intended, was hung to his neck as a charm.<sup>56</sup>

The other twelve plates link to Ross's text in much the same way and with further examples of visual signs of theft that are explained in the accompanying text.<sup>57</sup> Showing a woman seated on a bed, half-naked, inside an igloo, the lithograph *Kemig* introduced a further stereotype about the 'Esquimaux' – laziness and sexual promiscuity (Figure 3).<sup>58</sup> The decision to represent *Kemig* in this way reveals a heightened interest in body and face, although Ross claims in his text that his primary aim in drawing *Kemig* was simply ethnographic – to record the tattoos covering the cheeks, chin, neck, shoulders and arms of all Netsilingmiut women. But, as before, Ross's text quickly moves on to the task of communicating data of a more phrenological nature.

This young woman, who was the most corpulent of the whole tribe [...] was five feet four inches and a quarter high, and was about twenty-five years of age [...] Her skin was a dirty



**Figure 3.** John Ross (artist), J. Brandard (engraver). *Kemig*, coloured lithograph, published in John Ross, *Appendix to the Narrative of a Second voyage in Search of a North-West Passage and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829–1833*. London: A. W. Webster, 1835. © University Library, UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

copper colour, her face was broad, her brow very low, her eyes, nose, and mouth small, and her cheeks very red. She seemed very indolent.<sup>59</sup>

Nineteenth-century readers of Ross's *Appendix* would undoubtedly have associated an image of a half-naked, dark coloured 'savage' race with excessive sexuality, something Ross also elaborated on elsewhere in his 'Sketch'.<sup>60</sup>

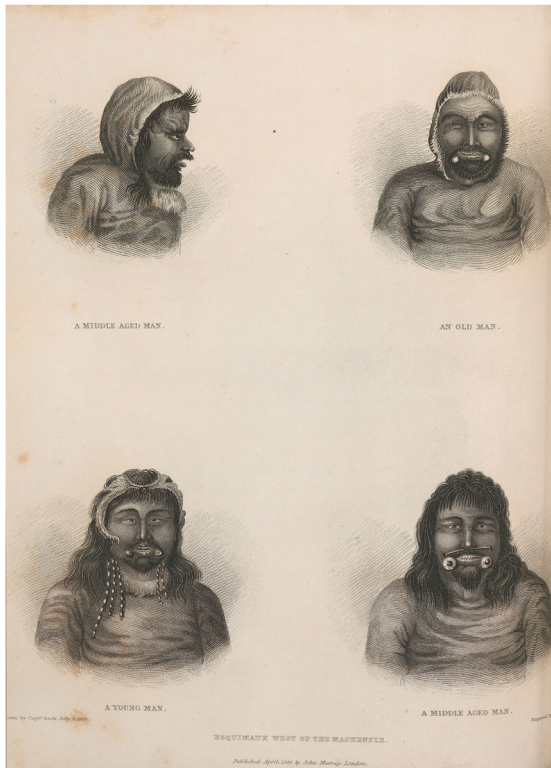
The ninth and fourteenth plates in Ross's *Appendix*, for example, take up more explicitly the sexual and marital customs of the Netsilingmiut and, unlike in *Illicitu and Otoogiu*, the grouping together of individuals here follows a clear logic.<sup>61</sup> The ninth plate of the *Appendix*, titled *Poyettak, Kakikagiu and Aknalua*, shows a woman – who appears separately in a field drawing – flanked by her two male partners, while the *Appendix*'s fourteenth plate, titled *Udliia, Awtigin and Palurak*, gives the inverse.<sup>62</sup> The texts Ross provided alongside both prints again systematically comment on details of age, height, skin-colour, sizes and proportions of various face and bodily features and overall character of each individual pictured. Although the anecdotes Ross recounted in addition to such data conveyed some idea about the marital arrangements between these individuals, the twenty-five pages preceding the plates gave a fuller explanation of the seemingly loose sexual relationships practiced by the Netsilingmiut generally. Ross approached this subject with a rather open mind, but his attempt to neutrally cover their 'forms of matrimony' and 'want of chastity' ultimately left no doubt about how far removed the Netsilingmiut were, in his racist opinion, from all notions of civilisation: "The conduct of the present people, as of all the rest of this race, is not more pure than that of the brute beasts: it is far less so than that of the pairing animals. But I need not dwell on a disgusting and improper subject".<sup>63</sup>

Here, as in the several references to laziness and stealing found throughout his *Appendix*, Ross was not simply repeating claims made by other Arctic explorers; he appears to have been drawing on and adding to current phrenological discussions about the mental character and attributes of the Inuit.<sup>64</sup> Published about two years before Ross's *Appendix*, Robert Cox's articles on phrenology, discussed at length the Inuit's alleged 'constitutional laziness', 'dishonest and thievish dispositions' and 'mutual infidelity'. Elaborating the last point, Cox argued that the Inuit's unusually large organ for 'sexual propensity', explained why 'Connubial fidelity is almost entirely unknown amongst them' and, quoting from G.F. Lyon, he continued, "A woman details her intrigues to her husband with the most perfect unconcern [...] Husbands prostitute wives, brothers sisters, and parents daughters, without shewing [*sic*] the least signs of shame".<sup>65</sup> Circulating in the writings of explorers such as Parry, Lyon and Ross, as well as the more specialist journal of the phrenological society, such conceptions about the Inuit's alleged sexuality were certainly the frame of reference for nineteenth-century interpretations of Ross's ethnographic portraits in his *Appendix*.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time, the extent to which the plates in Ross's *Appendix* supported such notions is debateable. If it were Ross's aim to categorise the Netsilingmiut according to the principles of phrenological thinking, then the representational mode he chose to employ in his field drawings, like their eventual re-representations in his *Appendix*, seems somewhat out of step with this ambition. In addition to Ross's obvious limitations as an artist, the heads of the figures in all of Ross's images are very small, making it

generally difficult for the viewer to take note of any facial details. It seems that a more logical approach would have been to take cranial measurements and accompany this with the use head and bust portraits.

Head and bust imaging was a representational mode already employed in the highly influential visual material resulting from James Cook's voyages in the late eighteenth century, as well as by other Arctic explorers in the decade before Ross set sail on his second voyage.<sup>67</sup> An 1819 print attributed to Andrew M. Skene titled *Marshuick and Meigack* for example, which was included in Ross's narrative of his first voyage to the Arctic, uses a two-angled view that gives a much clearer study of the facial features and head shapes of the two Inughuit men depicted, although their hoods partially obscure them. An 1824 engraving of George Francis Lyon's *Takkeelikkeeta – an Esquimaux of Igloodik* published in William Edward Parry's account of his second voyage in search of a Northwest Passage similarly conveys far more detailed information concerning the face and head of the sitter.<sup>68</sup> Like these, an engraving based on some of George Back's field drawings, featured in John Franklin's expedition narrative of 1828, combines together on a single page four head and bust portraits, one of which is in profile, of Inuit men of varying ages (Figure 4).<sup>69</sup>



**Figure 4.** George Back (artist), Edward Finden (engraver). *Esquimaux, West of the Mackenzie*, print, 27.0 × 21.8 cm, published in John Franklin, *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825–1827*, London, 1828. © University Library, UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

Comparing these illustrations to any one of Ross's field drawings or their reproductions in his *Appendix* questions whether Ross's ethnographic portraits were of any actual value to phrenologists. Materialised 'in transit' between Ross's physical location in the contact zone of Boothia Peninsula and his intellectual context back in Britain, the drawn figures seem, on the one hand, to reflect confusing overlaps between ethnography, phrenology, physiognomy and comparative anatomy that were characteristic of the time. On the other hand, the inter-personal encounters that Ross grappled with in the contact zone, informed by both understanding and misunderstandings, shared and incompatible desires and needs, trickle into the representations.

Ross's decision to employ the ethnographic convention suggests that he was attempting to arrive at an objective representation of the Inuit 'type'. On the surface, his drawings of the Netsilingmiut have a clear visual equivalence to his drawings of Arctic fauna, some of which were also published in his *Appendix*, indicating that they too, like foxes, hares, musk oxen and fish, were a natural 'specimen' of the region. While their capacity to function fully as phrenological records seems doubtful, the portraits do succeed in conveying information about the dress and adornment of men and women of different ages. At the same time, Ross's 'portraits' do not straightforwardly adhere to the standard language of



**Figure 5.** John Ross. Kakikagiu, 1830–1833, watercolour on paper, 24 × 16 cm. Y: 66/3/64 © Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.

the ethnographic convention, which would normally simply dress up classically proportioned figures in native clothing.

Field drawings of two women named ‘Shullanina’ and ‘Kakikagiu’, for example, reveal an obvious attempt to capture the body types, features and proportions that were meant to be typical for the Netsilingmiut generally (Figure 5). In addition to this attempt at articulating racial difference, Ross’s drawings significantly depart from the regular workings of the ethnographic convention by including visual signifiers of the presence of the explorers. As with the magnifying lens held by Otoogiu discussed previously, Ross’s field drawings of Tulluahu and Tirikshiu both depict objects that have nothing to do with Netsilingmiut material culture, but instead reference specific moments of interaction between these two people and Ross’s expedition. Tulluahu’s wooden leg, made and fitted for him by the expedition’s carpenter, and the piece of wood Tirikshiu is holding behind her, which she tried to steal from Ross’s ship, seem to openly declare that these are not representations of scientific ‘specimens’. Rather these seem closer to representations of distinct and identifiable individuals.<sup>70</sup>

These ‘portraits’ are visibly the result of interpersonal encounters. Ross’s decision to label the resulting reproductions of his field drawings ‘portraits’, and to title these with the sitters’ personal names, underscores his impulse to represent each figure as a person rather than a type. Ross shows us named individuals appropriating things, out of curiosity, needs or desires and exchanging favours and material objects with the explorers.

It would seem, then, that Ross was caught somewhat awkwardly between two conflicting desires – the collecting and presenting of scientific data on the one hand and the telling and illustrating of stories on the other. When considering the plates in Ross’s *Appendix* in the context in which they were presented, this seeming tension between science and narrative is only further heightened. The text Ross provided with the illustrations of the Netsilingmiut featured in his *Appendix* continuously reclaim the ‘specimens’ they describe and measure as unique personalities. Although Ross’s intention with his anecdotes was most likely to communicate his intimate knowledge (acquired by his mobility) of the mental capacity and character of the Inuit more broadly, his narrative interludes seem to repeatedly transform these individuals from ‘samples’ that might stand in for the ‘Esquimaux race’ at large into active participants and recognisable figures in the history of exploration.

#### 4. Comparison with Lyon

The illustrations of Netsilingmiut in Ross’s *Appendix* can be situated within explorer imagery of Inuit more broadly. Prints based on a number of field drawings executed by G. F. Lyon in the Arctic during an 1821–1823 expedition under Parry’s command, and which were included in Parry’s *Journal of a Second Voyage*, make for a particularly interesting comparison. Published in 1824, only five years before Ross embarked on his second voyage, the reproductions of Lyon’s images document various aspects of Iglulingmiut culture as observed by Parry’s expedition while spending time amongst a group of Inuit living just south of the people that Ross subsequently encountered.<sup>71</sup> Like the Netsilingmiut, the people with whom Parry’s expedition interacted, while similarly living in close proximity over an extended period of time, were a hunter-gatherer society with a



subsistence economy based primarily on caribou, different species of seal, walrus and whale, fish and birds.<sup>72</sup> Despite these overlaps, Ross's and Lyon's representations of Inuit peoples are very different, perhaps suggesting that they were not interested in the Inuit for the same reasons and, furthermore, that the reproductions of the images they produced in the Arctic served different functions.

Overall, the engravings of Inuit featured in Parry's *Journal* seem to have a far more distinct documentary quality about them: the close-up black and white prints suggest their intention was to capture and convey objective and dispassionate ethnographic information about the Inuit culture Parry's expedition met with on Sanirajak (Melville Peninsula), Winter Island and Igloodik in the early 1820s. Unlike the illustrations in Ross's *Appendix*, all of the reproductions based on Lyon's field drawings appearing in Parry's *Journal* display great attention to detail.

In the print titled *An Esquimaux Watching a Seal*, for example, the texture of the hunter's clothing and the particulars of his weapon, with the rope extending from the



**Figure 6.** George F. Lyon (artist), Edward Finden (engraver). *An Esquimaux Watching a Seal*, print, 22 × 27 cm, published in William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1821–1823, in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla, under the Orders of Captain William Edward Parry, R.N., F.R.S., and Commander of the Expedition*, London, 1824. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London. Change figure caption to: George F. Lyon (artist), Edward Finden (engraver). *An Esquimaux Watching a Seal*, print, 22 × 27 cm, published in William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1821–1823, in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla, under the Orders of Captain William Edward Parry, R.N., F.R.S., and Commander of the Expedition*, London, 1824. © University Library, UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

end of the harpoon to his left hand, are all clearly depicted. The way the hunter is lying on the ice with his hood on and harpoon in his right hand and with his body almost taking the shape of a seal give the impression that Lyon paid close attention to these specific movements (Figure 6). Three other images, *An Esquimaux Watching a Seal Hole*; *An Esquimaux Listening at a Seal Hole*; and, *Esquimaux Killing Deer in a Lake* – give similarly detailed descriptions of the various hunting methods employed by this group of Inuit.

In addition to their respective levels of detail and readability, another marked distinction between the reproductions of Lyon's and Ross's field drawings is the way in which they include or exclude the presence of British explorers. Alongside the items introduced into Netsilingmiut society by Ross's expedition, whether as gifts or 'stolen' objects, some of the engravings in his *Appendix* include rather large Union Jacks to alert the reader to the expedition's geographical feats and land claims for the Crown.<sup>73</sup>

By contrast, the images of Inuit people pictured in Parry's *Journal* rarely show traces of a British presence. When the plates based on Lyon's drawings do include references to British explorers, this is always done discreetly – usually, as in *An Esquimaux Watching a Seal*, through a sailing vessel positioned on the distant horizon. Parry and his expedition were not, in other words, meant to be part of Lyon's visual representation of Inuit.

A final difference between the illustrations appearing in Ross's *Appendix* and Parry's *Journal* is the way in which the plates are titled. Instead of the personal names Ross assigned to his plates, the captions used in Parry's *Journal* rendered the Inuit pictured completely anonymous, thus signalling that the activities displayed in the illustrations were common to all the Inuit his expedition encountered. Like the extreme detail of the plates and their lack of a British presence, the approach to naming the plates in Parry's *Journal* suggests that they were meant to be read as purely descriptive, scientific records independent of time and the actions of unique individuals.

Ross's and Parry's texts make clear that their respective expeditions experienced many of the same things during their sojourns amongst separate Inuit communities. Yet, while the reproductions based on Lyon's field drawings seem to stand as convincing proof of an extended period of interaction with the Inuit and close observation of their culture, they at the same time maintain a somewhat artificial façade. The suggestion inherent to this body of work is that the Inuit were always kept at an objective distance from the explorers, and that Lyon remained authoritatively in control in planning and producing his documentation of their lifestyle and customs. The people populating Lyon's scenes remain neutral figures without individual personalities and the overarching emphasis is not so much on them as discovered 'specimens', as it is on capturing and conveying a range of cultural practices common to their society. Ross does something of the inverse in his *Appendix*. In employing the ethnographic convention, which comes across far more statically than the dynamic scenes found in Parry's *Journal*, Ross by contrast seems to have been most concerned with capturing the Netsilingmiut as samples of a pure, 'savage' people living in extreme isolation. Although displaying material culture through clothing, the illustrations explain less about Inuit culture more broadly and the ways in which they actually inhabited and survived in the Arctic.

At the same time, the 'type' images published in Ross's *Appendix* refuse to fully accept the driving logic of their representational framework. Instead, his figures begin emerging

as unique individuals fully bound up in his narrative of exploration and discovery, thus challenging the idea that Ross had been able to separate himself from the Netsilingmiut, or to remain at a distance from which he might simply observe them. In this sense, the representation of Netsilingmiut in Ross's *Appendix* was more affected than Lyon's by the scientific uncertainties that mobility produced. Ross's images express the proximity that very much existed between the Inuit and explorers and, albeit to a lesser extent, the ways in which the successes of the latter relied on the former. The ethnographic portraits were not representations of an anonymous 'Esquimaux race' with set 'faculties' that determined their capacities for action and thought but instead showed select and specific actions of known individuals.

## 5. Conclusion

Responding to the themes of this special issue, this article has suggested that much can be gleaned from the visual records of cross-cultural encounters in the era of Enlightenment and colonisation that allows us to deepen our understanding of the global circulation of knowledge. Like all metaphors, circulation is both illustrative and occlusive. It implies a circuit of knowledge between sites of exchange of production that continues to flow almost frictionless. This one study of the images from Ross's second Arctic expedition suggests some limitations of the metaphor. Above all, Ross's expedition illustrates that the mobility that lay at the heart of European presumptions to faithfully and accurately report scientific knowledge also prompted uncertainties. The example of Ross's expeditions shows that those uncertainties did not merely challenge the scientific pretensions of European travellers and colonists, they constituted the knowledge they conveyed and profited from.

I have argued here that Ross's ethnographic account (his ethnographic portraits and accompanying text in the *Appendix*) were visibly informed by his cross-cultural encounters in Boothia Peninsula. From this contact zone, Ross made halting, uneven, misunderstood, prejudiced and partial interpretations, and in this way, his scientific account drew the Netsilingmiut into his circuits of communication and knowledge production. Ross's aspiration to provide a 'scientific' ethnography was both expanded and compromised by his physical mobility, with the end result amounting to a somewhat fractured whole. Because he largely avoided visualising the physiognomy of Netsilingmiut heads, his ethnographic portraits seemed to be of little value to a phrenologist. Relying instead on a well-entrenched ethnographic convention in visual representation, his attempt at arriving at 'type' depictions of the 'Esquimaux race' also failed. Blending with the traditional portrait, his 'types' were disrupted by underlying references to individual personalities and distinct actions of the separate Netsilingmiut he had interacted with in Boothia Peninsula.

Ross's account reveals how his analysis of the Inuit was destabilised by his own encounters. A few isolated passages of text in his *Appendix* clearly work against his positioning of 'Esquimaux' culture in an inferior status to his own. Complementing his account of this 'acute-minded people', for example, Ross adjusted the claims made by previous Arctic explorers, as well as himself, by arguing that the 'Esquimaux' he had met with were not selfish, thievish, cruel and lazy.<sup>74</sup> Detailing 'the moral character of these people', Ross further argued for the honour and honesty of the Netsilingmiut:

We did not observe any propensity to falsehood, or disposition to deceive; and, on every occasion, there seemed a desire to communicate all the information in their power, while, as far as we examined, this also proved correct. It was on the same principle, that we could always trust their promises.<sup>75</sup>

While it was a common trope in colonial discourse to contrast supposedly ‘positive’ with ‘negative’ features of non-European and supposedly ‘savage’ peoples, Ross’s concessions bear closer scrutiny because of his intellectual context.<sup>76</sup> Ross was a committed phrenologist working at a time in which European ideas of racial hierarchy had become engrained in the scientific mainstream. It is therefore curious that his portrayal of the Netsilingmiut did not conform to these scientific verities about the supposed racial inferiority of non-Western peoples. These slippages and contradictions in Ross’s study reflect the uncertainties of colonial encounters and the asymmetric opportunities for agency in European knowledge production that physical mobility made possible. As evidenced in these textual and visual contradictions, Ross’s experience of living in close proximity to and regularly co-operating with the Netsilingmiut, caused him at times to question dominant, ethnocentric assumptions about the supposedly savage state of Inuit peoples generally. Yet, his overarching portrayal of the Netsilingmiut as ‘savages’ prone to childish, immoral and animal-like behaviour and repeated attempt to deny them parity with the explorers, betrays his professional and imperial convictions. The colonial implication of phrenological thought was that Europe’s difference from and presumed superiority to non-Western, Indigenous peoples naturalised empire and colonial rule. It was here then, that the Inuit ultimately remained in Ross’s varied representations of them, ‘savages’, albeit at times, virtuous ones.

## Notes

1. Fleming, *Barrow’s Boys*, chapter 18; Edinger, *Fury Beach*; MS Cambridge, Scott Polar Research Institute, 1152. These sources provide a chronological outline and description of Ross’s second voyage to the Arctic.
2. Briggs, ‘Netsilingmiut’; and Balicki, *The Netsilik Eskimo*. Although an employee of the Royal Navy, Ross conducted his second voyage outside the authority of the Admiralty, which was highly unusual for the time. Booth was a wealthy gin distiller and Sheriff of London. The Netsilingmiut’s name means ‘people of the place where there is seal’ and the name likely derives from the lake Netsilik (Seal), in Boothia Peninsula.
3. Ross, *Narrative*, 254–255, 259, 261. These are four examples of named Inuit men and women (Tulluahuu, Ikmallik, Tiagashu and Tiriksiu) who drew maps for the explorers.
4. Baigent, ‘Ross, Sir John (1777–1856)’; Dickinson, *Educating the Royal Navy*, 49; and, Ross, *Polar Pioneers*. John Ross’s watercolour sketches are now held at the Scott Polar Research Institute. He had no formal education except for a four-year apprenticeship carried out on different merchant vessels in his early youth. While gaining expertise in the art of seamanship, Ross consequently missed out on the drawing classes he would have been offered had he been a naval cadet at the Royal Naval College in Portsmouth, for example. See *Polar Pioneers* for more on Ross’s life and career.
5. Potter, *Arctic Spectacles*, 59–70, 87–90; David, *The Arctic in the*, 48–49, 150–153; Høvik, *Arctic Images*, 156–171. Ross’s popular exhibitions in London included a Panorama at Leicester Square and a Diorama at the Queen’s Bazaar, Oxford Street (both January 1834), and a ‘Grand Scenec Representation’ at the Royal Gardens, Vauxhall (early summer 1834).
6. The full title of Ross’s volumes are *Narrative of a Second voyage in Search of a North-West Passage, and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829–1833: Including*

- the Reports of Commander and Now Captain James Clark Ross and the Discovery of the Northern Magnetic Pole; and, Appendix to the Narrative of a Second voyage in Search of a North-West Passage and of a Residence in the Arctic Regions During the Years 1829–1833.
7. Sayre, 'Encounters with the "Other"'.
  8. *Ibid.*, 32.
  9. Ross, *Appendix*, ix.
  10. Joppien and Smith, *Art of Captain Cook's*, 6; Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 79–80. Pratt, *American Indians in British*, 121. The plate titled *Ooblooria, Paningavoke, Amingo and Nulingiak* in Ross's *Appendix* is an exception to rest as it is not composed according to the ethnographic convention, but as an event scenes in line with those featured in the *Narrative*.
  11. Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, the costume book, which showed figures in dress, attributes and ornamentation from different social and geographical locations, was a main form of publication that employed the ethnographic convention. Gaudio, 'The Truth in Clothing'.
  12. Gaudio, 'The Truth in Clothing', 24.
  13. Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise*, 82–88.
  14. On portraiture and likeness, see Brilliant, *Portraiture* and Coltman, 'Henry Raeburn's Portraits'.
  15. Brienen, *Visions of Savage Paradise*, 88–93.
  16. *Ibid.*, 91.
  17. *Ibid.*, 90–91.
  18. *Ibid.*
  19. The separate publications by historians Robert G. David and David Potter include Ross's visual production in their comprehensive overviews of British and American visual representations of the Arctic in the nineteenth century. Through textual analysis of Ross's *Appendix* and *Narrative*, Karen Langgård (2007) draws on discourse theory to discuss Ross's contradictory evaluation of the Inuit. For more biographical texts on Ross that do not analyse his images or texts in the *Narrative* and *Appendix*, see Bown 1998; Edinger 2004; and, Ross 1994. Holland and Savelle (1987) have published a letter Ross wrote to Beaufort during Ross's 1829–1833 expedition, and Rundstrom (1990) brings in the Netsilingmiut who assisted Ross's crew in mapping the region as an example of intercultural map communication in European-Arctic encounters in the 19th century. None of this literature addresses the scientific thinking and environment Ross engaged with and was influenced by at home in Edinburgh. David, *The Arctic in the*; Potter, *Arctic Spectacles* Langgård, 'John Ross and Fr. Blackley'; Bown, 'The Blessed Regions of'; Edinger, *Fury Beach*; Ross, *Polar Pioneers*; Holland and Savelle, 'My Dear Beaufort'; and, Rundstrom, 'A Cultural Interpretation of'.
  20. Secord, 'Knowledge in Transit'.
  21. By contrast, Ross's chapter on the Greenlanders, by that time familiar to a European audience, numbers only ten pages and is without any illustrations.
  22. Ross, *Appendix*, ix.
  23. Ross, *Appendix*, 1–2.
  24. See for example, Buchan and Sebastiani, 'No Distinction, Black or'.
  25. Ross, *Appendix*, 3.
  26. Ross, *Narrative*, ix–x.
  27. *Ibid.*, 2.
  28. *Ibid.*, 3.
  29. Poskett, *Materials of the Mind*, 4.
  30. Parssinen, 'Popular Science and Society'; and, Caldwell, 'Letter', 92.
  31. Anon., 'Phrenological Causes', 224.
  32. *Ibid.*
  33. Carmichael, *Life and Philosophy*, 15, 17.
  34. Ross, *Polar Pioneers*, 111.
  35. *Ibid.*

36. Anon., 'List of Members', 477.
37. Ross, MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 7211, f. 29.
38. Ross, MS Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 7214, f. 20; Ross, *Polar Pioneers*, 111; Ross, 'Captain Ross on Decimal'; and, 'On the Female Character'. At least one of these articles was published as 'Captain Ross on Decimal Notation of the Organs' in 1824. An anonymous article of 1825 entitled 'On the Female Character' may also be attributable to Ross.
39. 'A Treatise on Naval Discipline', 475. Ross's work was not well received by other members of the society. A review of Ross's treatise credited him 'for his zeal and good intentions' but ultimately criticised his work for 'a want both of good sense and knowledge of our science in some of his observations'.
40. Ross, MS Cambridge, Scott Polar Research Institute, 486/6/1-22. Ross performed 'phrenological deductions of the cerebral development' of at least four living European individuals between 1826 and 1849, indicating that his number of clients was, in all likelihood, rather low.
41. Poskett, *Materials of the Mind*, 1-2.
42. Franklin, *Narrative of a Journey*.
43. Anon., '*Narrative of a Journey*', 275, 280-281.
44. Cox, 'On the Character', no. 37; Cox, 'On the Character', no. 38. Poskett, *Materials of the Mind*, 22.
45. Cox, 'On the Character', no. 37, 294.
46. Anon., '*Narrative of a Journey*', 274-275.
47. Ross, *Narrative*, 75-76. He further commented that that comparison may be compromised because Moravian missionaries instructed the 'rude tribes' in singing.
48. Ross, *Appendix*, 28.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Damas, 'Central Eskimo Systems', 221-222; and, Damas, 'Demographic Aspects', 410-413.
51. Gissis, 'Visualising "Race" in the', 42.
52. Ross, *Appendix*, 31.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, 31-32.
55. See for example, Buchan, 'Scottish Medical Ethnography'.
56. Ross, *Appendix*, 32. Though not evidenced in the plate, Ross also promoted stereotypes about the Inuit as gluttons, writing of Illictu that 'he demonstrated that he was very fond of fresh beef, and that he could eat without being satiated for one whole day'.
57. See for example the plate *Nimna Himna* and textual description in the *Appendix*, 41-42.
58. The sketch for this is no longer extant.
59. Ross, *Appendix*, 41.
60. Lafont, *How Skin Color Became*. See Lafont for information about how skin colour became a racial marker in the 18th century.
61. The added background remains, by contrast, completely arbitrary.
62. Ross, *Appendix*, 39, 49. See this article's bibliography for the link to a digitised copy of Ross's *Appendix* with the plates.
63. Ross, *Appendix*, 8-9.
64. *Ibid.*, 32, 42, 51, 59.
65. Cox, 'On the Character', no. 37, 295-296, 301.
66. Lyon, *The Private Journal of*, 353-354; Parry, *Journal of a Second*, 529.
67. Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, 21, 52.
68. Parry, *Journal of a Second*.
69. Franklin, *Narrative of a Second*.
70. Ross, *Narrative*, 254; and, Ross, *Appendix*, 51. Brandard's plate features as illustration in Ross's *Narrative*. The text accompanying the plate is in the *Appendix*.

71. Today, *Iglulingmiut*, meaning 'the people of Igloolik', consists of Inuit from a larger geographical area than in the nineteenth century, when the group included Inuit from the northern Foxe basin around Igloolik. Wachowich, *Making a Living*, 3.
72. Wachowich, *Making a Living*, 31–32.
73. Another example, previously discussed, is *Illictu and Otoogiu*.
74. Ross, *Appendix*, 5, 12–13, 16, 18, 20.
75. *Ibid.*, 18.
76. See for example, Burnett and Buchan, 'The Edinburgh Connection'.

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