Bibliography

Primary Sources

Periodicals Cited

Unless otherwise indicated, all periodicals were published in London. Where consulted online, the collection is listed following the periodical title.

Art Journal Athenaeum

Critic Era Examiner

Freeman's Journal (Dublin) Gentleman's Magazine Household Words Illustrated London News Kerry Examiner (Tralee) Literary Gazette

Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper London Journal

Morning Chronicle
Musical World
National Magazine
Nautical Magazine
New Monthly Magazine
New Sporting Magazine
Northern Tribune

(Newcastle-on-Tyne) Observer

Publishers' Circular

- British Periodicals, Proquest

 British Periodicals, Proquest Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts (Edinburgh)

British Periodicals, Proquest
British Library Newspapers, Gale
British Periodicals, Proquest

- Irish News Archive

- British Periodicals, Proquest

- Illustrated London News Archive, Gale

- Irish News Archive

- British Periodicals, Proquest

- British Library Newspapers, Gale

- British Library Newspapers, Gale

- British Periodicals, Proquest

- British Periodicals, Proquest

British Periodicals, Proquest

- British Periodicals, Proquest

- Google Books

- Proquest Historical Newspapers

- Literature Online, Proquest

Punch, or the London Charivari The Times

Theatrical Journal

- Punch Historical Archive, Gale

– The Times Digital Archive

- British Periodicals, Proquest

Manuscript and Picture Sources

Adams, Edward. Collection. Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.

Admiralty Hydrography Records. The National Archives, London.

Arctic Pamphlets. Vol. 3. Royal Geographical Society, London.

Barrow, John. Bequest. British Library.

Cator, John Bertie. Collection. Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.

Illustration Archive. Cardiff University. https://illustrationarchive.cf.ac.uk.

Kivell, Rex Nan. Collection. National Library of Australia, Canberra. http://catalogue.nla.gov.au.

McCormick, Robert. Collection. Wellcome Library, London. (Viewed on microfilm at Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.)

McDougall, George Frederick. Collection. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Manuscripts Collection. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

Markham, Clements Robert. Collection. Royal Geographical Society, London.

Matthews, John. Collection. Royal Geographical Society, London.

May, Walter William. Fonds. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Mumford, William T. Fonds. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Ommanney, Erasmus. Collection. Royal Geographical Society, London.

Polar Art Collection. Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge. http://www.spri.cam.ac.uk/museum/catalogue/polarart/gallery/.

Prints and Drawings. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Snow, William Parker. Collection. Royal Geographical Society, London.

Toronto Public Library. https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/.

Webster, John Clarence. Canadiana Collection. New Brunswick Museum, Saint John. www.nbm-mnb.ca.

Printed Sources

Sources originally written or published in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries but reprinted later are included here.

Arctic Blue Books Online: British Parliamentary Papers on Exploration in the Canadian North. 1818–78. Indexed by Andrew Taylor. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2003. https://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/subject/arcticstudies/arcticbb/.

The English Catalogue of Books from 1835 to 1863. London: Sampson Low, 1864.

A Select Collection of Songs. Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1806.

The Universal Songster; or, Museum of Mirth. Vol. 2. London, 1826.

- Adams, Edward. *Into the Savage Land: The Alaskan Journal of Edward Adams*. Edited by Ernest Sipes. Surrey, BC: Hancock House, 2007.
 - 'Notes on the Birds of Michalaski, Norton Sound'. *Ibis, a Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 2, no. 8 (October 1878): 420–2.
- Agassiz, Louis. Études sur les Glaciers. Neuchatel: Jent et Gassmann, 1840.
- Armstrong, Alex. 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.
- Back, George. Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.S. Terror, Undertaken with a View to Geographical Discovery on the Arctic Shores, in the Years 1836–7. London: John Murray, 1838.
- Baillie, John. An Essay on the Sublime (1747). In The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory, ed. Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, 87–100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Barker, Henry. 'Description of a View of the North Coast of Spitzbergen. Now Exhibiting in the Large Rotunda of Henry Aston Barker's Panorama, Leicester Square'. London, 1820.
- Bayly, Thomas Haynes. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Haynes Bayly*, ed. Helena Beecher Haynes, 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1844.
- Beattie, James. The Minstrel; or, the Progress of Genius. Bk. 1. London: Dilly, 1771.
- Belcher, Edward. The Last of the Arctic Voyages; Being a Narrative of the Expedition in H.M.S. Assistance, under the Command of Sir Edward Belcher, C.B., in Search of Sir John Franklin, during the Years 1852–53–54. 2 vols. London: Lovell Reeve, 1855.
 - 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.
- Bellot, Joseph René. Memoirs of Lieutenant Joseph René Bellot, . . . with his Journal of a Voyage in the Polar Seas, in Search of Sir John Franklin. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855.
- Boase, Frederic. *Modern English Biography*. 6 vols. Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1892–1921.
- Bowley, Arthur L. Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900.
- Bray, Emile de. A Frenchman in Search of Franklin: De Bray's Arctic Journal 1852–54, trans. and ed. William Barr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- British Parliament. 'Papers and Correspondence relative to the Arctic Expedition under Sir John Franklin'. In Taylor, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1848a, 7. https://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/units/archives/collections/subject/arcticstudies/arcticbb/.
- Browne, William Henry. Ten Coloured Views Taken during the Arctic Expedition of Her Majesty's Ships 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' under the Command of Sir James Clark Ross. London: Ackermann, 1850.

- Burford, Robert. 'Description of a View of the Continent of Boothia, Discovered by Captain Ross, in His Late Expedition to the Polar Regions, Now Exhibiting at the Panorama, Leicester Square'. London, 1834.
 - 'Description of Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions as Seen during the Expedition of Capt. James Clark Ross'. London, 1850.
- Burke, Edmund. A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, 1757, ed. with an introduction and notes by Adam Phillips. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- [Chimmo, William]. Euryalus; Tales of the Sea, a Few Leaves from the Diary of a Midshipman. London: J.D. Potter, 1860.
- Collinson, Richard. *Journal of H.M.S. Enterprise on the Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin's Ships by Behring Strait.* 1850–55, ed. T. B. Collinson. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1889.
- Combe, William and Thomas Rowlandson. *The Tour of Doctor Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*. London: Ackermann, 1812.
- Cook, James. A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World. London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777.
- Cresswell, Samuel Gurney. A Series of Eight Sketches in Colour . . . of the Voyage of H.M.S. 'Investigator' (Captain McClure) during the Discovery of the North West Passage. London: Day and Ackermann, 1854.
 - 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.
- Cruikshank, George *George Cruikshank's Table-Book*, ed. Gilbert Abbott. London: Punch, 1845.
- Dana, R. H. Two Years before the Mast: A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea. 4th ed. London: Edward Moxon, 1845.
- Diebitsch-Peary, Josephine. My Arctic Journal: A Year among Ice-Fields and Eskimos, 1893. Reprint, New York: Copper Square Press, 2002.
- Don, William Gerard. 'Reminiscences of the Baltic Fleet of 1855'. Brechin, 1894.
- Field, George. Rudiments of the Painters' Art; or a Grammar of Colouring, Applicable to Operative Painting, Decorative Architecture, and the Arts. London: John Weale, 1850.
- Gilpin, J. D. 'Outline of the Voyage of H.M.S. Enterprize and Investigator to Barrow Strait in search of Sir John Franklin', *Nautical Magazine* 19 (1850): 8–19; 82–90; 160–70; 230.
- Gilpin, William. Observations, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland. London: Cadell and Davies, 1808.
 - Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape: to which is Added a Poem on Landscape Painting. London: Blamire, 1794.
- Godfrey, William C. Godfrey's Narrative of the Last Grinnell Arctic Exploring Expedition, in Search of Sir John Franklin, 1853–4–5. Philadelphia: J. T. Lloyd, 1857.

- Goodsir, Robert. An Arctic Voyage to Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound, in Search of Friends with Sir John Franklin. London: John van Voorst, 1850.
- Hayes, Isaac Israel. *An Arctic Boat Journey in the Autumn of 1854*. London: Richard Bentley, 1860.
 - An Arctic Boat Journey, in the Autumn of 1854. 2nd ed. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867.
- Hearne, Samuel. A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson Bay, to the Northern Ocean. London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1795.
- Herschel, John F. W., 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.
- Hogarth, William. The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste, 1753. New ed., London: W. Strahan, 1772.
- Hooper, William Hulme. 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.
- Humboldt, Alexander von. *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*. Vol. 2, translated under the superintendence of Edward Sabine. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans and John Murray, 1849.
- Hunt, Robert. 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.
- Inglefield, E. A. A Summer Search for Sir John Franklin with a Peep into the Polar Basin. London: Thomas Harrison, 1853.
- Kane, Elisha Kent. Arctic Explorations: The Second Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin, 1853, '54, '55. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Childs and Petersen, 1856.
 - The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. A Personal Narrative. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854.
- Kennedy, William. A Short Narrative of the Second Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin. London: W. H. Dalton, 1853.
- Lane, Robert. *Practical Reflections for Every Day throughout the Year*. 3rd ed., ed. Edward Peach. London: Keating and Brown, 1835.
- Maguire, Rochfort. The Journal of Rochfort Maguire, 1852–1854: Two Years at Point Barrow, Alaska, aboard HMS Plover in the Search for Sir John Franklin, ed. John R. Bockstoce. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1988.
- Markham, Clements R. 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.
 - Life of Sir Admiral Leopold McClintock. London: John Murray, 1909.
 - The Arctic Navy List 1773 1873, 1875. Reprint, Dallington: Naval and Military Press, 1992.
- May, Walter William. A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made during the Voyage up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin and the Missing Crews of H.M. Discovery-Ships Erebus and Terror. London: Day and Son, 1855.

- McClintock, Francis. *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.
 - The Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas in Search of Franklin and His Companions. 3rd ed. London: John Murray, 1869.
- McClure, Robert. *The Discovery of the North-West Passage*, ed. Sherard Osborn. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1856.
- McCormick, Robert. Narrative of a Boat Expedition up the Wellington Channel in the Year 1852, under the Command of R. McCormick, R.N., F.R.C.S., in H.M.B. 'Forlorn Hope', in Search of Sir John Franklin. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1854.
- McDougall, George Frederick. *The Eventful Voyage of H. M. Discovery Ship 'Resolute' to the Arctic Regions*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857.
- Miertsching, Johann. Frozen Ships: The Arctic Diary of Johann Miertsching 1850–1854, trans. L. H. Neatby. Toronto: Macmillan, 1967.
- Mitchell, Robert. *Plans and Views in Perspective of Buildings Erected in England and Scotland.* London: Wilson and Co., 1801.
- Noble, R. P. A Guide to Water Colour Painting, with an Illustration in Colour. London: George Rowney, 1850.
- O'Byrne, William R. 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. New ed., 3 vols. London: John Murray, 1861.
- Officers and Seamen of the Expedition. *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search*, ed. James Donnet. London: Colburn & Co., 1852.
- Olmsted, Denison. 'On the Recent Secular Period of the Aurora Borealis'. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge* 8, no. 3 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1856): 1–52.
- Ord, John Walker. *The Bard, and Minor Poems*, ed. John Lodge. 2nd ed. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1842.
- Osborn, Sherard. Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal; or, Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions, in Search of Sir John Franklin's Expedition, in the Years 1850–51. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852.
- Osborn, Sherard and George F. McDougall. *Illustrated Arctic News*. London: Ackermann, 1852.
- Parry, William. *Journal of a Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1826.
- Phipps, Constantine. A Voyage towards the North Pole. London: Bowyer and Nichols, 1774.
- Price, Uvedale. 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: J. Robson, 1796.

- Radcliffe, Ann. 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.
 - The Mysteries of Udolpho: A Romance; Interspersed with Some Pieces of Poetry. 4 vols. 4th ed. London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1799.
 - "The Snow-Fiend'. In *Gaston de Blondeville and St. Alban's Abbey*, vol. 4. 4 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1826.
- Renou, S. Delineations Physical, Intellectual, and Moral, Exemplifying the Philosophy of Christianity. London: Shaw and Sons, 1838.
- Richardson, John. Arctic Searching Expedition: A Journal of a Boat Voyage through Ruperts Land and the Arctic Sea in Search of Sir John Franklin. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851.
- Ross, James Clark. 'Narrative of the Proceedings of Captain Sir James C. Ross, in Command of the Expedition through Lancaster Sound and Barrow Straits'. In Taylor, *Arctic Blue Books*, 1850a. http://www.umanitoba.ca/libraries/unit s/archives/collections/subject/arcticstudies/arcticbb/viewbb.php?t=1850a.
- Ross, John. A Voyage of Discovery: Made under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's Ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage. London: John Murray, 1819.
- Ruskin, John. 'Præterita. Outlines of Scenes and Thoughts Perhaps Worthy of Memory in my Past Life', 1886–9. In *Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols., vol. 35, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. London: George Allen, 1908.
 - 'Deucalion, and Other Studies in Rocks and Stones', 1878. In *Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols., vol. 26, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. London: George Allen, 1906.
- Seeman, Berthold. Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Herald during the Years 1845–51, under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., C.B.; being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and Three Cruizes to the Arctic Regions in Search of Sir John Franklin. 2 vols. London: Reeve, 1853.
 - 'Flora of Western Eskimaux-Land'. In *The Botany of the Voyage of H.M.S.*Herald under the Command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., C.B., during the Years 1845–51, 11–56. London: Reeve, 1852.
- Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft. Frankenstein: or, The Modern Prometheus the 1818 Text. Reprint, ed. Marilyn Butler. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Smyth, W. H. An Alphabetical Digest of Nautical Terms, ed. Edward Belcher. London: Blackie and Son, 1867.
- Snow, William Parker. 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.
- Southey, Robert. The Life of Nelson. London: Collins, 1813.
- Stevenson, H. 'The Late Mr. Edward Adams'. *Ibis, a Quarterly Journal of Ornithology* 2, no. 8 (October 1878): 420–42.

- Sutherland, Peter C. Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits . . . in Search of the Missing Crews of H.M. Ships Erebus and Terror. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852.
- Taylor, Tom. Leicester Square; Its Associations and its Worthies. London: Bickers and Son, 1875.
- Thornthwaite, William. A Guide to Photography, Containing Simple and Practical Details . . . Including Photogenic Drawing, Calotype, Daguerreotype. London: Horn, Thornthwaite, and Wood, 1845.
- Verne, Jules. *The Adventures of Captain Hatteras*, trans. unknown. London: Ward Lock, 1876.
- Washington, John. 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.

Secondary Sources

- Agnew, John A. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston and London: Allen and Unwin, 1987.
- Place and Politics in Modern Italy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Alasuutari, Pertti. Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies. London: Sage, 1995.
- Altick, Richard D. *Punch: The Lively Youth of a British Institution*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1997.
 - The Shows of London: A Panoramic History of Exhibitions, 1600–1862. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Anderson, Patricia. 'Illustration'. In *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, 127–42. Aldershot: Scolar, 1994.
- Andrews, Malcolm. *The Picturesque: Literary Sources and Documents*, ed. Graham Clarke. Vol. 1, *The Idea of the Picturesque and the Vogue for Scenic Tourism*. Mountfield: Helm Information, 1994.
- Armstrong, Isobel. Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830–1880. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Arnold, Dana. Art History: A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Atwood, Margaret. Strange Things: The Malevolent North in Canadian Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Barasch, Moshe. Modern Theories of Art: From Winckelmann to Baudelaire. London: New York University Press, 1990.
- Barr, William. Arctic Hell-Ship: The Voyage of HMS Enterprise 1850–55. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2007.
 - '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.
- Barrell, John. *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting* 1730–1840. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

- Barringer, Tim. 'Images of Otherness and the Visual Production of Difference: Race and Labour in Illustrated Texts, 1850–1865'. In *The Victorians and Race*, ed. Shearer West, 34–52. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996.
- Barry, Peter. Beginning Theory: An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Theory. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. London: Vintage, 1993.
- Battarbee, Keith and John Erik Fossum. 'NACS and the Arctic'. Lecture given at the Nordic Association of Canadian Studies XI, University of Turku, Finland, August 2015.
- Beattie, Owen and John Geiger. Frozen in Time: The Fate of the Franklin Expedition London: Bloomsbury, 1987.
- Bedell, Rebecca. *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting*, 1825–75. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Behrisch, Erika. "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.
 - 'Voices of Silence, Texts of Truth: Imperial Discourse and Cultural Negotiations in Nineteenth-Century British Arctic Exploration Narrative'. PhD thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, 2002.
- Behrisch Elce, Erika. "'Adapted for Travellers in General": En Route with the British Admiralty's Manual of Scientific Enquiry.' *Journeys* 15, no. 1 (2014): 1–22.
 - "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.
- Behrisch Elce, Erika, 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.
- Bell, Clive. 'The Aesthetic Hypothesis'. In *Art in Theory 1900–1990*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, 113–16. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Bell, Leonard. 'Seeing Differently: Shifts from the Pictorial to the Photographic in the Shaping of the South Pacific'. *Journal for Maritime Research* 7, no. 1 (March 2005): 16–25.
- Belyea, Barbara. 'Captain Franklin in Search of the Picturesque'. Essays on Canadian Writing 40 (Spring 1990): 1–24.
- Bermingham, Ann. *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Bershad, Sonia S. 'The Drawings and Watercolours by Rear Admiral Frederick William Beechey, F.R.S., P.R.G.S. (1796–1856) in the Collection of the Arctic Institute of North America, University of Calgary'. *Arctic* 33, no. 1 (March 1980): 117–67.
- Birkwood, Susan. 'From "Naked Country" to "Sheltering Ice": Rudy Wiebe's Revisionist Treatment of John Franklin's First Arctic Narrative'. *Nordlit* 23 (2008): 25–38.

- Bleichmar, Daniela. 'The Imperial Visual Archive: Images, Evidence, and Knowledge in the Early Modern Hispanic World'. *Colonial Latin America Review* 24, no. 2 (2015): 236–66.
- Bloom, Lisa. *Gender on Ice: American Ideologies of Polar Expeditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Bloom, Michelle E. *Waxworks: A Cultural Obsession*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- Blum, Hester. '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, 158–88. New York: New York University Press, 2014.
 - The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Bolla, Peter de. 'Toward the Materiality of Aesthetic Experience'. *Diacritics* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 19–37.
- Bone, Neil. Aurora: Observing and Recording Nature's Spectacular Light Show. New York: Springer, 2007.
- Boucher, Ellen. '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.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Bouwers, Eveline G. Public Pantheons in Revolutionary Europe: Comparing Cultures of Remembrance, c. 1790–1840. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Boxwell, David A. '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.
- Brienen, Rebecca Parker. Visions of a Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Briggs, Asa. Victorian Things. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2003.
- Bryson, Norman, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxley, eds. *Visual Theory: Painting and Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity in association with Blackwell, 1991.
- Bullough, Vern L. and Bonnie L. Bullough. *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.
- Bumsted, John Michael. *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Burke, Peter. What is Cultural History? Cambridge: Polity, 2004.
- Byers, Michael. *International Law and the Arctic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
 - Who Owns the Arctic? Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009.

- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 'Arctic Rescue Fears Loom as Massive Cruise Ship Prepares to Sail Northwest Passage'. Includes an interview with Michael Byers. *CBC News*, April 2016. www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nort h/cruise-ships-safety-northwest-passage-1.3518712.
- Canadian Coast Guard. 'Ice Climatology and Environmental Conditions'. In *Ice Navigation in Canadian Waters*, 33–78 (2012). https://www.ccg-gcc.gc.ca/publications/icebreaking-deglacage/ice-navigation-glaces/docs/ice-navigation-dans-les-galces-eng.pdf.
- Carey, Daniel. 'Anthropology's Inheritance: Renaissance Travel, Romanticism and the Discourse of Identity'. *History and Anthropology* 14, no. 2 (2003): 107–26.
 - 'Compiling Nature's History: Travellers and Travel Narratives in the Early Royal Society'. *Annals of Science* 54, no. 3 (1997): 269–92.
 - 'Truth, Lies, and Travel Writing'. In *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson, 3–14. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Casey, Edward S. Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993.
- Cavell, Janice. 'Comparing Mythologies: Twentieth-Century Constructions of Sir John Franklin'. In *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick, 15–45. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007.
 - 'Going Native in the North: Reconsidering British Attitudes during the Franklin Search, 1848–59'. *Polar Record* 45 (2009): 25–35.
 - Letter to the Editor. Arctic 63, no. 2 (June 2010): 249–51.
 - 'Making Books for Mr Murray: The Case of Edward Parry's Third Arctic Narrative'. *The Library* 14, no. 1 (March 2013): 45–69.
 - 'Publishing Sir John Franklin's Fate: Cannibalism, Journalism, and the 1881 Edition of Leopold McClintock's *Voyage of the "Fox" in the Arctic Seas*'. *Book History* 16 (2013): 155–84.
 - Review of *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration*, by Adriana Craciun. *Journal of Historical Geography*. Published electronically, 25 September 2016: 1–2.
 - 'The Polar Regions'. In Thompson, Routledge Companion to Travel Writing, 425–34.
 - Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818–1860. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Chilvers, Ian. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Clarke, Aaron, Sarah Gatley, and Matthew Parkes. 'Fingal County Geological Site Report'. In *The Geological Heritage of Fingal*. Dublin: Geological Survey of Ireland, 2007. https://www.gsi.ie/NR/rdonlyres/31939CoC-8E81-4109-8C49-04BA1368BA13/0/Fingal_section2_part2.pdf.
- Clarke, Michael. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*. 2nd ed., with Deborah Clarke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Close, Susan. 'The Camera and the Contact Zone: Re-Envisioning the Representation of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian North'. In Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, 111–24.
- Codell, Julie F. 'The Art of Transculturation'. In Codell, *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, 1–17.
- Codell, Julie F., ed. *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Colley, Ann C. Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Connelly, Charlotte and Claire Warrior. 'Survey Stories in the History of British Polar Exploration: Museums, Objects, People'. *Notes and Records* 73 (2019): 259–74.
- Cordingly, David. *Marine Painting in England 1700–1900*. London: Studio Vista, 1974.
- Cosgrove, Denis. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998.
- Costello, Timothy M., ed. *The Sublime: From Antiquity to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Craciun, Adriana. 'The Franklin Relics in the Arctic Archive'. *Victorian Literature and Culture* 42 (2014): 1–31.
 - 'What is an Explorer?' Eighteenth-Century Studies 45, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 29-51.
 - Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
 - 'Writing the Disaster: Franklin and *Frankenstein*'. *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 65, no. 4 (March 2011): 433–80.
- Crary, Jonathan. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992.
- Cresswell, Tim. Place: A Short Introduction. Oxford: Blackwell, 2004.
- Crookshank, Anne and Desmond Fitzgerald, the Knight of Glin. *The Watercolours of Ireland: Works on Paper in Pencil, Pastel and Paint c. 1600–1914*. London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1994.
- Cyriax, Richard. Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition: The Franklin Expedition.

 A Chapter in the History of the Royal Navy. London: Methuen, 1939.
- D'Alleva, Anne. *Methods and Theories of Art History*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005.
- Davey, James. 'Singing for the Nation: Balladry, Naval Recruitment and the Language of Patriotism in Eighteenth-Century Britain'. *Mariner's Mirror* 103, no. 1 (2017): 43–66.
- David, Robert G. *The Arctic in the British Imagination 1818–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Davidson, Peter. The Idea of North. London: Reaktion, 2005.
- Davis, Richard C. 'Fact and Fancy in History and Biography: The Case of Greenstockings'. *Polar Record* 37 (January 2001): 5–12.
 - 'History or His/Story? The Explorer Cum Author'. *Studies in Canadian Literature* 16, no. 2 (1991): 93–111.

- 'Vision and Revision: John Franklin's Arctic Landscapes'. *Australian-Canadian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1989): 23–33.
- Davis-Fisch, Heather. Loss and Cultural Remains in Performance: The Ghosts of the Franklin Expedition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Dawes, P. R. and R. L. Christie. 'Geomorphic Regions'. In *Geology of the Innuitian Orogen and Arctic Platform of Canada and Greenland*, ed. H. P. Trettin, 27–56. Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1991.
- Day, Alan. 'Furthest North'. Library Review 47, no. 1 (1998): 42-4.
- Delgado, James P. Across the Top of the World: The Quest for the Northwest Passage. London: British Museum Press, 1999.
- Demuth, Bathsheba. Floating Coast: An Environmental History of the Bering Strait. New York: W. W. Norton, 2020.
- Despoix, Philippe. 'The Exchanged Portrait and the Lethal Picture: Visualization Techniques and Native Knowledge in Samuel Hearne's Sketches from His Trek to the Arctic Ocean and John Webber's Record of the Northern Pacific'. *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 23, no. 4 (Summer 2011): 667–89.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from the Earliest Times. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Doel, Ronald E., Urban Wråkberg, and Suzanne Zeller. 'Science, Environment, and the New Arctic'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 44 (2014): 2–14.
- Donald, Diana. '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.
- Douglas, Mary. 'The Social Control of Cognition: Some Factors in Joke Perception'. *Man* 3, no. 3 (September 1968): 361–76.
- Driver, Felix. 'Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (December 2004): 73–92.
 - Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.
 - 'Material Memories of Travel: The Albums of a Victorian Naval Surgeon'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 69 (July 2020): 32–54.
- Driver, Felix and Luciana Martins, eds. *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Driver, Felix and Luciana Martins. 'Views and Visions of the Tropical World'. In Driver and Martins, *Tropical Visions*, 3–20.
- Duffy, Cian. *The Landscapes of the Sublime, 1700–1830: Classic Ground.* Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Dunbar, Moira J. '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): 110–13.
- Durey, Michael. 'Exploration at the Edge: Reassessing the Fate of Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition'. *The Great Circle* 30, no. 2 (2008): 3–40.

- Dutton, Jacqueline. 'Imperial Ice? The Influence of Empire on Contemporary French and British Antarctic Travel Writing'. *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 4 (December 2009): 369–80.
- Eber, Dorothy Harley. *Encounters on the Passage: Inuit Meet the Explorers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Eco, Umberto. Faith in Fakes: Travels in Hyperreality. London: Vintage, 1998.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. 'Photography and the Performance of History'. *Kronos* no. 27 (November 2001): 15–29.
 - Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Elden, Stuart. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*. London: Continuum, 2004.
- Emmerson, Charles. The Future History of the Arctic: How Climate, Resources and Geopolitics are Reshaping the North, and Why It Matters to the World. London: Vintage Books, 2011.
- Energy, Mines and Resources Canada. *The National Atlas of Canada 5th Edition*. Ottawa: Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1985. http://geoscan.nrcan.gc.ca/starweb/geoscan/servlet.starweb?path=geoscan/fulle.web&search1=R=293986.
- Falkenhausen, Susanne von. Beyond the Mirror: Seeing in Art History and Visual Culture Studies, trans. Nicholas Grindell. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020.
- Ferguson, Frances. *Solitude and the Sublime*. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.
- Fleming, Fergus. Barrow's Boys. London: Granta Books, 1998.
- Flint, Kate. *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Freedgood, Elaine. Victorian Writing about Risk. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Friel, Ian. *Maritime History of Britain and Ireland c. 400–2001*. London: British Museum Press, 2003.
- Fry, Roger. Vision and Design. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940.
- Fulford, Tim. 'Romanticism and Colonialism: Races, Places, Peoples, 1800–30'. In Fulford and Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism*, 35–47.
- Fulford, Tim and Peter J. Kitson, eds. *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire*, 1780–1830. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Garrison, Laurie. '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.
- Garrison, Laurie, ed. *Panoramas, 1787–1900: Texts and Contexts*, 5 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013.
- Gascoigne, Bamber. *How to Identify Prints*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1998. Gilroy, Amanda. 'Introduction'. In Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies*, 1–15.
- Gilroy, Amanda, ed. Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel 1775–1844. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Gombrich, Ernst H. Art and Illusion: a Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

- Government of Canada. 'Arctic Charting'. In *Fisheries and Oceans Canada*. Last modified 11 June 2021. http://www.charts.gc.ca/arctic-arctique/indexeng.asp.
- Granger, Frank, ed. *A Treatise on the Sublime by Longinus*. London: Stanley Nott, 1935. Green, Anna. *Cultural History*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Greppi, Claudio. "On the Spot": Traveling Artists and the Iconographic Inventory of the World, 1769–1859'. In Driver and Martins, *Tropical Visions*, 23–42.
- Hansson, Heidi. 'Introduction: The Arctic in Literature for Children and Young Adults'. In Hansson, Lindgren Leavenworth, and Ryall, *The Arctic in Literature*, 5–26.
 - 'Staging the Arctic 1819–1909 and 2014'. Nordlit 35 (2015): 47–62.
 - 'The Gentleman's North: Lord Dufferin and the Beginnings of Arctic Tourism'. *Studies in Travel Writing* 13, no. 1 (February 2009): 61–73.
- Hansson, Heidi, Maria Lindgren Leavenworth, and Anka Ryall, eds. *The Arctic in Literature for Children and Young Adults*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Harding, Richard. *Modern Naval History: Debates and Prospects*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.
- Harley, J. B. 'Historical Geography and the Cartographic Illusion'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, no. 1 (1989): 80–91.
- Harper, J. Russell. *Painting in Canada: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Harrington, Austin. Art and Social Theory: Sociological Arguments in Aesthetics. Cambridge: Polity, 2004.
- Heath, Malcolm. 'Longinus and the Ancient Sublime'. In Costello, *The Sublime*, II-23.
- Heus, Ronald, Hein A. M. Daanen, and George Havenith. 'Physiological Criteria for Functioning of Hands in the Cold'. *Applied Ergonomics* 26, no. 1 (1995): 5–13.
- Hill, Jen. White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.
- Hoag, Elaine. 'Caxtons of the North: Mid-Nineteenth Century Arctic Shipboard Printing'. *Book History* 4 (2001): 81–114.
 - 'Shipboard Printing on the Franklin Search Expeditions: A Bibliographical Study of the *Plover Press'*. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* 38, no. I (2000): 7–71.
- Houston, C. Stuart. 'Robert Hood (1797–1821)'. Arctic 36, no. 2 (June 1983):
- Houston, C. Stuart and Ian S. MacLaren. Arctic Artist: The Journal and Paintings of George Back, Midshipman with Franklin, 1819–1822. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Høvik, Ingeborg. '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.

- '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.
- 'Heroism and Imperialism in the Arctic: Edwin Landseer's Man Proposes God Disposes'. *Nordlit* no. 23 (2008): 183–94.
- 'Reproducing the Indigenous: John Møller's Studio Portraits of Greenlanders in Context'. *Acta Borealia* 33, no. 2 (2016): 166–88.
- Howard, Peter. Landscapes: The Artists' Vision. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Howells, Richard and Joaquim Negreiros. *Visual Culture*. Cambridge: Polity, 2012.
- Hubbard, Phil et al. Key Thinkers on Space and Place. London: Sage, 2004.
- Huggan, Graham and Lars Jensen, eds. *Postcolonial Perspectives on the European High Arctic: Unscrambling the Arctic.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Hume, Naomi. 'The Nature Print and Photography in the 1850s'. *Photography* 35, no. I (20II): 44–58.
- Huneault, Kristina. 'Miniature Objects of Cultural Covenant: Portraits and First Nations Sitters in British North America'. *Canadian Art Review* 30, no. 1/2 (2005): 87–100.
- Huntington, Henry and Gunter Weller. 'Introduction'. In *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, ed. Carolyn Symon, 1–20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Hvenegård-Lassen, Kirsten. '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.
- Hyde, Ralph. 'Burford, Robert (1791–1861)'. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3965?docPos=2.
 - Panoramania! The Art And Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View. London: Trefoil in association with the Barbican Art Gallery, 1988.
- Inglis, David and John Hughson, eds. *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Inuit Circumpolar Council. *Inuit Circumpolar Council Charter*. Nuuk, 2010. htt p://inuit.org/en/icc-greenland/inuit-circumpolar-council-charter/.
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 'Inuit Regions of Canada' (Ottawa, 2019). https://www.itk.ca/about-canadian-inuit/.
- Ivins, William M. *Prints and Visual Communication*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.
- Jackson, Christine E. 'M & N Hanhart: Printers of Victorian Music Covers'. Fontes Artis Musicae 39, no. 3/4 (July–December 1992): 326–30.
- Johnson, Phyllis J. and Peter Suedfeld. 'Coping with Stress through the Microcosms of Home and Family Among Arctic Whalers and Explorers'. *The History of the Family* 1, no. 1 (1996): 41–62.
- Jonsson, Stefan. '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.

- Jordanova, Ludmilla. 'Image Matters'. *Historical Journal* 51, no. 3 (2008): 777–91. Kaalund, Nanna Katrine Lüders. 'From Science in the Arctic to Arctic Science: A Transnational Study of Arctic Travel Narratives, 1818–1883'. PhD thesis, York University, Toronto, 2017.
 - '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.
- Kautz, Beth Dolan. 'Spas and Salutary Landscapes: The Geography of Health in Mary Shelley's Rambles in Germany and Italy'. In Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies*, 165–81.
- Keighren, Innes M., Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell. *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Kindleberger, Charles P. Mariners and Markets. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.
- Koivunen, Leila. Visualizing Africa in Nineteenth-Century British Travel Accounts. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.
- Korte, Barbara. English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations, trans. Catherine Matthias. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Krans, Michael. 'Writing for an Elsewhere: Author(ity) and Authenticity in the Texts of the First Franklin Expedition (1819–22)'. *Studies in Canadian Literature* 24, no. 1 (1999): 70–92.
- Lalonde, Suzanne. 'Canadian Sovereignty over the Northwest Passage: Rights and Responsibilities'. Keynote presented at the Nordic Association of Canadian Studies XI, University of Turku, Finland, August 2015.
- Lambert, Andrew. Franklin: Tragic Hero of Polar Navigation. London: Faber & Faber, 2009. US edition: The Gates of Hell: Sir John Franklin's Tragic Quest for the North West Passage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
- Lanone, Catherine. 'Arctic Spectacles in Jane Eyre and Villette'. *Brontë Studies* 34, no. 2 (July 2009): 117–26.
- Leask, Nigel. Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
 - "Wandering through Elbis": Absorption and Containment in Romantic Exoticism'. In Fulford and Kitson, *Romanticism and Colonialism*, 165–88.
- Leek, Michael E. *The Art of Nautical Illustration*. Royston: Quantum Books, 2002. Leeuw, Sarah de. 'Alice through the Looking Glass: Emotion, Personal Connection, and Reading Colonial Archives along the Grain'. *Journal of*
- Historical Geography 38, no. 3 (2012): 273–81. Lefebvre, Henri. The Production of Space, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Levere, Trevor H. 'Science and the Canadian Arctic, 1818–76, from Sir John Ross to Sir George Strong Nares'. *Arctic* 41, no. 2 (June 1988): 127–37.
 - Science and the Canadian Arctic: A Century of Exploration, 1818–1918. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

- Lightman, Bernard. 'Introduction: Victorian Science and Popular Visual Culture'. Early Popular Visual Culture 10, no. 1 (February 2012): 1–5.
 - 'The Visual Theology of Victorian Popularizers of Science: From Reverent Eye to Chemical Retina'. *Isis* 91, no. 4 (Dec 2000): 651–80.
- Loomis, Chauncey C. 'The Arctic Sublime'. In *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U. C. Knoepflmacher and G. B. Tennyson, 95–112. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.
- Lopez, Barry. Arctic Dreams: Imagination and Desire in a Northern Landscape. 2nd ed. London: Harvill Press, 1999.
- MacLaren, Ian S. 'From Exploration to Publication: The Evolution of a 19th-Century Arctic Narrative'. *Arctic* 47, no. 1 (March 1994): 43–53.
 - 'Retaining Captaincy of the Soul: Response to Nature in the First Franklin Expedition'. *Essays on Canadian Writing* 28 (Spring 1984): 57–92.
 - Review of *Tracing the Connected Narrative: Arctic Exploration in British Print Culture, 1818–1860*, by Janice Cavell. *Arctic* 63, no. 1 (March 2010): 113–15.
 - 'The Aesthetic Map of the North, 1845–1859'. Arctic 38, no. 2 (1985): 89–103.
 - 'The Aesthetic Mapping of Nature in the Second Franklin Expedition'. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 20, no. 1 (1985): 39–58.
- Maidment, B. E. Reading Popular Prints, 1790–1870. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Markham, Albert Hastings. *The Life of Sir Clements R. Markham, K.C.B.*, F.R.S. London: John Murray, 1917.
- Martin, Constance. 'Perceptions of Arctic Landscapes in the Art of the British Explorers, 1818–1859'. Master's thesis, University of Calgary, 1981.
 - "Toward No Earthly Pole": The Search for Franklin in Nineteenth Century Art'. Inter-Nord 19 (1990): 87–100.
- Martins, Luciana. '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, 72–91. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Mays, S., 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.
- McCorristine, Shane. "Involuntarily We Listen": Hearing the Aurora Borealis in Nineteenth-Century Arctic Exploration and Science'. *Canadian Journal of History* 48 (Spring–Summer 2013): 29–61.
- McGoogan, Kenneth. Fatal Passage: The Untold Story of Scotsman John Rae, the Arctic Adventurer who Discovered the Fate of Franklin. London: Bantam, 2002.
- McGuire, James and James Quinn, eds. *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. http://dib.cambridge.org.
- McKitterick, David, ed. *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*. Vol. 6 *1830–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- McNamee, Robert et al., eds. *Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 2008–17. www.e-enlightenment .com.

- Merrit, Melissa McBay. 'The Moral Source of the Kantian Sublime'. In Costello, *The Sublime*, 37–49.
- Millar, Delia. 'William Simpson (1823–1899)'. In Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford University Press, 2004. www.oxforddnb.com/view/art icle/25597.
- Mills, Sara. 'Written on the Landscape: Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark'. In Gilroy, Romantic Geographies: 19–34.
- Mills, William J. *Exploring Polar Frontiers: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1, *A M*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003.
- Mitchell, W. J. T., ed. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
 - Landscape and Power. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Moretti, Franco. Graphs, Maps, Trees. London: Verso, 2005.
- Moss, Sarah. Review of White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination, by Jen Hill. Nineteenth-Century Literature 63, no.3 (December 2008): 414–17.
 - Scott's Last Biscuit: The Literature of Polar Travel. Oxford: Signal, 2006.
- Neatby, L. H. 'Robert J. L. McClure (1807–1873)'. *Arctic* 38, no. 1 (March 1985): 70–1. 'Samuel Gurney Cresswell (1827–1867)'. *Arctic* 35, no. 4 (December 1982): 554–5. *The Search for Franklin*. Worthing: Littlehampton Book Services, 1970.
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. *Mountain Gloom, Mountain Glory*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997.
- Noakes, Richard. 'Science in Mid-Victorian Punch'. *Endeavour* 26, no. 3 (2002): 92–6.
- O'Dochartaigh, Eavan. 'Visual Representation of the Arctic and Public Spectacle in Mid-Victorian England: A Study of the Arctic Art of WHJ Browne'. Master's thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004.
- O'Neill, Patrick B. 'Theatre in the North: Staging Practices of the British Navy in the Canadian Arctic'. *Dalhousie Review* 74, no. 3 (1994): 356–84.
- Østergård, Else. Woven into the Earth: Textiles from Norse Greenland. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2004.
- Paden, Roger. 'Picturesque Landscape Painting and Environmental Aesthetics'. *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 49, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 39–61.
- Palinkas, Lawrence A. and Peter Suedfeld. 'Psychological Effects of Polar Expeditions'. *Lancet* 371 (January 2008): 153–63.
- Panofsky, Erwin. Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance. Boulder: Westview Press, 1972.
- Payton, Brian. The Ice Passage: A True Story of Ambition, Disaster, and Endurance in the Arctic Wilderness. Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2010.
- Peck, Robert M. 'The Art of the Arctic: British Painting in the Far North'. *Journal for Maritime Research* 14, no. 2 (2012): 67–93.
- Pelto, Mauri. 'Upernavik Glacier Retreat, NW Greenland'. From a Glaciers [sic] Perspective (blog). https://glacierchange.wordpress.com/2011/09/17/uperna vik-glacier-retreat-nw-greenland/.

- Pesso-Miquel, Catherine. "In the Company of Strangers": Shedding Light on Robert McClure's Claim of Discovery (1850–7). In Regard, *Arctic Exploration*, 61–77.
- Pettersson, Lennart. 'Some Aspects on the Pictures of the North'. *Nordlit* 23 (2008): 251–72.
- Piola, Erika. 'The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture'. Winterthur Portfolio 48, no. 2/3 (2014): 125–38.
- Pointon, Marcia. 'Geology and Landscape Painting in Nineteenth-Century England'. In *Images of the Earth*, ed. Ludmilla Jordanova and Roy Porter, 93–123. 2nd ed. London: British Society for the History of Science, 1997.
- Pomereu, Jean de. 'The Exploration of Indlandsis: A Cultural and Scientific History of Ice Sheets to 1970'. PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2015.
- Potkay, Adam. 'The British Romantic Sublime'. In Costello, *The Sublime*, 203–16. Potter, Russell. *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture 1818–1875*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007.
 - Finding Franklin: The Untold Story of a 165-Year Search. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.
 - 'Icebergs at Vauxhall'. Victorian Review 36, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 27–31.
 - 'Introduction: Exploration and Sacrifice: The Cultural Logic of Arctic Discovery'. In Regard, *Arctic Exploration*, 1–17.
- Potter, Russell and Douglas W. Wamsley. 'The Sublime yet Awful Grandeur: the Arctic Panoramas of Elisha Kent Kane'. *Polar Record* 35 (1999): 193–206.
- Poulsom, Neville W. British Polar Exploration and Research: A Historical and Medallic Record with Biographies 1818–1999. London: Savannah Publications, 2000.
- Powell, Richard C. 'Inscribing the North: The Historical Geographies of Circumpolar Description'. Paper presented at the International Conference of Historical Geographers, Royal Geographical Society, London, July 2015.
 - Review of *The Last Imaginary Place: A Human History of the Arctic World*, by Robert McGhee. *Canadian Historical Review* 87, no. 2 (June 2006): 332–4.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Preziosi, Donald, ed. *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Qikiqtani Inuit Association. *Qikiqtani Truth Commission: Community Histories* 1950–1975: Resolute Bay (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2013).
- Quilley, Geoff. "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.
 - Empire to Nation: Art, History and the Visualization of Maritime Britain, 1768–1829. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011.
 - 'Introduction: Mapping the Art of Travel and Exploration'. *Journal of Historical Geography* 43 (January 2014): 2–8.
 - 'Re-enacting Art and Travel'. *Tate Papers* 17 (May 2012). http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/re-enacting-art-and-travel.

- Qureshi, Sadiah. Peoples on Parade: Exhibition, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea.*, Canto ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Regard, Frédéric, ed. Arctic Exploration in the Nineteenth Century. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013.
- Richards, Sys Birgit. 'The Art of Nineteenth-Century Explorer-Artists in the Arctic Regions of North America'. Master's thesis, University of Calgary, 1994.
- Richardson, Alan. *The Neural Sublime: Cognitive Theories and Romantic Texts.*Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.
- Ridpath, Ian. *A Dictionary of Astronomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Robinson, Michael. 'Manliness and Exploration: The Discovery of the North Pole'. *OSIRIS* 30 (2015): 89–109.
- Rockett, Kevin and Emer Rockett. *Magic Lantern, Panorama and Moving Picture Shows in Ireland, 1786–1909.* Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.
- Rose, Gillian. Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge. Cambridge: Polity, 1993.
- Ross, W. Gillies 'The Type and Number of Expeditions in the Franklin Search 1847–1859'. *Arctic* 55, no. 1 (March 2002): 57–69.
- Rozwadowski, Helen M. 'Small World: Forging a Scientific Maritime Culture for Oceanography'. *Isis* 87 (2005): 409–29.
- Rudwick, Martin J. S. 'The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science 1760–1840'. *History of Science* 14 (1976): 149–95.
- Ryall, Anka. 'The Arctic Playground of Europe: Sir Martin Conway's Svalbard'. *Nordlit* 35 (2015): 29–45.
- Sandler, Martin W. Resolute: The Epic Search for the Northwest Passage and John Franklin, and the Discovery of the Queen's Ghost Ship. New York: Sterling, 2008.
- Said, Edward. Orientalism. London: Penguin, 1985.
 - The World, the Text, and the Critic. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Savours, Ann. Review of *Northwest Passage: The Quest for an Arctic Route to the East*, by Edward Struzik. *Geographical Journal* 158, no. 3 (November 1992): 328.
 - The Search for the North West Passage. London: Chatham Publishing, 1999.
- Sawin, Mark Metzler. '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.
- Schama, Simon. Landscape and Memory. London: HarperCollins, 1995.
- Schultheiss, Katrin. 'The Ends of the Earth and the "Heroic Age" of Polar Exploration: A Review Essay'. *Historically Speaking* 10, no. 2 (April 2009): 14–17.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet.* 2nd ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008.

- Sera-Shriar, Efram. 'Anthropometric Portraiture and Victorian Anthropology: Situating Francis Galton's Photographic Work in the Late 1870s'. *History of Science* 53, no. 2 (2015): 155–79.
 - 'Arctic Observers: Richard King, Monogenism and the Historicisation of Inuit through Travel Narratives'. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 51 (June 2015): 23–31.
 - The Making of British Anthropology, 1813–1871. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013.
- Sha, Richard C. *The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- Shapin, Steven and Simon Schaffer. *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Sharp, Joanne P. *Geographies of Postcolonialism: Spaces of Power and Representation*. London: Sage, 2009.
- Shelly, James. '18th Century British Aesthetics'. In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta. Stanford University, 1997—. Article revised 18 July 2014. http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/aesthetics-18 th-british.
- Shields, Rob. *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*. London: Routledge, 1999.
 - Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Smith, Bernard. European Vision and the South Pacific. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
 - *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Spufford, Francis. İ May Be Some Time: Ice and the English Imagination. London: Faber & Faber, 1996.
- Stacey, Robert. 'From "Icy Picture" to "Extensive Prospect": The Panorama of Rupert's Land and the Far North in the Artist's Eye, 1770–1830'. In *Rupert's Land: A Cultural Tapestry*, ed. Richard C. Davis, 147–89. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988.
- Stainton, Lindsay. Nature into Art: English Landscape Watercolours. London: British Museum Press, 1991.
- Stam, David H. 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.
- Steinberg, Philip E. 'You Are (Not) Here: On the Ambiguity of Flag Planting and Finger Pointing in the Arctic'. *Political Geography* 29 (2010): 81–4.
- Stewart, E. J. and J. Dawson. 'A Matter of Good Fortune? The Grounding of the *Clipper Adventurer* in the Northwest Passage, Arctic Canada'. *Arctic* 64, no. 2 (June 2011): 263–7.
- Stillinger, Jack and Deidre Shauna Lynch, eds. *The Romantic Period*. Vol. D, *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 8th ed. W.W. Norton: New York and London, 2006.

- Strange, Carolyn. 'Reconsidering the "Tragic" Scott Expedition: Cheerful Masculine Home-making in Antarctica, 1910–1913'. *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 66–88.
- Sullivan, Alvin, ed. *British Literary Magazines: The Victorian and Edwardian Age,* 1837–1913. London: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Sutton, Max Keith. "Inverse Sublimity" in Victorian Humor'. *Victorian Studies* 10, no. 2 (December 1966): 177–92.
- Taichman, R. S., 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.
- Tekiner, Deniz. *Modern Art and the Romantic Vision*. Lanham: University Press of America, 2000.
- Till, Karen. '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.
- Tilley, Elizabeth. 'Periodicals'. In *The Irish Book in English, 1800–1891*, ed. James H. Murphy, 144–70. Vol. 4 of *The Oxford History of the Irish Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Thomas, Julia. *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image*. Athens: University of Ohio Press, 2004.
- Thompson, Carl. *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.
 - Travel Writing. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Thompson, Carl, ed. *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Topping, Margaret. 'Travel Writing and Visual Culture', in Thompson, *Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, 78–88.
- Törnvall, Gunilla. 'From Copperplate to Color Lithograph: On the Modernisation of an Illustrated Flora 1800–1900'. *Book History* 20 (2017): 126–49.
- Townsend, Dabney. 'The Picturesque'. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 55, no. 4 (October 1997): 365–76.
- Trettin, H. P., ed. *Geology of the Innuitian Orogen and Arctic Platform of Canada and Greenland*. Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, 1991.
- Tuan, Yi-Fu. Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
 - Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values. Morningside ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Twyman, Michael. *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.
 - 'The Illustration Revolution'. In McKitterick, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 6, 117–43.
- Urry, John. The Tourist Gaze. London: Sage, 2002.
- Vaughan, Richard. The Arctic: A History. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999.

- Vaughan, William. Romantic Art. London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.
- Venning, Barry. 'Turner's Whaling Subjects'. *The Burlington Magazine* 127, no. 983 (February 1985): 75–83.
- Ventsel, Aimar. "Our Beer is Better Than Theirs": Sub-Cultural Comics as a Joking Relationship with Identity'. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 46 (2010): 143–60.
- Walpole, Garth. Relics of the Franklin Expedition: Discovering Artifacts from the Doomed Arctic Voyage of 1845, ed. Russell Potter (Jefferson: McFarland, 2017).
- Warner, Marina. 'Imaginary Passages'. *Third Text* 21, no. 3 (September 2007): 487–98.
 - Once Upon a Time: A Short History of Fairy Tale. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Warrior, Claire. "On Thin Ice": The Polar Displays at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich'. *Museum History Journal*, 6, no. 1 (November 2013): 56–71.
- Watt-Cloutier, Sheila. 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.
- Weiskel, Thomas. *The Romantic Sublime: Studies in the Structure and Psychology of Transcendence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- West, Shearer, ed. The Victorians and Race. Aldershot: Scolar, 1996.
- Wiebe, Rudy. A Discovery of Strangers. Toronto: Penguin Random House, 1994.
- Wilson, Eric G. The Spiritual History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Wood, Christopher. *Dictionary of British Art.* Vol. 4, bk. 1, of *Victorian Painters*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1998.
- Wylie, John. Landscape. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Yar, Majid. 'Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis'. *Surveillance and Society* 1, no. 3 (2003): 254–71.
- Youngs, Tim. *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Youngs, Tim, ed. Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces. London: Anthem Press, 2006.