Notes

Introduction: “Ask Where’s the North?”


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12. W. C. Horne (2005) “The Phenomenology of Samuel Hearne’s Journey to the Coppermine River (1795): Learning the Arctic,” *Ethics Place and Environment*, 8, 55. Horne points out, however, that Hearne presented the woman as “a survivor who has used wilderness arts and crafts to flourish,” while Wordsworth presented “a pathetic victim of desertion who will soon perish alone in wilderness.”


18. Levere, *Science and the Canadian Arctic*, p. 6. It is not intended here to underestimate the political and cultural importance of such symbolic acts as planting a flag on a moving object (the ice sheet floating over the North Pole).


20. Ibid., pp. 27–9.


30. Fulford, Romantic Indians, p. 17.

31. Ibid., p. 18.


33. Grove, in Green Imperialism, was among the first to chart the earliest environmental and conservation movements, the influence of colonialism upon scientific thought, and the transmission or subsuming of indigenous environmental thought into Western thought, albeit with particular emphasis on the tropics.

34. Metropolitan science is understood here in the sense articulated by R. MacLeod: “not just the science of Edinburgh or London, or Paris or Berlin, but a way of doing science, based on learned societies, small groups of cultivators, certain conventions of discourse, and certain theoretical priorities set in eighteenth-century Western Europe,” in (1982) “On Visiting the ‘Moving Metropolis’: Reflections on the Architecture of Imperial Science,” Historical Records of Australian Science, 5, 2. The term “metropolitan” is used throughout this book to encompass the British travelers and observers whose texts are examined here. It is not intended to imply that the “centre” influenced the “periphery” on a one-way street of exchange.


38. van Kirk, Many Tender Ties.

39. Fidler’s journals, for example, relate many instances of domestic violence against indigenous women, often portrayed as the result of illicit affairs.


46. J. Franklin (1828) Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Carey), pp. 251–2. Thanks to Dr Shane McCorristine for drawing my attention to this reference.


1 Formative Influences and the Call of the North


13. M. and R. L. Edgeworth (1801) *Practical Education* (2 vols, New York: Brown and Stansbury), vol. i, pp. 17–18, 25, 299–300. However, it must be remembered that only the “three R’s” were offered to the majority of children, and for many, education was anything but enjoyable, strict discipline and corporal punishment being common.


21. Ibid., pp. 6–7, 9, 11.
22. “William Lee Esqr of Totteridge Memorandum Made During his Travels Italy” [1753] in J. Lee (1809–39), General Correspondence (British Library: Add. MS 47490), f. 21.
28. Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, first published in quarto in 1810–23, was divided into 3 parts and 11 volumes; part 3


37. Ibid., p. 152.


44. Ibid., p. 105.
45. Hibbert, A Description of the Shetland Islands, pp. 107–8.
49. E. D. Clarke to his mother, July 9, 1799, in Otter (ed.) Life and Remains, p. 354.
51. “William Lee Esqr of Totteridge Memorandum Made During his Travels Italy.”
52. Quoted in Barrow, A Visit to Iceland, p. xvii.
60. While a good embodiment of early-modern notions of the north, between the late-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, all copies of the map were thought lost, so its influence was limited. Whether Magnus actually believed that this was the state of affairs in the north is another question, given that he was actually Swedish—“portolan”-style, illustrated maps were common in his time; J. Granlund and G. R. Crone (1951) “The ‘Carta Marina’ of Olaus Magnus,” Imago Mundi, 8, 41. It has been speculated that his representations of sea monsters were “lively reinterpretation[s]” of “fishermen’s tales” in H. T. Rossby and P. Miller (2003) “Ocean Eddies in the 1439 Carta Marina by Olaus Magnus,” Oceanography, 16, no. 4, 81.
61. Molesworth, Account of Denmark, pp. 6, 36.


65. J. Carver (1778) *Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (London: For the Author), pp. i–ii.


68. Ibid., pp. 82, 184.


70. Ibid., 58.


75. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.) *Life and Remains*, p. 369.


77. Parry, *Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, pp. xxv–xxvi.


90. Cannon, *Science in Culture*.
92. His uncle and guardian, Lee Antoine, wrote during his Irish tour of 1806–7 to remind him of the importance of winning a fellowship and of the expense of travel. L. Antoine to J. Fiott (later Lee), December 28, 1806 (St John’s College, Cambridge: Lee papers, Box 1a, Doc. 22).
93. Roy Porter has pointed out the “lack of pressure to publish,” and even a reluctance to publish, among gentlemen of means practicing geology in the eighteenth century, in “Gentlemen and Geology,” 815.
96. Parry, *Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, pp. vi–viii.
97. Charles J. Withers objects to the term “scientific traveller” as an “imprecise,” non-Enlightenment term, preferring instead the earlier eighteenth-century term “navigator” (*Placing the Enlightenment*, p. 94); however, “navigator” does not adequately describe the range of activities in which these later travelers were involved.
103. E. D. Clarke to R. Tyrwhit, July 9, 1799, in Otter (ed.), *Life and Remains*, p. 353.
106. Ibid., p. 218.
108. J. Hargrave to M. Hargrave, York Factory, November 2, 1827, in James Hargrave’s letter books: “No 2 Rough Copies, Letters by Hargrave from 24th March @ 1st Decr 1827” (LAC: microfilm C-80).
2 An “Aboriginal District of Britain”: The European North, Traditional Cultures, and the Search for Common Roots

*Quoted from S. Hibbert (1822) A Description of the Shetland Islands, Comprising an Account of their Geology, Scenery, Antiquities, and Superstitions (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co.), p. 400, referring to the island of Unst.

1. A. Swinton [W. Thomson] (1792) Travels into Norway, Denmark, and Russia in the Years 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791 (Dublin: W. Jones), p. 5.


15. Ibid., pp. 401–2.

16. The east–west dichotomy common today only emerged in the nineteenth century; until then, Europeans understood the world in terms of north


20. On the use of First Nations’ motifs in English ballads and poetry, see Fulford, Romantic Indians, pp. 141–55.

21. Bendix, “Diverging Paths,” 104. “Authenticity” can always be understood here within inverted commas—there is, of course, no such thing as cultural authenticity.


23. See W. H. Drummond (1830) “Subject Proposed by the Royal Irish Academy—To Investigate the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, Both as Given in Macpherson’s Translation, and as Published in Gaelic, London 1807, Under the Sanction of the Highland Society of London; and on the Supposition of Such Poems not Being of Recent Origin, to Assign the Probable Era and Country of the Original Poet or Poets. A Prize Essay,” Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 16, 1–161.

24. While monogenesis formed the dominant basis of eighteenth-century origin theories, it is important to note that it was countered by a minority of polygenists, such as Lord Kames (Sketches of the History of Man, 1774), and the English surgeon Charles White (Account of the Regular Gradation in Man, 1799). On Kames and White, see W. Stanton (1960) The Leopard’s Spots: Scientific Attitudes towards Race in America 1815–1859 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), pp. 15–23.


26. A number of works have examined the role of the Celtic fringe in British self-fashioning from the late seventeenth century into the Victorian period. K. Trumpener (1997) Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and

35. Clarke, *Travels*, vol. i, pp. 560–2. Here he refers specifically to Sápmi, the traditional homeland of the Saami.
38. Ibid., p. 176.
41. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.) *Life and Remains*, p. 368.
42. See Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians*.
44. Quoted in Otter (ed.), *Life and Remains*, pp. 238–9.
49. Clarke, Travels, vol. iii, p. 56.
50. Ibid., vol. i, pp. 64–5.
51. On antiquarianism and place names in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Fielding, Scotland and the Fictions of Geography, pp. 59–70, 103–29.
55. Ibid., pp. 178–9, 288. Of the Scandinavian countries, Norway was a particular favorite among Britons. E. H. Schiøtz (1970) Utlendingers Reiser i Norge: En Bibliografi/Itineraria Norvegica: A Bibliography on Foreigners’ Travels in Norway Until 1900 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget) includes an appendix detailing the nationalities of published writers on Norway. While the methodology appears to depend upon place of publication rather than the author’s birthplace or place of residence, there was an unmistakable majority of British (English, Scottish, and Welsh) writers on Norway.
58. Barczewski, Myth and National Identity, p. 3; Trumpener, Bardic Nationalism, p. 15.
63. It has been estimated that one-third of nineteenth-century travelogues on Norway were published in Britain—some 200 books and articles; P. Fjågesund and R. A. Symes (2003) The Northern Utopia: British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century (Amsterdam: Rodopi), pp. 7, 12.
64. Barczewski finds that “the past they [myths and legends] were used to construct was a narrowly English one which left out other constituent parts of the British Isles” (Myth and National Identity, p. 2).
67. Ibid., vol. i, pp. 64–5.
68. Hibbert, *A Description of the Shetland Islands*, p. 96.
71. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 181.
73. Clarke, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 277. Clarke did not raise the obvious point that the professor’s work was probably influenced by his wide reading in English literature.
74. Ibid., pp. 149–51. Norse-inspired poetry and translations of Norse literature was published by many contemporary English writers, including, T. Percy (1763) “Five Pieces of Runic Poetry Translated from the Islandic Language” (London: R. J. Dodsley); Macpherson’s *Poems of Ossian* included a “Fragment of a Northern Tale.”
80. Ibid., vol. i, pp. iii–vi; see also pp. 108–9.
85. Ibid., vol. iii, pp. 206–7.
86. Ibid., p. 339.
87. Ibid., pp. 365–6.
90. This idea extends back to the seventeenth century at least. Robert Molesworth explicitly admired the fact that “Denmark, among the rest of the Northern Countries (which had been less managed and more abused by the Priests than the Southern) shook off that yoke, and instead of the Roman-Catholick, embraced the Doctrine and Opinions of Martin Luther,” and ruminated on “that natural Love of Liberty, which resided formerly in the Northern Nations more eminently than in other Parts of the World. What can be expected less from the Descendants of the ancient Goths and Vandals, who propagated and establish’d Liberty in so many other Countries, than to shake a heavy Yoak off themselves, which their Forefathers were not able to bear?” in *An Account of Denmark*, pp. 228, 241.

3 An Intercontinental North: North Britons and North Americans

7. Historical imperial approaches toward the Irish, Highland Scots, and First Nations have received scholarly notice in a number of comparative


9. Hibbert, A Description of the Shetland Islands, p. 105.

10. The example of “Description of the Habits of Most Countries in the World” (1745) is quoted in Calloway, White People, Indians, and Highlanders, p. 3.


19. Ibid., vol. i, p. 506.


23. Ibid., pp. 10, 11.

34. *Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines*, p. 6. It was only in the 1820s, when the Beothuk population had already dwindled to an irrecoverable number (just 13 in 1823), that any attempt was made to prevent further damage to their community; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, pp. 89–91.
38. “First Report of the Indian Committee of the Natural History Society of Montreal read at the Meeting of that Society on the 26th May 1828” (McGill University Library: Blacker-Wood Collection, MS QH1 N2698 1828), f. 1. The “two provinces” were Upper and Lower Canada.
39. Ibid., ff. 2, 4.
40. Ibid., f. 3.
41. Ibid., ff. 1, 5.
42. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, p. 35.
43. Gough (ed.), *Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger*, vol. ii, pp. 367–8. He later admitted, however, that Cree was a language of which he understood “little or none” (p. 484). Henry also included in his account a word list of the Salish (“Flat Head”) language (pp. 528–31).
46. See, for example, E. Koch, G. de Beer, S. Elliffe et al. (1998) “International Perspectives on Tourism-Led Development: Some Lessons for the SDIs,”


49. Enlightenment human sciences are summarized in Withers, Placing the Enlightenment, pp. 136–63, and Fulford, Romantic Indians, pp. 82–98.

50. Fulford, Romantic Indians, pp. 82–3.


53. Ibid., pp. 316–17.

54. Ibid., Chapter 1, p. 316.

55. Ibid., Book XVII, Chapter 6, pp. 382–4; also Book XIV, Chapter 4, p. 322.

56. Ibid., Book XVIII, Chapter 3, p. 388.

57. Ibid., Chapter 4, p. 389.

58. Ibid., Book XIV, Chapter 2, p. 320.

59. Ibid., Chapter 13, pp. 331–2.


64. Ibid., ff. 1, 4–5, 7.

65. Ibid., ff. 9–10.

66. Ibid., f. 2.


68. Powell, The First Americans, p. 18.


74. Grotius’s interest in establishing a Swedish claim to territory in the New World while simultaneously upholding the scriptural history of populations, and a useful account of the threat to scriptural history posed by the “discovery” of pre-Adamian civilizations and the offensiveness of the notion of polygenesis to Christian thought is outlined in Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, pp. 15–33.


76. Ibid., p. 8.

77. Ibid., pp. 23, 28.

78. Ibid., p. 23.


80. Scoresby, *Voyage to the Northern Whale-Fishery*, pp. 208, 209. The use of lamps instead of fire was also dictated by the lack of firewood.


82. Ibid., p. 211.


92. In 1824–30, there was a total workforce of 99 (15 officers, 31 traders, and 53 laborers) at the factory, of which 43 were from the Orkneys (3 officers, 10 traders, and 30 laborers); Payne, *The Most Respectable Place*, pp. 34–5.


4 “Treasures Inestimable”: Collecting and Displaying the North


22. W. Wales (1770) “Journal of a Voyage, Made by Order of the Royal Society, to Churchill River, on the North-West Coast of Hudson’s Bay; of Thirteen Months Residence in that Country; and of the Voyage Back to England; in the Years 1768 and 1769,” Philosophical Transactions, 60, 106.

23. King, “North American Ethnography,” pp. 229, 234, 237. Many of these objects are now lost, known only by the catalog.

24. Ibid., p. 234.

25. Ibid.


31. Shoshoni.

32. Indigenous guide.


40. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, p. 369.

41. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, September 29, 1799, in Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, p. 363. Rubus Arcticus is commonly known as the Arctic raspberry.
42. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, p. 369.
43. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, p. 369.
47. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, September 29, 1799, in Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, pp. 361, 364.
51. Lee hosted an annual temperance and peace festival at Hartwell, and Ross published a pamphlet, On Intemperance in the Royal Navy (1852).
53. Pitt Rivers Museum (hereafter PRM) 1918.29.1–21.
54. Kayaks were considered particularly representative of Inuit culture; Feest, “European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art,” 4, 5.
55. PRM 1918.29.17.1, 1918.29.17.2. Gloves were among the most common articles to be traded or gifted; see J. Ross (1835) Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage (London: A. W. Webster), pp. 70, 283, 294–5, 320.
56. PRM 1918.29.19. This journey is described in Ross, Narrative of a Second Voyage, pp. 645–52.
57. PRM 1918.29.2, 1918.29.4, 1918.29.16. The knife is illustrated in Ross, A Voyage of Discovery, p. 102.


69. Gascoigne, “The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the ‘New World(s),’ ” 549.


73. “First Report of the Indian Committee of the Natural History Society of Montreal Read at the Meeting of that Society on the 26th May 1828” (McGill University Library: Blacker-Wood Collection, MS folio QH1 N2698 1828), Appendix B: “Queries addressed by the Indian Committee of the Natural History Society of Montreal to individuals resident in the interior, and to which answers are requested as soon as possible.”


75. Gascoigne, “The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the ‘New World(s),’ ” 549.
78. Clarke, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 311. Elsewhere, Clarke claimed to have procured the book only with great difficulty in Solander’s northern Swedish hometown, Piteä; E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, September 29, 1799, in Otter (ed.) *Life and Remains*, p. 364.
80. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, January 13, 1800, in Otter (ed.) *Life and Remains*, p. 382. Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804) is remembered as the “father of Finnish history” and published on Finnish folk culture.
81. E. D. Clarke to W. Otter, December 8, 1799, in Otter (ed.) *Life and Remains*, p. 383.
83. Ibid., p. 333.
84. Ibid., p. 338.
85. Lee passed books from J. L. Burckhardt on to Banks (J. L. Burckhart to J. Banks, Tripoli, March 10, 1812 [BL: Add MS 47490], vol. i, ff. 71–2), and Banks introduced the Manchester merchant Josiah Roberts to Lee; Lee received and conveyed artifacts, books, and other articles to and from overseas contacts through Roberts (J. Roberts to J. Lee, Manchester, September 20, 1835 [BL: Add MS 47490], vol. i, f. 144).
87. E. T. Svedenstierna to J. Fiott, April 25, 1808 (St John’s College, Cambridge: Box 1a, no. 24).
88. This journal is now missing. Upon Clarke’s death, his personal papers and library were sold and thereby dispersed. It appears that Robert Malthus also lent his travel diaries to Clarke, which have since also been missing; H. A. Barton (1999) *Northern Arcadia: Foreign Travellers in Scandinavia, 1765–1815* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press), p. 184, note 18.
90. Ibid., pp. 516–17 and note; vol. iii, pp. 1, 24 note. Lee’s original sketch of the stone is in BL: MS 47493D, f. 1.
91. Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 84–5 note, 241 note.
92. One late-nineteenth-century Ontario collector used his collection of First Nations’ artifacts as an interpretive key to their histories and cultures; Hamilton, *Collections and Objections*, pp. 143–70.
93. For example, A. de Morgan to Helen [possibly his daughter], May 25, 1862 (Uppsala University Library: Waller MS alb-67:162), and Hanley, *Dr John Lee of Hartwell*, p. 18. A contemporary described him: “The doctor’s person was as eccentric in appearance as his costume. He was slightly above middle height, with a thin, haggard face, and sparse straggling locks worn rather long. This singular figure was generally clothed in a long blue coat with plain brass buttons, a full white cravat, and a frilled
shirt, dark trousers, low shoes, tied with black ribbon, and his head was surmounted with a tall chimney-pot hat, often scant of nap.” J. K. Fowler [“Rusticus”] (1898) Records of Old Times: Historical, Social, Political, Sporting and Agricultural (London: Chatto and Windus), p. 74.


5 At the Boundary of the Temperate and Frigid Zones: The North, the Sciences, and Landscape Appreciation

3. Hibbert, A Description of the Shetland Islands, pp. 95–6.
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on the Net, 45. Available at http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/015816ar (May 1, 2012).


25. Brady, Aesthetics of the Natural Environment, p. 43. However, I disagree with Brady’s characterization of Romanticism as rooted in opposition to the Enlightenment (pp. 43–4).


33. Ibid., p. 91.

34. Ibid., p. 93.

35. Clarke, Travels, vol. ii, pp. 72, 354, 475; Hooker, Journal of a Tour in Iceland in the Summer of 1809, 83; Parry, Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage, p. 273. There are many more examples of such comparisons.


38. Dewar, “Old World Conventions and New World Curiosities,” 50.


41. Heriot, Travels through the Canadas, pp. 47, 69, 99.


53. Oslund, *Iceland Imagined*, traces this trend into the present day. See also Wilson, *The Spiritual History of Ice*, pp. 75–81, for an account of superstition and the Alps from the sixteenth century.

54. Hibbert, *A Description of the Shetland Islands*, p. 112.


58. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 506.


63. The only other references found to *Trölla-dyngjar* are in E. Henderson (1818) *Iceland* (2 vols, Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh and Innes). It is likely that this was Hibbert’s source on Iceland.

64. Hibbert, *A Description of the Shetland Islands*, pp. 175–6, 403, 504, 451.


68. J. Whitehurst (1778) *An Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth* (London: J. Cooper), pp. 249–59. See also A. Byrne (forthcoming)
“Imagining the Celtic North: Science and Romanticism on the Fringes of Britain,” in S. Donecker, E. Barraclough, and D. Cudmore (eds), *Imagining the Supernatural North* (Münster: Lit Verlag).


70. One example among many is the table and maps listing place names in English and indigenous forms in Fidler, “Journal of Exploration and Survey” (LAC: microfilms HBC 4M4, E.3/2), pp. 202–11.


74. For example, the Zeno brothers' account of the fruitful northern islands of Frisland, Estotiland, and Icaria, summarized in Barrow (ed.), *A Chronological History*, pp. 18–19. Barrow considered the Zenos' accounts truthful and speculated that Frisland could be the Faroes, and Estotiland, Newfoundland or Labrador.


82. Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, p. 287.


6 Worlds of Knowledge, Worlds Apart? Native and Newcomer Geographies

3. Illustrated in ibid., 101–16.
10. Fidler, “A Journal from Isle a la Cross by way of Swan Lake,” p. 1. Peter Pond’s map of Slave Lake, published in the Gentleman’s Magazine (March 1790), was found to have underestimated the extent and type of terrain between the lake and the Pacific.
the Lantmäteriet surveyed the kingdom of Sweden, producing large-scale cadastral maps and small-scale topographical maps; state surveys continued to be carried out in the more southerly parts of the kingdom throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in Norway, from 1725, forest maps helped to manage that valuable resource; R. J. P. Kain and E. Baigent (1992) *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State: A History of Property Mapping* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), pp. 50–67.


22. Barrow (ed.), *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*, pp. 8–9, 12.


27. Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, pp. 37–46, studies seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century European cartographical representations of the Americas as richly populated, but his two sample maps cover localized areas. Larger continental maps tended to minimize ethnographic information until the later eighteenth century.


31. Ibid., pp. 111–12; Fossett also describes Inuit place names as “what gives reality to objects” (p. 124). T. Rankama (1993) “Managing the Landscape: A Study of Sami Placenames in Utsjoki, Finnish Lapland,” *Etudes/Inuit/Studies*, 17, no. 1, 47–69, points to the Saami preoccupation with natural resources: “place-names do not exist merely for the sake of aesthetics, but…have a functional role in the lives of the people using them” (51). Topographical place names are of course most useful for following route instructions.


36. Huish (ed.), *A Narrative of the Voyages and Travels of Captain Beechey*, p. 397.


40. W. E. Parry (1824) *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (London: J. Murray), p. 185. He was referring specifically to Iligliuk’s geographical knowledge.


47. This point is also made in R. S. Allen [n.d.] “Fidler, Peter” in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online. Available at: www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?Biold=36989 (September 27, 2011).

48. Quoted in Allen, “Fidler, Peter.”

Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor (Toronto: Champlain Society), p. 447.

50. Malcolm Ross, quoted in Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor, p. 443.

51. Houston, Ball, and Houston (eds), Eighteenth-Century Naturalists of Hudson Bay, p. 94.

52. MacGregor, Peter Fidler, p. i.

53. Hearne, A Journey from Prince of Wales’s Fort, p. 58.


59. Over two-thirds of the indigenous maps in the HBCA were recorded by Fidler; J. Hudson Beattie (1985–6) “Indian Maps in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives: A Comparison of Five Area Maps Recorded by Peter Fidler, 1801–1802,” Archivaria, 21, 166.

60. Binnema, “How Does a Map Mean?”, p. 201.

61. All of the information in this paragraph is from Allen, “Fidler, Peter.” For more on the map, see Binnema, “How Does a Map Mean?” Belyea argues that Arrowsmith did not use Fidler’s copy of the Ac-co-mok-ki map to update his map of North America in 1802, finding that the only change to Arrowsmith’s original map was the addition of the hypothetical Missouri watershed, but that this does not follow the pattern of the Ac-co-mok-ki map; and that Arrowsmith’s 1802 revision still portrayed the Saskatchewan River as a dotted conjectural line, even though Fidler had surveyed it in 1800; Belyea, Dark Storm Moving West, pp. 46–7.


and resource management projects have been criticized by anthropologists, who argue that traditional knowledge continues to be treated in a manner in which it is forced to be expressed and imparted in Euroamerican modes; see P. Nadasdy (1999) “The Politics of Tek: Power and the ‘Integration’ of Knowledge,” *Arctic Anthropology*, 36, no. 1/2, 1–18.


65. Ibid., p. 160.


67. Quoted in *Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor*, p. 443.


70. Ibid., pp. 49, 87.

71. Ibid., p. 46.

72. Ibid., pp. 77, 90.


75. Ibid., pp. 49–51.

76. Ibid., pp. 30–2.

77. Ibid., p. 69.


80. Ibid., p. 137.

81. Ibid., pp. 138–9.

82. Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 515–16.


85. Fidler, “A Journal of a Journey with the Chepawayans,” p. 61. After the breaking of a second bottle, Fidler fashioned one from buffalo horn, a local, traditional material that he found “much preferable…as not so subject to break”; Fidler, “A Journal of a Journey with the Chepawayans,” p. 84.

86. Ibid., p. 72.

87. Ibid., p. 73.

88. Ibid., p. 75.


This thesis influenced Horne, “The Phenomenology of Samuel Hearne's Journey,” for example.

95. Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, p. 251. Mackenzie also noted that the Cree and Chipewyans counted physical distance not in terms of miles, but in the number of nights’ travel necessary, in Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal*, pp. c-ci.


100. Fidler, “Journal of a Journey over Land from Buckingham House to the Rocky Mountains,” p. 34.


7 “Our Surprizing Qualifications,” or “Calculated to Make on the Minds of This Simple People a Great Impression”: Interpreting Displays of Romantic Science among Northern Indigenous Communities


12. Carver, Travels through the Interior Parts of North-America, p. 255.
17. Ibid., pp. 485–6.
18. Ibid., p. 542.
19. Ibid., p. xvi.
20. Ibid., p. 468.
21. Ibid., pp. 491–2. Muonio is 76 km from Enontekiö.
22. Ibid., p. 495.
44. Barrow, Chronological History, pp. 16–17.
47. J. B. Tyrrell (ed.) (1916) David Thompson’s Narrative of His Explorations in Western America 1784–1812 (Toronto: Chamlain Society), p. 82.


56. “First Report of the Indian Committee of the Natural History Society of Montreal Read at the Meeting of that Society on the 26th May 1828” (McGill University Library, Montreal: Blacker-Wood Collection, MS QH1 N2698 1828), Appendix B: “Queries Addressed by the Indian Committee of the Natural History Society of Montreal to Individuals Resident in the Interior, and to Which Answers Are Requested as Soon as Possible.”


64. For example, there are early fifteenth-century Irish-language adaptations of a Latin translation of a ninth-century Arabic astronomical and medical tract at the Royal Irish Academy (MSS Bii1 and 23F13) and Marsh’s Library, Dublin (MS Z21); and a sixteenth-century Gaelic treatise on astronomy at the National Library of Scotland (Adv.MS.72.1.2).
65. Somerville published too many articles on British and Irish stone-age sites to list here.
72. Mackenzie, Voyages from Montreal, pp. cxii, cxxi.
74. Hibbert, A Description of the Shetland Islands, pp. 287, 509–10, 524–6, 548–9, 565, 572, 574.
76. Hibbert, A Description of the Shetland Islands, p. viii.
78. Ibid., 105.
79. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, p. 13.
83. A. I. Hallowell (1942) The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvannia Press), p. ix; see his useful bibliography of first-hand descriptions of shaking tents at pp. 89–96. See also the historiographical note in Brown and Brightman (eds), “The Orders of the Dreamed,” p. 146, and their nuanced and detailed analysis of northern First Nations’ cosmogonies, including analysis of Nelson’s text by a Cree Anglican pastor (pp. 190–8) and a critique by Emma Larocque, a First Nations scholar (pp. 199–203).
86. Cameron, “The Nipigon Country,” pp. 261–5. John Richardson related one shaman’s failure to free himself from sailor’s knots, after which incident

87. Brown and Brightman (eds), “*The Orders of the Dreamed,*” pp. 103, 106.


89. The primary purpose of the shaking lodge was to obtain information on people at an inaccessible distance, while others were prophecy and medicinal cures; Brown and Brightman (eds), “*The Orders of the Dreamed,*” p. 147.


98. *David Thompson’s Narrative*, p. 84. Italics added.

99. Conway, “Halley’s Comet Legends,” 98–9. Conway also states that the 1985 appearance of Halley’s comet had been predicted by Algonquin tribal elders prior to 1910, and that the 1910 and 1934 comet appearances have entered community folklore.


117. Into the mid-nineteenth century, the practice and study of the sciences was commonly made with reference to the gospels; many astronomers conducted their research in harmony with religious beliefs.
119. M’Keevor, A Voyage to Hudson’s Bay, p. 46.
120. Ibid., pp. 3, 70–2.
123. Laing, Voyage to Spitzbergen, p. 80.
126. Ibid., p. 43.
132. Ibid., p. 38.
136. Otter (ed.), Life and Remains, pp. 54–5. While the educated may have seen nothing new in ballooning, into the nineteenth century, contemporary accounts record the excitement of popular English crowds in reaction to ballooning (Benedict, Curiosity, pp. 221–2)—yet another correlation between popular Europeans and northern indigenous peoples’ relationships to the sciences and natural wonders.

137. See also D. Denisoff (1993) “Accounting for One’s Self: The Business of Alterity in Fur Trade Narratives,” College Literature, 20, no. 3, 115–32. This literary study demonstrates changes in authorial self-representation in response to changing social contexts.


139. Binnema, Common and Contested Ground, pp. 114, 176. Two Englishmen brought on expedition by Hearne were perceived by indigenous guides to have been “but common men,” and therefore often refused rations; Hearne then vowed not to take any Europeans on subsequent expeditions; Hearne, A Journey from Prince of Wales’s Fort, p. xlii. George Nelson recalled how the Ojibwa with whom he wintered in Northern Wisconsin in 1802 as a homesick, 16-year-old, XY Company apprentice, “laughed at, and pitied me alternately. A lad about a year older than myself, took a fancy for me, and treated me as a friend indeed: his father was well pleased, and adopted me in his family”; Brown and Brightman (eds), “The Orders of the Dreamed,” p. 5.


141. Miller, Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, pp. 141–2.


144. Ibid., p. 1209.

145. Ibid., p. 1211.


147. See Fulford, Romantic Indians.

Conclusions


3. In the period, there was no consensus on dreams, their nature, or causes; one school of thought linked madness and dreaming by associating dreams (and by extension, nightmares) with possession of the soul and external, involuntary action on the body; J. Ford (2005) *Coleridge on Dreaming: Romanticism, Dreams and the Medical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 9–32.


7. Ibid., p. 91.


9. Ibid., p. 208.


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