

IMAGES OF THE INUIT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Exploration of Canada's northern limits attracted attention in Europe as early as 1576-78 when Martin Frobisher carried out his expeditions to the Arctic. He brought back to England an Inuit man and woman, and the drawings of them by John White are among the earliest visual evidence of these native peoples of Canada.¹ Adventurers continued to explore the Arctic in search of a trade route to the South Seas by way of a northern passage. Among the numerous published accounts of these voyages is the book by Henry Ellis entitled *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California in the Years 1746 and 1747*.² This book, published in 1748, is of particular interest because it contains two of the very few illustrations of the Canadian Inuit in seventeenth-and eighteenth-century accounts of North America.

Not until the nineteenth century was it usual to include a professional artist among the crew on a voyage. In the eighteenth century, the illustrations accompanying written travel accounts were provided by a trained artist at home who had never seen the subjects with his own eyes. The picturesque and decorative aspects of the illustrations were more important to the publisher than their anthropological accuracy. An examination of the engravings included in Ellis' book shows how the eighteenth-century European, and more specifically the English, chose to view the Inuit. The way the artist portrayed these people reflected the condescending attitude of the English. They regarded the Inuit as an uncivilized people whose habits and customs nevertheless provided much interest and often amusement.

At the time of the Ellis expedition in 1746, enthusiasm for seeking a North-West Passage had waned in the face of the insurmountable problem of breaking through the ice-packed northern waters. The main reason for the Ellis trip was to settle a dispute over the likelihood that an entry to the North West Passage lay somewhere along the west coast of Hudson Bay.³ As it turned out, this expedition, under the command of Captains William Moore and Francis Smith, was the last major trip to the Eastern Arctic undertaken from England until 1776.⁴

Unlike other voyages financed by royal patrons or trading companies, the funds for this trip were raised by selling shares in the venture. The organization and planning of the expedition were undertaken by a committee made up of wealthy merchants. Henry Ellis was sent, as the title page affirms, as the "Agent for the Proprietors in the Said Expedition." Another account of the voyage was published in 1748 by the clerk of the *California*, Theodore S. Drage.⁵ While useful as a comparison,

Drage's book includes only one illustration of an Inuit man, and it offers less visual information than the engravings which appear in Ellis' account.

A Voyage to Hudson's-Bay by the Dobbs Galley and California by Ellis includes nine copper-plate engravings of landscape, animals and the Inuit. Three of the illustrations are signed "J. Mynde fc.;" the rest are left unsigned. The map also includes the signature "J. Mynde sculp." Thus a number of questions arise. Was Mynde the artist as well as the engraver of the scenes in Ellis' Book? Was he also responsible for the unsigned engravings? Did he go on the voyage? In both Ellis' and Drage's accounts, no mention is made of an artist travelling with the expedition. As pointed out earlier, an artist was not an essential member of a voyage.⁶ The pilot usually had basic training in drawing, and he carried out the necessary draughts of land features and coastlines.

If Mynde was not on the expedition, someone must have at least sketched the scenes from which the landscape engravings were copied (fig. 1). For the illustrations of the Inuit, the artist may have followed the descriptions in the text and copied the clothing and the weapons from actual examples brought back to London by the crew. Apart from his duties as agent for the Committee, Henry Ellis was instructed to "make exact Draughts of all the new-discovered Countries, the Bearings and Distance of Head-Lands;" and to "mark the Soundings, Rocks, and Shoals upon the Coasts; . . ."⁷ Therefore Mynde may have used Ellis' drawings and records of land formations as models for the landscape engravings. The Committee's instructions also hint at the possibility that Ellis himself may have supplied the sketches for the other engravings in the book.

Little is known of the early life and training of Henry Ellis (1721-1806). *The Dictionary of National Biography* lists him as a "traveller, Hydrographer, and colonial governor."⁸ To be able to map out newly explored regions, he must have had some training in cartography and draughting. According to the scanty information available on his life, Ellis spent most of his years travelling and writing, except for a short stint as governor of Georgia in 1758 and later of Nova Scotia for a brief period from 1761 to 1763.⁹

As for the engraver, J. Mynde, even less is known. In the main reference works of European painters and engravers, he is given only brief mention as a London artist who flourished around 1760 and became known for his anatomical drawings and portraits. A contemporary, Joseph Strutt, noted that his prints had "very little merit to recommend them."¹⁰ Samuel Redgrave summed up Mynde's undistinguished career with the comment: "He lived to a good age, and was but an inferior

artist.”¹¹ Certainly in the eighteenth century, only the less talented artists worked as engravers. Indeed, the reputation of engravers was so low at the time that they were debarred from membership in the Royal Academy in England.¹²

Among the engravings in Ellis’ book, two portray the Inuit encountered by the men on the voyage. The first engraving (fig. 2) is divided into two sections. The upper part entitled, “Eskimaux making Fire and Striking Seals” depicts three Inuit in the foreground. A man and a woman at the centre of the picture are shown making the fire. To their right stands another Inuit woman with her back to the viewer so that the large hood and long train of her jacket are prominently displayed. Like the seated woman, she wears leggings tucked into high boots which taper down to small feet. A young child sits rather awkwardly in the top of the left boot. This group of Inuit is placed in a barren landscape of rocks or ice with no visible vegetation. In the background, to the right, another Inuit sits in a kayak on the water. In one hand he holds a paddle and in the other a harpoon and buoy raised to strike.

The Inuit illustrated in fig. 2 are those Henry Ellis and his colleagues met in the region of the Savage Islands on the north shore of Hudson’s Straits (fig. 3). To identify a certain tribe of Inuit by their location is confusing, since different tribes had similar customs and, because of their mobility, often maintained close connections with neighbouring tribes. The Inuit Ellis encountered in this region would probably have been either the Qaumauangmiut who inhabited the northern coastline around the Savage Islands, or the Nugumiut, a closely related group centred around Frobisher Bay.¹³ Both these tribes belonged to the more general heading of the South Baffinland group and in present day terms would be referred to as Frobisher Bay Inuit. Apart from relying on location to identify these Inuit, the manner of dress helps to situate them as an Eastern group. The very high boots worn by the women in the engravings were characteristic of South Baffinland dress.¹⁴ The long train at the back of the woman’s jacket was a feature of female dress among many Inuit groups and each visitor to the North was impressed by it. Ellis was no exception and noted this curious detail as well as the function of the high boots:

The Difference between the Dress of the Men and Women is, that the Women have a Train to their Jackets, that reaches down to their Heels. Their Hoods are also larger and wider at the Shoulders for the sake of carrying their Children in them more conveniently on their Backs, and

their Boots are a great deal wider, and are commonly stuck out with Sticks of Whalebone, because when they want to lay their Child out of their Arms, they slip it into one of their Boots, till they can take it up again.¹⁵

A later explorer, William Wales, on a visit in 1768 supported Ellis' account of the tall boots. Wales claimed he saw one woman with a child squeezed into each boot top!¹⁶

The clothing of the Inuit was made of either seal or caribou skins, and the borders were decorated with strips of skin of a contrasting tone. This type of decoration is evident in the border of the train of the standing woman (fig. 2). In his text, Ellis was very complimentary in his description of the women's skill at sewing and decorating their clothes in this way.

The hats are probably inventions, especially since Ellis met the Inuit in July, the warmest month. Inuit women rarely wore hats, rather they would pull up their hoods. In the text Ellis doesn't mention hats, but perhaps the artist, convinced of the unbearable cold of the North, was tempted to offer the women covering for their heads.

The features of the man and woman are well-defined. Since the artist had probably never seen an Inuit, he portrayed them with European features. In representing them with such large eyes, noses, wide mouths and small feet he was also following Ellis' less than complimentary description of their appearance:

These people are of a middle Size, robust, and inclinable to be fat, their Heads are large, Faces round and flat, their Complexions swarthy, Eyes black, small and sparkling, Noses flat, Lips big, Hair black and lank, Shoulders broad, Limbs proportional, but Feet extraordinary small. (p. 132)

The Inuit hunter in his boat was a popular image among European writers in the eighteenth century. In this engraving the kayak in the background shows the closeness and importance of the sea to these Baffinland Inuit whose activities take place at the edge of the water.

To illustrate the Inuit in the process of making fire is revealing, since their custom of eating meat raw was publicized by earlier writers. Ellis remarked on the origin of the word "Eskimaux" which he said came from the Indian words meaning "an eater of raw flesh." But the engraving and Ellis' account of making fire in the text proved that the Inuit knew how to start a fire and therefore they were not completely uncivilized. Although

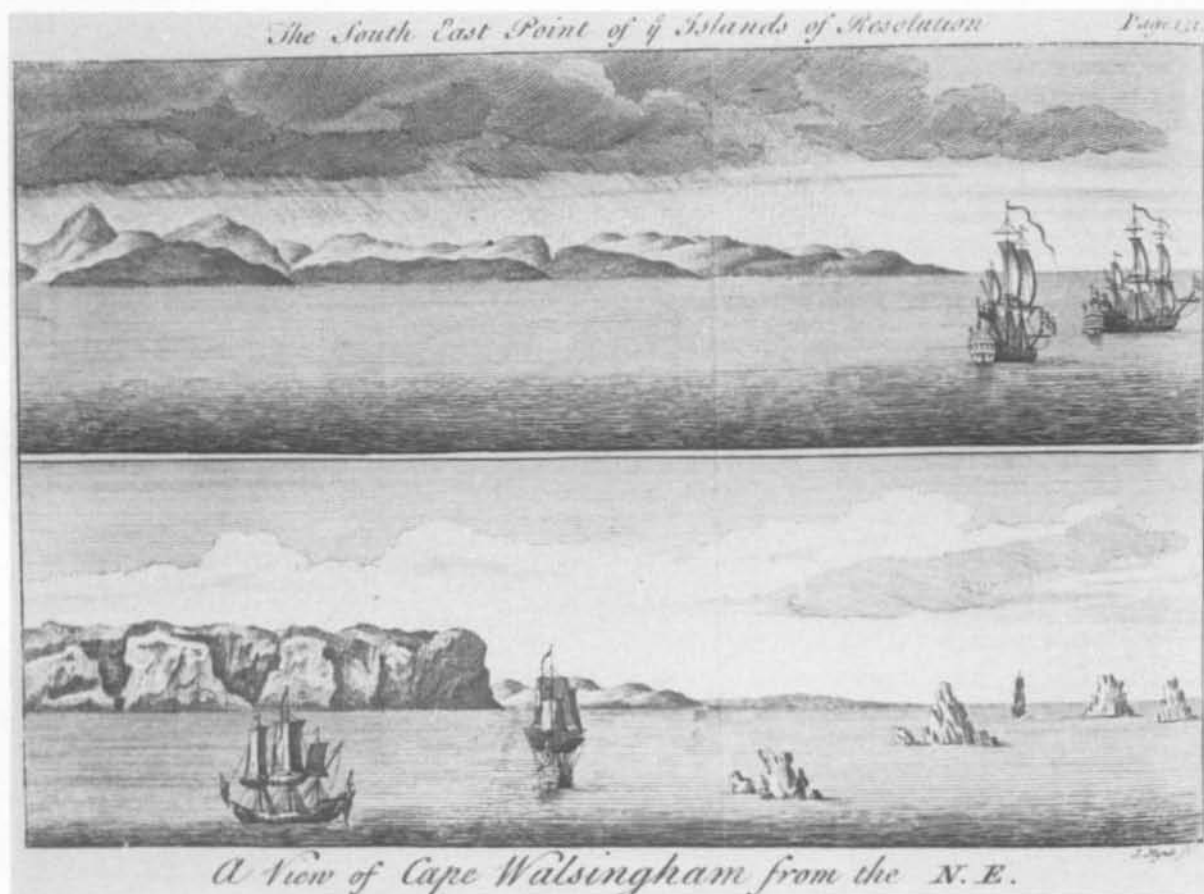


fig. 1. J. MYNDE, *The South East Point of Islands of Resolution and A View of Cape Walsingham from the N.E.*, engraving, 18.1 × 23.5, opp. p. 131, ELLIS, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. (Photo: A Carrier)

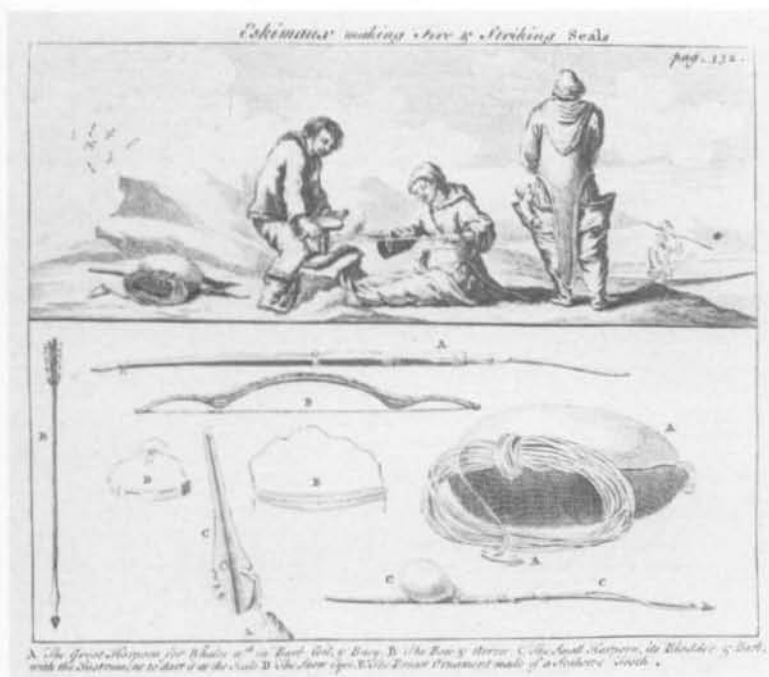


fig. 2. *Eskimaux making Fire & Striking Seals*, engraving, 18 × 20.3, opp. p. 132, ELLIS, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. (Photo: A.C.)



fig. 4. engraving, 19.2 × 11.1, opp. p. 113, EGEDE, *A Description of Greenland*. (Photo: A.C.)

their method of producing smoke by rubbing wood against wood and then using moss as tinder, as Ellis explained, was primitive, it revealed the ingenuity of the Inuit to make do with the few materials at hand.

The lower section of the engraving gives detailed drawings of different hunting weapons and other objects used by the Inuit. Each object is lettered and has a title. *A* represents *The Great Harpoon for Whales w.th its Barb Coil, & Buoy*. The harpoon was the principal hunting weapon of the Inuit and in structure was basically the same everywhere. As illustrated here, the large harpoon consists of a shaft (usually of wood) to which is attached a long point or foreshaft held firmly by thongs and rivets at one end, and a small pointed head is strapped to the opposite end. The shaft is strengthened by a tight seal thong running the whole length of the weapon. A small knob in the centre of the shaft acts as a support for the hand in throwing and holds the harpoon line.¹⁷

The companion piece to the harpoon is the large, oval buoy or float to which is attached the line rolled up in a coil and ending with a wide, flat barb. The buoy was made from an entire seal skin which was cleaned of any fur, sewn together, and then inflated. When in use the barb was attached to the foreshaft of the harpoon. When the weapon was thrown the foreshaft would bend thus fixing the barb into the animal. The released shaft would float to the surface of the water, while the animal was held by the float attached to the barb. The short point at the other end of the instrument was used as a spear for various purposes.

A slender, lighter harpoon was used for hunting small seals and is illustrated in *C*. The detachable head with barb is fastened to the shaft by means of a short line wound around the shaft and ending in a small round float made from a seal's bladder. These "bladder darts" were sometimes thrown with the help of a throwing board.¹⁸ The board represented in the engraving is shaped like a bat with a long neck. The shaft of the harpoon or spear was placed in the longitudinal groove down the centre and attached by a bone peg at the top. The throwing board was held in the hand, as illustrated, with a hole for the index finger and notches for the thumb and other fingers. The use of the board increased the thrust of the arm and extended the distance of the throw.

The Bow and Arrow in *B* were used for hunting caribou and small land animals. The bow was made from either wood, antler, or musk-ox horn. The double curve of the stave suggests that this example was constructed out of antlers and joined with lines of sinew.¹⁹

The Snow Eyes in *D*, were usually made from a piece of wood or ivory. With two slits for the eyes and a hollow for the nose, they were attached to the head by a thong. These snow goggles were worn in the Spring to

protect the eyes from snow blindness caused by the glaring sun reflected on the snow.

E shows *The Breast Ornament made of a Seahorse Tooth*. It has simple decorative markings in the form of two parallel lines with a row of geometric designs in between. A pendant hangs at either end of the walrus tooth where the neck thong is attached. Except for the occasional ear ornament, bracelet, or brow band worn by women in certain areas, the Inuit in the eighteenth century rarely adorned themselves. Kaj Birket-Smith claimed that necklaces were almost unknown with the rare exception of pectorals of pierced animal teeth or pieces of ivory or slate.²⁰

All the objects depicted in fig. 2 were probably copied by the artist from examples brought home by the crew of the expedition, since the detailing appears accurate. The engraving is unsigned and therefore it was not necessarily executed by J. Mynde. No earlier model for the Inuit group has as yet turned up. However, on close examination of the man in the kayak in the upper part of the illustration, his form and gestures bear a close resemblance to the position of the Inuit in an engraving from a book by Hans Egede, a Danish missionary in Greenland (fig. 4). Egede's book, *A Description of Greenland*, published in Danish in 1741 and in English in 1745,²¹ is mentioned a number of times by Ellis in his text. Another engraving included in Ellis' book shows the animals found in the Arctic regions (fig. 5). As proof of the artist's use of Egede as a source, four of the animals in the Ellis engraving, the *Sea Unicorn*, *Whale*, *Seal with a Cawl* and *Blackside Seal* are identical to those illustrated in Egede, only in reverse position (figs. 6, 7).

Copying engravings from earlier publications was common practice among eighteenth-century book illustrators. In the same way, the Ellis engraving (fig. 2) may have been the model for the unidentified print (fig. 8), unless they were both copied from the same source. The position of the figures in the two plates is identical, although in reverse. The only difference is that the standing woman (fig. 8) has been turned around to face the viewer. She pulls a fish out of her boot, providing a comical touch, not based on reality. The grouping of the Inuit and their activities in this scene bear too close a resemblance to the Ellis plate to be ignored. McGill University Libraries, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections has two copies of this hand-coloured, unbound print (fig. 8) which probably dates from the early nineteenth century on account of the method of engraving.²² The version in Ellis gives more detail in the clothing and would most likely have been published earlier.

In the second engraving from Ellis (fig. 9), entitled *An Eskimaux on the N.W. Side of Hudsons Bay*, a man and woman are shown standing facing

the viewer. The artist has portrayed the Inuit in their traditional roles, the woman as mother with her baby protruding from her hood, and the man as hunter with his bow and quiver of arrows. The Inuit family is placed in a setting of rocks or ice, devoid of plants or bushes. In the background between the people is a simple tent, and to the right lies a pile of rocks or snow blocks with rounded top and low entrance. The lower half of the plate entitled *An Eskimaux in his Canoe* situates the Inuit in similar surroundings of mountains and rocks.

As Henry Ellis himself observed, these Inuit differed from the ones he had met earlier on the Hudson Straits. This group whom Ellis met along the coast in the area of Whale Cove, would most likely have been Caribou Inuit, more specifically the Qaernermiut. The Caribou Inuit, as their name infers, spent most of the year inland, hunting caribou and musk-ox. In the engraving the man is carrying land-hunting weapons. For only two summer months would they go out toward the sea to hunt walrus and seal.²³ This was the main reason they differed in certain customs from the Inuit who were more dependent on the sea for survival.

From Mynde's illustration of these people certain differences in the clothing are apparent in comparison with the dress of the South Baffinland Inuit. The hairs of the jackets are more pronounced in this engraving. This may result from the engraver's interpretation or from the fact that the Caribou Inuit clothing was made from caribou rather than seal skins. The women's jackets in both groups have flaps before and behind, but the Caribou Inuit's is trimmed with a fur border. The tall boots of the Hudson-Bay woman are divided into a lower portion similar to an ordinary boot and an upper section or legging attached to the boot. They extend up in diagonal fashion over the trousers and are fastened by a cord at the waist. Birket-Smith states that these boots were worn by women on journeys in cold weather.²⁴ The man wears the lower boot and trousers.

The representation of the Inuit headdress was clearly left to the imagination of the illustrator. The woman's coiffure is curious, since very few Inuit women had such curly hair. As mentioned earlier, women would not have worn hats in the summer, if at all. However, this Caribou woman's hair is probably piled in a bun on top of the head, a more common style among Inuit women in general. Ellis himself is probably responsible for the artist's portrayal of the man's shaggy appearance. A reference in the text supports this (pp. 232-33):

There is also another Circumstance in which these people likewise differ from those formerly mentioned, and that is

in wearing a Cap made of the Skin of a Buffalo's Tail; which, tho' it has a horrid Appearance, yet it is very useful in keeping off the Musketoos, which in this Country are excessively troublesome. It is true, that the Hair hanging over their Faces somewhat obstructs their Sight; yet then it is easily removed with their Hands; but if it was not for this Defence, those Insects would be insupportable here . . .

At first glance the man's hair falling into his eyes would seem to be his own natural hair. But according to the text, he is wearing a hat made from the tail of a buffalo. (Ellis has mistakenly called the musk-ox a buffalo; the buffalo did not venture that far north.)²⁵ The Inuit in the kayak in the lower half of the illustration displays the same straight strands of hair covering his face.

While fig. 2 depicted certain daily activities of the Inuit, in this engraving, the artist has represented their living accommodations. The tent of caribou skins was the summer dwelling of the Caribou Inuit, as indeed of almost all Inuit. The hut illustrated on the right was probably intended to represent the winter habitation, the snow igloo. However, the irregular blocks stacked randomly look more like stones than neatly piled, rectangular blocks of a real Inuit snow house. It seems odd to represent a summer and winter house at the same time, since the summer sun would have melted the winter igloo. Also these dwellings would not have been erected in the same location. A temporary house for each season was a necessity for these mobile people.

The artist may have intended the house to be of rocks since in the earlier days of the Thule Culture (900 A.D. to mid-seventeenth century) winter houses were constructed of rocks and whalebone ribs to support the roof. Franz Boas explained that the foundations of the early stone and whalebone houses were used over and over again each year by the Inuit.²⁶ The remains of these houses would have existed for Ellis to see, and as he says in the text (near Marble Island), "We found many Tracts of the Eskimaux . . .; and the Foundations of some of their Huts, which are built circular, and in the Form of a Bee-Hive, with Stone and Moss." (pp. 147-8) Here again the artist probably followed Ellis' text and then had to rely on his imagination to complete the form of the house.

The lower section of fig. 9 gives a closer look at the kayak. Ellis was impressed by the construction of these boats and by the dexterity of the Inuit in manoeuvring them with such speed. His praise of the design and efficiency of the kayak was repeated by contemporary writers.

According to Birket-Smith, there were different shapes of kayak, so that it was often possible to identify the district from which each came. The example illustrated in Ellis was typical of the light, narrow kayaks used by the Caribou Inuit. The curved, elongated prow is somewhat exaggerated, although certain models of the kayak found along the west coast of Hudson Bay did have long, pointed stern and prow projections.²⁷ It is probable that the artist had never actually seen a kayak, but perhaps followed rough sketches by a member of the crew.

Unfortunately one artist's image, though fanciful, was sometimes copied by another. The engraving by Mynde (fig. 9) is remarkably similar to a later one which appears in *A New Universal History of the Religious Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Whole World* by William Hurd, (London: A. Hogg, 1788), (fig. 10).

Although the woman is shown in three-quarter view, her clothing and her pose with her right arm directed toward the child in her hood and the left hand on her hip resemble that of the Caribou Inuit woman. A key feature which connects the two engravings is the man's peculiar hair style. It is unlike any other representation of an Inuit's hair except that of Mynde's illustration. Again, although the position of the man (fig. 10) is different, the dress and bow and arrow relate closely to the engraving from Ellis. In the background, the Inuit paddling his kayak with its exaggerated prow also harks back to the Mynde engraving.

Other illustrations in William Hurd's book were modelled on earlier engravings. Therefore it is very possible that the illustrator was inspired by Mynde's engraving of the Caribou Inuit, published forty years earlier. Judging from the landscape with its trees and abundant vegetation, one can deduce that Hurd's illustrator had never visited the North. Embroidered with festoons and urns, the Hurd engraving is a charming, romantic look at the exotic savage. Not until the nineteenth century would the artist-on-the-spot give a more natural and accurate portrayal of the Inuit, if perhaps naively rendered.²⁸

In a comparison of the two engravings in Ellis' book, one notes that the elegant, classical pose and delicate features of the Caribou Inuit in fig. 9 contrast with the coarser physique of the Inuit of Hudson Strait. The woman in Mynde's engraving is almost refined compared with the hardy Baffinland woman. The Caribou Inuit man, despite his bushy head of hair, looks less rugged than his Hudson Strait relation. Ellis acknowledged certain differences in customs and dress between the two groups. But the dissimilarities in the physical representation of the Inuit may have been the result of two different illustrators. Whether or not both engravings were executed by the same man, the artist in his portrayal of

the Inuit had to rely both on the text and on his preconceived image of these people. The result is a picturesque not completely accurate view of Inuit life. However, the way in which the illustrator chose to depict the Inuit gives some insight into the European attitude toward these native peoples of Canada.

To understand how eighteenth-century writers and artists perceived the Inuit, it is necessary to realize that previous contact with them had been limited to a few explorers and traders. Rumours of the Inuit's cannibalism and murderous intentions had led to the European's fear and uncertainty concerning the behaviour of these northern people. In published accounts by travellers to the Arctic, illustrations rarely portrayed any interaction between the Europeans and the Inuit,²⁹ rather the Canadian native people were shown as curiosities to be observed from afar, displayed in their native dress and outdoor environment.

The engravings in Henry Ellis' *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*... are no exception. The emphasis on the strange clothing of the Inuit suited the exotic image held by the Europeans. The curious details of dress proved amusing to the reader as well. For example, the child poking out of the mother's boot (fig. 2) was so foreign to the illustrator that he was unable to make the child look natural and comfortable. In the text, Ellis introduced his description of the Inuit by explaining that an account of their habits would be "entertaining" to the reader (p. 132).

In both engravings the Inuit are placed in a barren and uninviting landscape. In fig. 2, there is no evidence of dwellings or houses; the Baffinland Inuit carry out their activities in the open air, under no roof. This portrayal of the outdoor life suited the European idea of the Inuit's nomadic existence. They had no permanent settlements; they moved with the change of season. To the European mind only uncivilized beings would lead such an unpleasant life of wandering. Ellis himself criticized the unsettled state of the Inuit when he referred to "that Kind of vagabond Life to which this Whole Nation are addicted." (p. 139) In fig. 2 the Inuit dwellings have been included in the rocky terrain; however, a tent is hardly a permanent house.

Long accounts of the hardships faced by previous English travellers emphasized the severity of the winter and the bleakness of the land. The North was considered to be a place no-one would freely choose to inhabit, and the European feeling of superiority was partly based on the belief that only uncivilized peoples would want to live under such harsh climatic conditions. Thus the European expected the appearance of the Inuit to reflect the wild, rugged country which he inhabited. In contradiction with this feeling of superiority was the admiration for or perhaps

awe at the way the Inuit were able to survive the elements and to adapt their clothing and activities to suit the North. Ellis recognized this contradiction when he said:

From this long Account of the Severity of their Winter, it is natural for my Readers to conclude this Country, the most uncomfortable in the World, and its Inhabitants the most unhappy. But in fact however, they are very far from it.
(p. 180)

Underlying much of the British attitude to the Inuit is this conflict between admiration for the ingenuity and skill of the people and affirmation of the uncivilized and inferior nature of the Inuit. Ellis admired the "Spirit of Invention" in the design of their weapons, and he praised their dextrous handling of the harpoon and bow. Thus in his book each weapon is illustrated and described in detail. At the same time he noted that these weapons were crude and inefficient compared with the English gun.

Ellis suggested that if the Inuit were provided with improved, up-to-date hunting instruments, they would be useful in England's development of a whale and seal fishing industry. This opinion was shared by other Northern travellers who felt that England would benefit by employing the Inuit for trade purposes.³⁰ In other words, Ellis was encouraging more efficient exploitation of the Inuit.

While noting how useful the Inuit might be to the English and admiring their technical skills, Ellis dwelt on the Inuit's inclination toward theft and trickery and readiness to lend their wives. Ellis interpreted the latter behaviour as a desire to have children by the English, in order that the offspring would thereby bear the superior qualities of the British nation. In actual fact, the Inuit would lend their wives as a sign of friendship and good faith. By misinterpreting the Inuit's motives, Ellis supported his own image of the inferiority of these people.

The overall impression of the Inuit that the viewer is given from the engravings, supported by Ellis' text, is that of an inventive people who have adapted to the harsh conditions of the northern climate. Living such an existence, they could not be expected to be civilized. The artist has concentrated on the unique and colourful aspects of the Inuit life — the clothing, dwellings, kayaks, etc. The Inuit are shown making fire to cook meat rather than engaging in acts of barbarism. Their facial expressions are passive, not cruel. The rendering of the Inuit, while reflecting the superficial contact between them and the English, revealed a certain

confidence in the British attitude toward these native peoples of Canada. Rather than fearing the Inuit, the Englishman looked on them with curiosity, attracted by their decorative charm and unfamiliar customs. At the same time he confirmed their inferior status and refused to recognize that the Inuit had a culture of their own.

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Notes:

¹ Wendell H. OSWALT, "The Eskimo People: The Earliest Accounts," *The Beaver* (Winnipeg: Autumn 1977), p. 22, mentions an illustration of 'Terra Nova' Eskimos published in Augsburg, Germany in 1567.

² Published in London by H. Whitridge, 1748. I would like to thank Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Libraries, for permission to reproduce the illustrations for this article. I also want to thank Mrs. Janet Sader of the Lawrence Lande Coll., McGill Univ. for her help in finding illustrations of Inuit in published sources.

³ The dispute was between Arthur Dobbs, an Irish member of Parliament, who had trade interests in America and a Captain Middleton who led a voyage to Hudson Bay in 1741. In 1670 the Hudson's Bay Co. had been granted the trade rights around the bay. Dobbs was among those who suspected that the company discouraged exploration of a North-West Passage which, if discovered, would lead to the break-up of their trade monopoly in the area. The dispute arose when Dobbs accused Middleton, of failing to thoroughly explore certain western inlets of the bay on his voyage in search of a northern route. Dobbs suggested that Middleton, a former employee of the Hudson's Bay Co., had conspired with the company in order to protect its trade monopoly. An account of this dispute is given in Glynwr WILLIAMS, *The British Search for the Northwest Passage in the Eighteenth Century* (London: 1962), p. 87.

⁴ In 1776 Richard Pickersgill set off from England for the coast of Baffin Bay. See: J.R. FORSTER, *History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North*, trans. from German (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1786).

⁵ Theodore S. DRAGE, *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage by Hudson's Straits*, 2 vols. (London: Jolliffe, 1748).

⁶ Two examples are the artists: John Clevely who accompanied Captain C. Phipps' expedition to Spitzbergen in 1773, and Captain Lyon who executed the drawings for the account of Sir William Parry's second voyage in search of the North-West Passage in 1821-23.

⁷ ELLIS, p. 105.

⁸ Leslie STEPHEN, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII (London: 1889), pp. 278-79.

⁹ Beamish MURDOCH, *A History of Nova Scotia*, II (Halifax: 1865-67), pp. 403, 431-32. Even though Ellis was appointed governor of Nova Scotia, he never actually took up residence.

¹⁰ Joseph STRUTT, *A Biographical Dictionary of Engravers* (London: Robert Faulder, 1785), I.

¹¹ Samuel REDGRAVE, *A Dictionary of the English School* (1878; facsimile rpt. Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970), p. 304.

¹² David BLAND, *The Illustrations of Books* (London: 1951), p. 53.

¹³ Franz BOAS, *The Central Eskimo* (1888; rpt. Lincoln Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 13-15.

¹⁴ Therkel MATHIASSEN, *Archaeology of the Central Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, "The Thule Culture and its Position within the Eskimo Culture" (Copenhagen: 1927), points out that the women's high boots were holdovers from the older Thule Culture and they gradually disappeared.

¹⁵ ELLIS, p. 136.

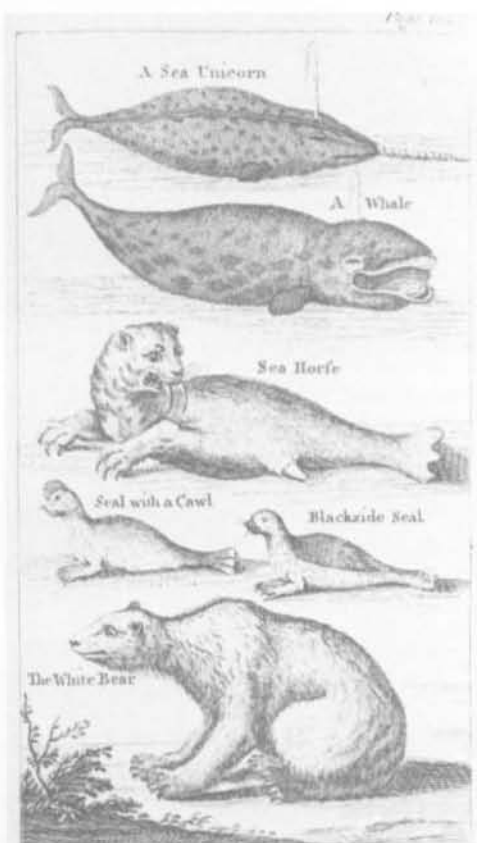


fig. 5. engraving, 17.5 × 10.3, opp. p. 134, ELLIS, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. (Photo: A.C.)

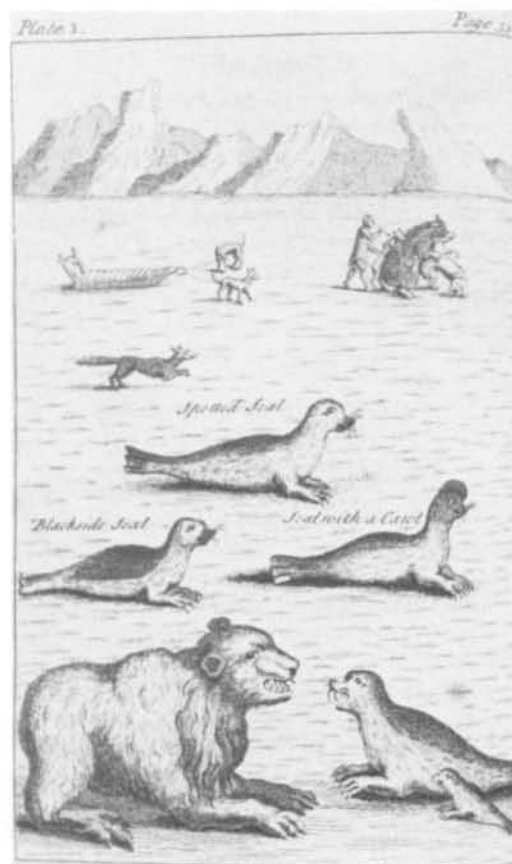


fig. 7. engraving, 19.2 × 11.1, opp. p. 59, EGEDE, *A Description of Greenland*. (Photo: A.C.)

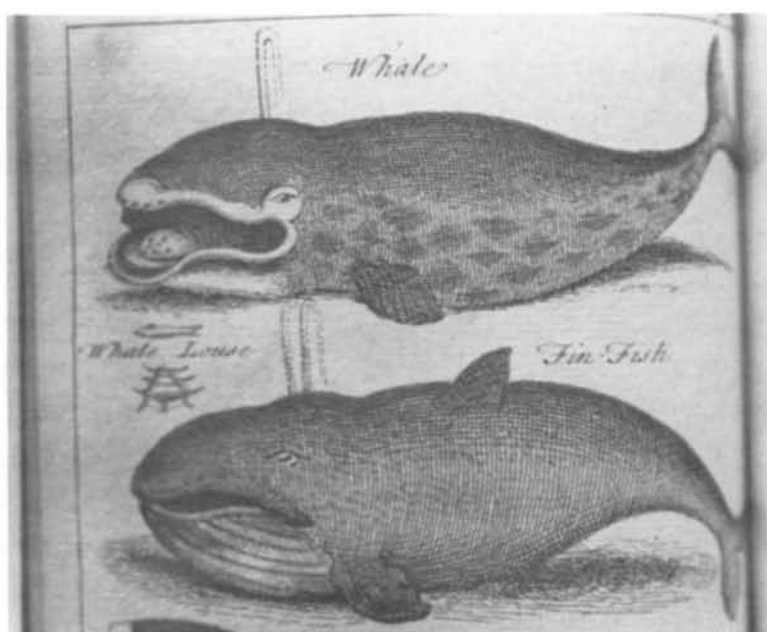


fig. 6. engraving (det.) opp. p. 69, EGEDE, *A Description of Greenland*. (Photo: R.P.)



Eskimauz

Manière dont les Eskimauz allument du feu

fig. 8. Amérique Septentrionale. Esquimaux. Manière dont les Esquimaux allument du feu, coloured engraving, 17.8 x 15.6, unbound and undated, McGill Univ. Rare Book Dept. (Photo: A.C.)



An Eskimauz on the N.W. Side of Hudsons Bay



An Eskimauz in his Canoe

fig. 9. J. MYNDE, *An Eskimauz on the N.W. Side of Hudsons Bay* and *An Eskimauz in his Canoe*, engraving, 17. x 12., opp. p. 232, ELLIS, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*. (Photo: A.C.)



fig. 10. Engraved for Dr. Hurd's Ceremonies & Customs of All Nations. Habits of ESKIMAUX INDIANS, natives of Hudson's Bay, among whom the UNITED BRETHREN have sent Missionaries, and formed Settlements, engraving, 30. x 17.5, opp. p. 659, HURD, A New Universal History.... (Photo: A.C.)

- ¹⁶ William WALES, *Journal of a Voyage made by Order of the Royal Society to Churchill River . . . in the Years 1768 and 1769* (n.p., n.d.), p. 109.
- ¹⁷ A diagram of a similar harpoon is illustrated in fig. 28, p. 80 of BOAS.
- ¹⁸ Kaj BIRKET-SMITH, *The Eskimos* (1936; rpt. London: 1959), p. 83.
- ¹⁹ BIRKET-SMITH, *The Caribou Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24*, V, part II (Copenhagen: 1929), p. 62, states that the double curve in the bow was particularly pronounced in the bows of antler.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, part II, p. 93.
- ²¹ The English translation was published by C. Hitch, S. Austen, J. Jackson (London: 1745).
- ²² A search through French travel accounts to North America, published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, has not as yet provided a clue to the date or identity of the published source of the engraving.
- ²³ By 1929 when Kaj Birket-Smith visited the area, he wrote that the Qaenermiut who used to meet the whalers at Marble Island and Fullerton stayed inland throughout the year with the exception of a few families. See: *The Caribou Eskimos* . . . part I, p. 63.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*, part I, p. 220.
- ²⁵ I have found no anthropological reference to musk-ox hats being worn by the Inuit as protection against insects to support Ellis' description. However, BIRKET-SMITH in *The Caribou Eskimos*, p. 213, mentions Ellis' comment and points out that it would have been the neck skin of a musk-ox, not the tail.
- ²⁶ BOAS, p. 139.
- ²⁷ See illustration in BOAS, "The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, XV, part I (New York: 1901), p. 77.
- ²⁸ Artists such as Captain Lyon, George Back, and James Ross.
- ²⁹ Bacqueville DE LA POTHERIE in his *Histoire de L'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4 vols. (Paris: Jean-Luc Nion, 1722) includes one engraving of Inuit trading with the Frenchmen. However, the main scene depicts the expedition's ships and crew. The encounter with the Inuit, tiny figures in the distance, takes place in the left corner background of the engraving. John White's famous depiction of Frobisher's fight with the Eskimos at Frobisher Bay, July 1577 is reproduced in colour as the frontispiece in S.E. MORISON, *The European Discovery of America, The Northern Voyage A.D. 500 — 1600* (Oxford Univ. Press: 1971).
- ³⁰ Joseph ROBSON who had lived in the Hudson Bay area for six years was a main proponent of the idea of employing the Inuit for whale and seal hunting. He wrote *An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's-Bay from 1733-36 and 1744-47* (1752; rpt. facsimile ed. Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965).