

## Adding to the Portfolio and the Narrative: Further Images of Eighteenth-Century Labrador Inuit in England

Marianne Stopp<sup>1,2</sup> and Hana Nikčević<sup>3</sup>

(Received 25 March 2024; accepted in revised form 17 August 2024)

**ABSTRACT.** In 1768, the Labrador Inuk woman Mikak and her son Tutauk were taken to England by Newfoundland’s Governor Hugh Palliser as official guests of the government in hopes of improving relations, especially trade, with Labrador Inuit. They returned to Labrador in 1769. In 1772, English merchant Captain George Cartwright brought two Labrador Inuit brothers and their families to England: Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia, and Caubvick. The known paintings and pastels of these individuals, together with their personal histories, have provided insights into the Inuit experience and management of 18th-century colonial presence and expansion in Labrador. The known images are also unique and striking artworks of the Georgian period, several by famous artists of the time. This paper adds four more works to the known portfolio, including two portrayals of Mikak and Tutauk and two of the Inuit family group. Additionally, two further images of Mikak and Tutauk are noted that have been mentioned in exhibition catalogues but have not yet been found. Provenance histories and comparisons of both the new and the known works are emphasized and explored. The subjects’ performances in their various roles—as individuals with their own goals, as important visitors, as subjects of artwork for purpose of ethnography—are also considered, as is the purpose of some of these images as mementoes. Their hosts’ performances and responses to the Indigenous visitors are also considered—including their use of common colonial figures of speech, such as sarcasm, and cultural stereotyping of their guests as the wise noble, the innocent, the “Indian princess,” and chief or leader (to open social and diplomatic doors). Finally, the painting known as *A Labrador Woman* by an unknown artist in the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London, is briefly revisited. This striking portrait has been variously identified over time, and we discuss why this may be another 1769 portrayal of Mikak.

**Keywords:** Labrador Inuit; portraits; Mikak; Tutauk; Attuiock; Ickongoque; Ickeuna; Tooklavinia; Caubvick; Bonhams image; Houghton image; John Russell; George Cartwright; Joseph Banks; Royal College of Surgeons; Johann Friedrich Blumenbach

**RÉSUMÉ.** En 1768, une Inuk du Labrador nommée Mikak et son fils Tutauk ont été amenés en Angleterre par Hugh Palliser, gouverneur de Terre-Neuve, à titre d’invités officiels du gouvernement, dans l’espoir d’améliorer les relations avec les Inuits du Labrador, plus particulièrement sur le plan commercial. Ils sont revenus au Labrador en 1769. En 1772, le capitaine George Cartwright, un marchand anglais, a amené en Angleterre deux frères inuits du Labrador ainsi que des membres de leur famille : Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia et Caubvick. Les peintures et les pastels de ces personnes, ainsi que leur histoire personnelle, nous permettent de mieux comprendre l’expérience inuite et la gestion de la présence et de l’expansion coloniale au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle au Labrador. Les représentations artistiques de l’époque géorgienne sont remarquables et uniques. Plusieurs d’entre elles sont l’œuvre d’artistes renommés de cette période. Dans cet article, nous ajoutons à la liste des œuvres connues quatre nouvelles pièces : deux portraits de Mikak et de Tutauk ainsi que deux représentations du groupe familial inuit. Nous mentionnons également deux autres représentations de Mikak et Tutauk, qui se trouvent dans les catalogues d’exposition, mais dont la localisation est inconnue. Nous explorons l’histoire de leur provenance ainsi que les points communs entre les œuvres nouvelles et celles déjà connues. La représentation des sujets dans les différents rôles qu’ils occupent (personnes ayant leurs propres objectifs, visiteurs importants, sujets d’œuvres d’art à des fins ethnographiques) est également abordée, ainsi que la vocation de certaines de ces images en gage de souvenirs. Les représentations et les réactions des hôtes envers leurs visiteurs autochtones sont également examinées, notamment par rapport à l’utilisation de figures de style coloniales courantes, comme le sarcasme, ainsi que par rapport aux stéréotypes culturels attribués aux invités, soit la figure du noble sage, de l’innocent, de la «princesse indienne», du chef et du leader (pour ouvrir les portes sociales et diplomatiques). Enfin, nous revoyons rapidement le tableau *A Labrador Woman*, une peinture anonyme du musée Hunterian au Royal College of Surgeons of England, à Londres. Ce portrait frappant a fait l’objet de diverses interprétations au fil du temps. Nous en discutons les raisons.

---

<sup>1</sup> History and Commemoration Branch, Parks Canada (retired)

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding author: [mppca@gmail.com](mailto:mppca@gmail.com)

<sup>3</sup> Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 77 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139-4307, USA

Mots-clés : Inuits du Labrador; portraits; Mikak; Tutauk; Attuiok; Ickongoque; Ickeuna; Tooklavinia; Caubvick; image de Bonhams; image d'Houghton; John Russell; George Cartwright; Joseph Banks; Royal College of Surgeons; Johann Friedrich Blumenbach

Traduit pour la revue *Arctic* par Nicole Giguère.

## INTRODUCTION

The Labrador Inuk woman Mikak and her young son Tutauk were taken to England in the late autumn of 1768. In early 1769, they sat for a portrait by the painter and pastellist John Russell. The work produced (Fig. 1) is in all likelihood the one now in the collection of Georg August University of Göttingen, Germany (Fig. 2).

Four years later, in 1772, a family group of five Labrador Inuit arrived in England. They, too, posed for portraits. They were Attuiok, Ickongoque (Attuiok's youngest spouse), and Ickeuna (their infant daughter), as well as Tooklavinia (Attuiok's brother) and Caubvick (Tooklavinia's spouse). Six images of these individuals are known. One is an unattributed group portrait in pencil now at the Hunterian Museum, Royal College of Surgeons of England, London (henceforth, Hunterian Museum) (Fig. 3). Attuiok and Caubvick additionally stood for pendant full-figure pastels by Nathaniel Dance, each signed and dated 1773. Photos of both pastels are presented here in colour for the first time (Figs. 4 and 5). Caubvick's portrait by Dance identifies her in the right front corner as "Caubvick / Wolverine" and in a note pasted to the back as "an Esquimeau woman brought from Cape Charles on the Coast of Labrador by Capt. Cartwright in the year 1773." Attuiok is not identified on the front of his portrait, but a handwritten note pasted to the back of the image reads: "An Esquimeau man who was brought over from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Captain Cartwright in the year 1773. He was a priest in his own country which is denoted by the thong of leather hanging down from his girdle. His name Ettinock [Ettuiok?]." Pendant miniatures of Attuiok and Caubvick were copied from these Dance pastels by the artist Christopher William Hünemann in 1792; these are in the collection of Georg August University of Göttingen, Germany (Fig. 6). Both of Hünemann's miniatures have what appears to be an original handwritten note pasted on the back, closely following the wording of the Dance portraits.

On Attuiok's miniature, the note reads:

An Esquimeau man who was brought over from Cape Charles on the coast of Labrador by Cptn Cartwright a. 1773.

he was a priest in his country.

his name Ettuiack

The original drawing in the possession of Lady Banks was made by Nath. Dance a. 1773.

this copy by Mr. Hünemann 1792.

For Caubvick, the note reads:

An Esquimeaux woman brought from Cape Charles on the Coast of Labrador by Cptn Cartwright a. 1773.

her name was Caubvic which in her language signified wolverene.

this copy was made by Mr. Hünemann 1792 from Nath. Dance's original drawing in the possession of Lady Banks.

A sixth image in the Cartwright family papers at Library and Archives Canada is an unattributed amateur watercolour considered to be of Caubvick (Fig. 7).

Finally, the Hunterian Museum at the Royal College of Surgeons of England has in its collection *A Labrador Woman*, an unattributed oil painting of an Inuk woman. Over time she has been variously identified as Mikak, Ickongoque, and most recently Caubvick (Fig. 8).

These images and the related histories of these Labrador Inuit subjects have been previously considered (Stopp, 2009). In this article, we add five more images to the 18th-century iconography of Labrador Inuit. Two images of Mikak and Tutauk have the same composition as the painting in Göttingen (Fig. 1) and likewise bear John Russell's name. One is an oil painting at Guildford House Gallery, Guildford, England (Fig. 9). The other is a black-and-white photograph (depicting what may be an engraving) held at the National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 10). Both images are clearly related to one another and to the painting in Göttingen, but all exhibit slight differences (discussed below). Another two new works are pencil and watercolour drawings of the family group of 1772–73. These amateur works depict similar scenes and are probably by the same unknown creator. One is an unfinished drawing of the five Inuit with Catherine Cartwright, sister of George Cartwright (Fig. 11; ownership unknown at the time of writing). The other is a finished portrayal of the five Inuit, similar to the other drawing but without Catherine; it is held at the Houghton Library, Harvard University (Fig. 12). Finally, the fifth new image is a drawing by John Flaxman (Fig. 13) that must be a copy made after Dance's pastel portrait of Caubvick. It was listed at Sotheby's in 1998; its present location is unknown.

Through provenance research, composition comparisons, and historical and historiographical contextualization, we evaluate whether these five new images stem from the time of the Inuit visits, consider the relationship of the new images with the known ones, and explore how these new images allow us to clarify, complicate, and expand on the existing scholarship of 18th-century portraiture of Labrador Inuit.



FIG. 1. *Mikak mit ihrem Kind (Mikak with Her Child)* in the collection of the Georg August University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany. Oil on canvas by John Russell, 82 cm × 70 cm framed. Signed at lower left “Rußsell, Pinx: 1769.” Accession #:Bi.Kat.26. Photo credit: H. Haase (Krüger, 2005). With permission, 2024. © Georg August University of Göttingen.

Provenance is critical to this discussion and is given particular emphasis in order to affirm the portraits’ relationships to Labrador Inuit history. Standard questions of provenance related to artist, patron, sitter, and ownership can establish whether these are period pieces and, as far as is possible, which pieces were created in the presence of their Inuit subjects and which may be copies. Some of the pieces are the output of famous Georgian artists; examining their provenance contributes to museum studies and art history. As visual records, these works belong to the broader set of 18th-century portrayals of Indigenous people who were brought to England and they are singular markers of a particular form of Labrador Inuit entanglement in the European contact zone. When these works were created, Labrador Inuit had been in nearly continuous contact with Europeans in Labrador for over two centuries, but only a few Inuit experienced the other side of the Atlantic. Provenance and historical context show these works as relevant, if limited, visual records of cultural encounters by Labrador Inuit in Europe, adding a dimension to their experiences on both sides of the Atlantic as active players in a complex and diverse set of historically documented moments. As European objects, they continue to embed Inuit collaborations and accommodations through the non-Inuit practice of portraiture.

By the 18th century, most Inuit in Labrador owned European goods ranging from the small (needles and thread) to the large (shallops). Long-distance trade networks were in place that linked Inuit settlements along the length of the Labrador coast. Inuit brought baleen, seal oil, feathers, ivory, and sealskins to French and English merchants whose posts and ships were stationed from Groswater Bay southward to the shores of the Strait of Belle Isle. Inuit entrepreneurs established regional networks and relationships with Europeans that gave them status within their own community networks. Competition between these individuals was acute and in proportion to their European connections and wealth. Households grew in size but were also in flux as Inuit explored ill-defined social and political organization and power while also losing their foothold in coastal and marine regions where Europeans were expanding (Kaplan, 1985). The Labrador Inuit featured here lived the social and political upheaval of Inuit at that time. Attuiock and several brothers were traders who moved between Hopedale and areas to the south. Attuiock’s expanded family included at least two wives, only one of whom (Ickongoque) accompanied him to England. Records hint that Caubvick had been taken from another partner and given to Tooklavinia not long before journeying to England. Mikak’s capture and sojourn at York Fort in Chateau Bay came in the aftermath of an altercation between Inuit and an English merchant in which men on both sides were killed.

These individuals were part of the long-term, recurring process of Inuit encounter with non-Inuit peoples that began in the 16th century in Labrador and the eastern Arctic. Encounters included trans-Atlantic journeys by Labrador Inuit, and other Indigenous individuals, from northeastern Canada to England and to countries in Scandinavia and Europe before, during, and after the 18th century. Among works that consider the earliest Inuit sojourner histories out of these regions is the written and pictorial material compiled by Sturtevant (1980) of a Labrador Inuk woman and her daughter captured in “Terra Nova” by French/Breton sailors around 1565. The two were brought to Europe for exhibition where their real-life display was advertised in widely circulated broadsheets. Sturtevant and Quinn (1989) compiled historical information on the Baffin Island Inuit brought to England by Martin Frobisher in 1576 and 1577, likewise featured on broadsheets (see also Watts and Savours, 1999; Obermeier, 2005). In 1725, the Kalaaleq named Poq returned home to west Greenland after a sojourn in Denmark with a detailed account of his observations and experiences that were never forgotten and remained oral histories performed through songs until put to paper in an Inuit–printed book in 1857 (Barüske, 1972; Pushaw, 2021). The story of an Inuk boy named Karpik brought to the Moravian settlement at Fulneck, Yorkshire, in 1769 where he died of smallpox is found in Moravian archival material (Petroni, 1988; Stopp, 2009; Rollmann, 2013, 2017), as is the record of another young Inuk in London named Nunak (Rollmann, 2014). A Labrador Inuit boy named Noozilliack was brought to England by Cartwright in 1773, where he



FIG. 2. Maps showing places named in text in (A) the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, and (B) in Ireland, England, and Germany. Maps adapted from Atlas of Canada, 2024. <https://atlas.gc.ca/toporama/en/index.html>.



FIG. 3. Pencil drawing of Labrador Inuit family group, l-r: Tooklavinia, Caubvick, Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna. Artist unknown, 1773, 32.5 cm x 15.1 cm. The Hunterian Museum at The Royal College of Surgeons of England - RCSSC/HDB/2/2/180/1.Stopp, 2009. <http://surgicat.rcseng.ac.uk/Details/collect/55770>

died of smallpox despite having been inoculated (by Daniel Sutton who along with his father and brothers pioneered a way to inoculate against smallpox in the mid-1700s) (Stopp, 2009). Attuiock's brother Emicktoke and his spouse Angnutoke were brought to England in 1772 by the merchant outfit Perkins and Coghlan. Put on display, their experiences were harrowing and drew the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, William Legge (Lord Dartmouth), who sent Cartwright and Attuiock to attempt an unsuccessful rescue (G. Cartwright, 1792; entries for August 1773, 28 March 1779; C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter; Lysaght, 1971). Nooquashock was an Inuk woman who worked in Cartwright's household and in 1776 emigrated to Ireland with her partner Daniel Scully (also an employee of Cartwright's) and their twins (Cartwright, 1792:18, October 1776; Stopp, 2024).

By the 1800s, Britain had ceased to sponsor Indigenous visits because of waning interest in their diplomatic potential. In Labrador, 19th-century colonial focus shifted from developing relationships with Inuit to regional expansion and control of resources. Nevertheless, Inuit continued to be taken to Europe as well as to the United States primarily to be exhibited and also to be studied physically, mentally, and socially in order to test ideas about human classification and race (Baehre, 2008). Samuel Hadlock's 1822–26 travelling exhibition of two Labrador Inuit, referred to as George Niakungitok and Mary Coonahnik (Bankmann, 1997), gave rise to a number of images including French painter Léon Cogniet's 1826 *A Woman from the Land of Eskimos* (a version held at the Cleveland Museum of Art), which might be seen as a Romantic cognate of the portraits discussed here. Norwegian entrepreneur Adrian Jakobsen brought several

families from northern Labrador to Europe for purposes of display. Among them was Abraham Ulrikab, a literate Moravian Inuk whose posthumous diary stands as the only written autobiography by an Inuit of this time (Lutz, 2005). In 1893, Labrador Inuit were brought to the Chicago World's Fair as part of the ethnological exhibit known as the "Esquimaux Village" where their treatment resulted in notable acts of Inuit anarchy and agency (Markham, 2020).

Studies of even earlier Indigenous travellers from other parts of northeastern North America—diplomats, visitors, and unfree—are noted in Dickason's (1984) examination of 16th and 17th-century Indigenous visitors to France. Feest's (1987) collection of essays on visual and textual material related to Indigenous peoples in Europe is in many respects foundational to subsequent studies. Other contributions to the literature of cultural encounters include compendia by Obermeier (2005), Vaughan (2006), Bellin and Mielke (2011), Thrush (2016), Morgan (2017), and Pennock (2023).

TABLE 1. Name spelling variants of Mikak and Tutauk.

Cartwright, 1792; Whiteley, 1979; Taylor, 1983*	Mikak	Tutauk
Göttingen Museum records, 1796	Mikak, Mycick	Tutauk
Williamson, 1894	Micoc	Tootac
Webb's copy of Williamson, 1894	Mico	Tootac
Graves, 1907	Miscoe	—
Sotheby, 1967, 1997	Micoc	Tootac
Guildford House Gallery records, 1998	Micoc	Tootac

\* Spelling used in this text.

TABLE 2. Name spelling variants of the Inuit family group.

Handwritten notes on verso of 1773 Nathaniel Dance pastels of Attuiock and Caubvick (date unknown)	Ettuiock, Ettinock	Caubvick Caubvic
Cartwright, 1792*	Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna	Caubvick, Tooklavinia
Barron, 1904	Ittuiack. Econgoke, Ikkyana	Cauboic, Tooklawinia
Göttingen miniatures by Hünemann (Krüger, 2005)	Ettuiack	Caubvic
Catherine Cartwright's letters of 1773 (Stopp and Mitchell, 2010)	Et-tu-ye-ack, E-cong-oke, Ik-ky-u-na	Caubvic, Took-la-vi-ni-a
Houghton watercolour, c. 1773	Ettuyack, Econgoke, Ikkiunia	Caubvick, Tooklavinia
Bonhams watercolour, c. 1773	Itooack, Icongoke, Ikeuna	Cobveck, Tooklavinia

\* Spelling used in this text.

### BIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEWS OF THE INUIT IN THE PORTRAITS

The overviews that follow are based on previously published research about the known portraits and the histories of the individuals pictured in them (Stopp, 2009). Source materials contain variant spellings of the Inuit names. For Mikak and Tutauk, we follow precedents by Whiteley (1979) and Taylor (1983, 1984), listing variants in Table 1. For the Inuit family group—Attuiock, Ickongoque, Ickeuna, Tooklavinia, and Caubvick—we follow spellings found in the earliest published record of their names: George Cartwright's 1792 Journal. An earlier written record of these names is found in the 1773 letters of Catherine Cartwright, whose spellings closely match those of her brother except that she used hyphens to distinguish sound groups in each name (Table 2).

Both George's and Catherine's spellings are considered reliable phonetic records of names they knew well and had heard pronounced frequently by speakers of Inuttitut, the Inuktut language of Labrador (Nunatsiavut, 2024; Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2024). George's spellings also feature in much of the research literature and can thus most readily be used to search sources. The other spelling variations listed in Tables 1 and 2 do not occur with sufficient frequency to warrant their use here. Finally, while it would be possible to rewrite the names according to modern-day Latin orthography for Labrador Inuttitut, we hesitate (as non-Inuit, Euro-Canadian scholars) to employ such versions or assume that they would be more representative than the phonetic forms recorded by Cartwright.

#### *Mikak and Tutauk (in England from 1768 to 1769)*

In Canada, Mikak has been designated a person of national historic significance for exemplifying “Inuit self-determination, political ability, and economic control at a time of cultural transition” (Parks Canada, 2011:1; Dodd, 2009). Detailed accounts of the lives of Mikak and Tutauk are limited, and only a few draw on primary sources such as Moravian mission diaries and period correspondence

(Whiteley, 1979; Taylor, 1983, 1984; Stopp, 2007, 2009; Rollmann, 2011, 2015). Archaeological testing of one of the places near Nain where she may have lived for a time has added to the documentary record by revealing involvement in the Inuit coastal trade network through an array of European goods (Fay, 2016).

Mikak and Tutauk—whom Mikak also named Palliser, and who, in 1780, was given the baptismal name Jonathan by Moravian missionaries—entered historical records in August 1767 when they were captured at Cape Charles, Labrador, during a violent altercation involving a British merchant crew, marines, and Inuit. They were taken to York Fort, a British naval installation in nearby Chateau Bay, with other Inuit women and children and held there for just over a year. In the autumn of 1768, Newfoundland's governor, Commodore Hugh Palliser, instructed Lieutenant Francis Lucas (who was based at York Fort, had befriended Mikak, and had learned some Inuttitut) to take Mikak, Tutauk, and another young Inuk boy (Karpik) to England. Palliser's hope was that Mikak would become an ambassador for his efforts to improve British relations with Labrador Inuit, establish Moravian missions, and improve trade.

Mikak and her son probably voyaged to England in the autumn of 1768 aboard the ship *Guernsey* in the company of first Lieutenant John Cartwright, whose brother George Cartwright was in the same convoy and possibly even on the same vessel. The Cartwright brothers had just completed a survey of the Exploits River in interior Newfoundland for Palliser, in hopes of meeting with Beothuk (G. Cartwright, 1792: entry for 11 July 1770; Marshall, 1977, 1996). A brief account of Mikak's earliest days in London is found in a December 1768 letter from John Cartwright to his sister Catherine, part of which is quoted here because it is a somewhat unknown record. John appears to have accompanied Mikak in London, and while his letter evinces a colonialist perspective and contains several instances of sarcasm, it also notes Mikak's capability and intelligence:

Since our arrival in England I have had much entertainment of a singular nature—you must know



FIG. 4. Full-figure pastel of Attuiock by Nathaniel Dance, ca. 1772–73, 38 cm x 24 cm, unframed. With permission, 2024, in private ownership.

we have brought with us one of those delicate ladies from Labradore of whom I gave you last year some description. Her admiration of every new object and her amazement at such as are very grand or above her comprehension is extremely diverting. We promised ourselves some very pleasing scenes in conducting her into town by lamp light, at St. Paul's, the theatre and other places calculated to operate on her senses in the highest degree. She is to be taken out of the chaise on the middle of Westminster bridge and shew'd her situation. Such objects must astonish her beyond imagination. In her own country except the canoes, darts & other implements of her own nation none at least of a capital nature, and a ship being an object they have been used to for ages & according to their



FIG. 5. Full-figure pastel of Caubvick by Nathaniel Dance, ca. 1772–73, 38 cm x 24 cm, unframed. With permission, 2024, in private ownership.

ideas only a large canoe did not affect them with much surprize. The King's grand hospital at Portsmouth which was the first building she was permitted to behold was a noble structure to contrast with the fishing huts of Newfoundland: and made a suitable impression on her. Notwithstanding her being educated a barbarian in the full sense of the word she is already become civilized & polite. Her behaviour is that of a person of extreme good intellects.

J. Cartwright, 1768; F.D. Cartwright, 1826:40

Mikak's visit was officially arranged by Palliser, sponsored by government, and counts among the many Indigenous diplomatic visits from North America to the Georgian kings in the 18th century. Her contacts were numerous while in London, and she worked with Palliser and Moravian representatives to convince the Crown that missions to Labrador would succeed and merited support. After an eventful winter and spring in London, in the



FIG. 6. Head-and-shoulder portraits of Attuiock (left) and Caubvick (right) in the collection of the Georg August University of Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany. These drawings, possibly watercolours, each 16.6 cm x 14.0 cm, framed, were copied by the artist C.W. Hünemann for J.F. Blumenbach in 1792 from Joseph Banks's originals (Krüger, 2005; Stopp, 2009). Photo: H. Haase. With permission, 2024. © Georg August University of Göttingen.



FIG. 7. A full-figure watercolour of Caubvick, artist unknown. This 10.5 cm x 8.3 cm image is inserted into page 48 of the grangerized version of volume I of *The Life and Correspondence of Major [John] Cartwright* (Cartwright, F.D., 1826; first recorded in Marshall, 1979: Library and Archives Canada, Ref. R13263-10-3-E, Vol. No. 9. Copyright expired. <http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3964651&lang=eng&ecopy=e008300464-v6>



FIG. 8. *A Labrador Woman*. Oil on canvas, artist unknown, 75 cm x 63 cm unframed. With permission, 2023, The Hunterian Museum at The Royal College of Surgeons, RCSSC/P 243. <http://surgicat.rcseng.ac.uk/Details/collect/43895>.



FIG. 9. *Micoc and Tootac* in the collection of Guildford House Gallery, Guildford, England. Signed “J. Russell Pinx:” at lower left. Oil on canvas, 75 cm x 60 cm framed, Accession #:1003. With permission, 2024, Guildford Borough. Can also be viewed at Guildford Heritage (2021). <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=3580341712076204&set=a.669222553188149>.

summer of 1769, Lucas was instructed to accompany Mikak and Tutaok back to Labrador on the naval vessel *Nautilus*, landing them in the vicinity of today’s Makkovik. From 1769 until 1782, Mikak lived in the area of Nain. Following a period of food scarcity in northern Labrador, she journeyed to Chateau Bay with her partner Pualo, and other Inuit families, to trade. Little is known about the next ten years of her life. She may have raised another son named Nerkingoak or Manumina (Stopp, 2009), and she continued to trade actively with Europeans. For nearly 30 years until her death in 1795 in her mid-fifties, Mikak negotiated a range of relationships, including personal connections with British and Inuit, nation-to-nation relations as an advocate for her people while in Britain, and diplomatic collaborations aligning British and Moravian interests in Labrador when Britain advanced the establishment of Moravian mission and trade centres (including the Nain and Okak missions in 1771 and 1776, respectively).

#### *The Family Group (in England 1772–73)*

The five Labrador Inuit who arrived in London, England, on 14 December 1772 in the company of George Cartwright were a couple named Attuiock and Ickongoque with their three- or four-year-old daughter Ickeuna, and a second, younger couple, Tooklavina (Attuiock’s brother) and



FIG. 10. Black-and-white photograph of an unknown original, 28 cm x 26 cm, labelled “Micoe & Tootac” (Webb, ca. 1910–1918). Signed “J. Russell Pinx: 1769” at lower left. Differences between this signature and those in the oil paintings are the absence of the sharp “s”, the superscript “t” is placed outside the colon, and date is followed by a period. With permission, 2024. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England.

Caubick. Published histories of these individuals’ lives are based mainly on first-hand information found in Catherine Cartwright’s letters (C. Cartwright, ca. 1773; transcribed in Stopp and Mitchell, 2010) and in George Cartwright’s letters and published journal (G. Cartwright, 1792; Lysaght, 1971; Stopp, 2008, 2009, 2016a). As well, archaeological testing of two Inuit sod houses at the mouth of St. Lewis Inlet suggests that these may have been inhabited by Attuiock and family members in the early 1770s (Stopp, 2014).

George Cartwright was an English army officer who, in 1770, became a merchant trader along the coast of southeastern Labrador. Until 1786, he operated several sealing, salmon, and cod fisheries between St. Lewis Inlet and Sandwich Bay, set up fur-trapping crews in winter at the heads of most bays along that coast, and traded with Inuit and Innu. He produced a legacy of Labradoriana, including the work for which he is best known, *A Journal of Transactions and Events of Nearly Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador* (Cartwright, 1792), which contains a personal account of his relatively challenging years as a merchant and is a historical record of early permanent colonial settlement, resource-based mercantile expansion, and European relations and interactions with Inuit and Innu



FIG. 11. The Bonhams image, unfinished graphite and watercolour, by an unknown artist, 29.2 cm × 33.6 cm. Each subject is identified in handwritten pencil annotation. Front figure in red clothing labelled: “Tooklavinia”; back, left to right: “Itoiak,” “Cobveck,” “Aunt Catherine,” “Ikiuna,” and “Icongoke.” With permission, 2022. © Bonhams.

in Labrador. Cartwright wrote two further manuscripts that complement and expand on information in the *Journal*, neither of which were published in his lifetime. *The Labrador Companion* (Stopp, 2016b) and *Additions to the Labrador Companion* (Stopp, 2008) contain many observations on the natural history of Labrador, some observations on Inuit and Innu ways of life, and much description of householding, fishing, and trapping as Cartwright knew them.

Cartwright first met Attuiok and his extended family in 1770, during his first months in Labrador. Cartwright had formed a business partnership with Francis Lucas who had been responsible for Mikak and Tutauk during their voyages across the Atlantic and while in England. While Cartwright began the work of building a post for himself and his crews in St. Lewis Inlet, Lucas sailed northward

along the Labrador coast for two months in hopes of finding Mikak and bringing her to the new post as a way of cementing Inuit trade connections. Lucas voyaged as far as Auchbuktoke (also known as Arvertok), today’s Hopedale, the main southernmost settlement area of Inuit at that time. Although he did not find Mikak, Lucas met other Inuit including Attuiok and his extended family. In Cartwright’s words (1792: entry for 5 October 1770), Lucas “prevailed upon the chief of that tribe, together with his family, to accompany him hither; and to winter near me; in order, to give me an opportunity of laying a foundation for a friendly intercourse with them.”

One of Catherine Cartwright’s letters suggests that it was Attuiok who advanced the initiative to travel to England, writing that the Inuit “wou’d come to England with [Cartwright], ’tho he eandeavor’d to put them off



FIG. 12. The Houghton image, graphite and watercolour, 37 cm × 54 cm unframed. The Inuit group outdoors, likely at the Cartwright family home of Marnham in Nottinghamshire. Each individual is identified in handwritten annotation in ink on the verso of the image sheet. From left to right: “Econgok,” “Ettuyack,” “Ikkiunia,” “Tooklavinia,” “Caubvick.” Houghton Library, Harvard University (Houghton, 2010). Copyright expired. <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990122087190203941/catalog>

... & had he not complied with them, certainly he would have turn'd friends into enemies, both with them and their tribes” (C. Cartwright, postscript to 20 June 1773 letter; Stopp and Mitchell, 2010:408). Cartwright was initially hesitant, probably recognizing the responsibility and the great expense of hosting the group in the wake of recently sustained business losses. Unlike the circumstances of Mikak’s journey, he had no official backers to support bringing Inuit to England, and smallpox was a known concern. Nevertheless, the group left Labrador in early November 1772, making first landfall in Waterford, Ireland, where they were “teazed to death by the curiosity of the whole town and country to see the Indians” (G. Cartwright, 1792: entry for 25 November 1772). Once in London, the Inuit group seems to have been in the public eye nearly constantly, attending events in private homes, drawing crowds of onlookers while they were sightseeing, and being publicly presented at an open house twice a week over the winter (visits were likely by paid entry, since Cartwright was renting a small house expressly for the purpose of hosting an audience). On 6 January 1773, they attended a Royal Society dinner in the company of George and John

Cartwright and the naturalist Daniel Solander who was a student of Linnaeus and an associate of Joseph Banks (F.D. Cartwright, 1826). At other times, they met with Banks himself and with the anatomist John Hunter (Lysaght, 1971). By February 1773, Cartwright recognized that respite was needed and brought the Inuit to his family home at Marnham, Nottinghamshire. Marnham was the probable setting of the two new amateur drawings introduced below (Figs. 11 and 12), and it was here that Catherine spent six weeks in the company of the five Inuit. In March, the Inuit and George Cartwright returned to London, where a busy schedule continued with visits to an opera, to Court, and to the “houses of several of the nobility and people of fashion” (G. Cartwright, 1792: Vol. 1: 266).

The return voyage to Labrador began in early May 1773. By the end of the month, the ship had only reached Plymouth, and Caubvick was diagnosed with smallpox, soon followed by three of the ship’s crew and then the entire Inuit party. Ickeuna and her mother Ickongoque died on 31 May, and three days later Attuiock and Tooklavinia died. Caubvick alone regained her health and, by the end of August, arrived in Labrador with Cartwright. Little is



FIG. 13. Pen, graphite, and gray wash drawing by John Flaxman inscribed “Caubvick/Wolverene” on the lower right (recto) and “Laplander by John Flaxman” on the verso (possibly the signature). This image was copied from Nathaniel Dance’s 1773 pastel of Caubvick sometime before 1826, the year of Flaxman’s death. Sold at Sotheby’s (1998:26, Lot 22) auction 16 July 1998 as “A Laplander.”

known about Caubvick’s life after her return to Labrador. In his journal, Cartwright (1792: 28 March 1779) suggested without being certain that she was among a group of Inuit who had died in 1778 on an island at the mouth of Groswater Bay.

## NEW IMAGES: MIKAK AND TUTAUK

A painting (Fig. 9) of a slightly smiling Mikak and her son Tutauk peeking around her left arm has been in the collection of Guildford House Gallery, Guildford, England, since 1997 (Mardles, 1997; Guildford House Gallery, 2023; ArtUK, n.d.). In 2022, it featured in the exhibition *Georgian Women: Portraits by John Russell*, the online version of which remains accessible at the time of writing (Guildford House Gallery, 2022). Guildford was the birthplace of John Russell, and the gallery holds more than 35 of his original works. For most of his career Russell worked as a portraitist in pastels, but he also created a notable body of oil paintings (Jeffares, 2023a).

A better-known painting of Mikak and Tutauk by Russell (Fig. 1) has been in the ethnological collection of Georg August University of Göttingen, Germany, since 1797, and it has featured in a number of research papers (Jannasch, 1958; Pearson, 1978; Taylor, 1983, 1984; Stopp, 2009). The resemblance between this work and the Guildford painting is immediately apparent.

While the two portraits are nearly identical in composition, there are slight differences. For instance, the overall cool, blue tone in the Göttingen portrait differs from the Guildford painting’s warmer browns and greens; the Guildford piece shows more of Mikak’s left sleeve and lower amauti (overcoat); Tutauk’s hair at his forehead is more unevenly fringed in the Guildford piece; and Mikak’s teeth—visible in the Göttingen painting—are left out of the Guildford version. In addition, the Göttingen portrait depicts its sitters with more naturalistic modelling and renders the sealskin clothing and Mikak’s beadwork in greater detail. The mottled coloration of the sealskin amauti in the Göttingen work (composed of shorter, darker brushstrokes and with the inclusion of tawny spots at the collar and both shoulders) suggests a specificity that, by contrast, is absent from the smoother, more even finish of Mikak’s coat in the Guildford portrait. When it was acquired, the Guildford piece showed evidence of prior cleaning, restoration in the area of Mikak’s face and right shoulder, and relining (G. Haigh, ca. 2019).

Russell’s signature appears in the lower left corner of both paintings, but the signatures differ. The Göttingen portrait is signed “Rußsell Pinx<sup>t</sup>:” in a looping, fluid script with the year 1769 placed centrally under the name. “Rußsell” is written using the long *s* (the  $\beta$ ) usually employed by Russell (Jeffares, 2023a). The Guildford signature—“J-Russell Pinx<sup>t</sup>:”—is undated and includes a first initial followed by an interpunct. Fainter than the Göttingen signature, it exchanges the  $\beta$  for a standard lowercase *s* and is written in a more print-like hand where the straight stem and subtle tail of the initial letter *J* lend it the appearance of an *I*. The different style of the Guildford signature seems to be rare but not unprecedented for Russell. The British Museum, for instance, holds a Russell portrait of Andrew Gifford signed in a similar manner and dated 1774 (The British Museum, n.d.).

What to make of the Guildford portrait of Mikak and Tutauk? Is it a copy by another artist, or is it Russell's own work? If both the Guildford painting and the Göttingen painting are original works by Russell, why did the artist produce two portraits so similar in appearance? Several documents state that the Guildford painting was the piece Russell entered in the first Royal Academy exhibition in 1769, but is this correct? We are not the first to puzzle over these portraits and probably will not be the last, but our research has brought some clarification to the histories of these two paintings.

The first exhibition of the Royal Academy took place from 26 April to 27 May 1769, a time when Mikak and her son were still in England. The exhibition catalogue describes the painting entered by John Russell as "The portraits of Micoc, and her son Tootac, Esquimaux Indians, brought over by Commodore Palliser" (Royal Academy, 1769:12). In his 1894 biography of Russell, George C. Williamson observed that the "picture of these two Esquimaux Indians was the first picture Russell exhibited at the Royal Academy," further noting that in the late 1890s the painting "unfortunately cannot now be heard of" and had to be included in his list of Russell's "Missing Pictures" (Williamson, 1894:26, 130).

Russell died in April 1806 and an estate sale took place in February 1807, managed by Christie (today's Christie's auction house). The original auction catalogue, listing several buyers' names and purchase prices, appears in Williamson's book. Item 23 is titled "*Portrait of Esquimaux Female and Child*. In oil" (Christie, 1807:4; Williamson, 1894: 101, 120; Getty Provenance Index, n.d.:Br-458). The buyer is noted to be "Vernon."

There is no evidence that Williamson knew that there were two separate, similar artworks. The Göttingen painting had left England for Germany years earlier, in 1796, a fact that Williamson, researching a century later, does not seem to have known. Instead, the painting listed in Russell's estate sale, purchased by Vernon, was assumed by Williamson to be the piece once shown at the Royal Academy.

Although he did track down the owners of other works by Russell, Williamson did not locate the owner of Item 23 despite publishing requests in periodicals such as *The Antiquary* asking that "all owners of pictures by John Russell" be in touch with him, so that he might produce a "complete descriptive list of all his known works" (Williamson, 1893:183). Williamson was evidently interested in Russell's portrait of Mikak and Tutauk, as the work Russell had shown at the first Royal Academy exhibition. Yet it may not have been a priority, since it is not among the approximately two dozen portraits that he specifically sought in his ad. Even if Williamson had found the painting, however—then seemingly still with the Vernon family—he would have remained unaware of the existence of its cognate in Göttingen.

The painting purchased by Vernon from Russell's estate sale next appeared in a 1919 auction at Christie's in London. It was titled simply *An Esquimaux Woman and Child* and

attributed to T. [sic] Russell. It was offered as part of the collection of a Capt. Bruce Canning Vernon-Wentworth, Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire (Christie, Manson & Woods, 1919:25). Tracing the family genealogy, the buyer at the 1807 sale of Russell's estate may have been Bruce Canning's ancestor Henry Vernon of Hilton Park (Burke and Burke, 1847). From the Vernon-Wentworth sale in 1919, the painting entered the collection of Bernhard Holger Jacobsen of Nevill Court, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, who auctioned it six years later through Douglas Young & Co. (1925; *Country Life*, 1925). The portrait was then acquired by anthropologist and ethnographic collector Alfred Walter Francis Fuller (Mardles, 1997).

Fuller may have been the first of its owners to merge the provenance of the Guildford painting—the painting he had bought—with the painting Russell showed at the Royal Academy in 1769, probably from reading Williamson. While Jacobsen's auction catalogue had reused Vernon-Wentworth's generic terms for the listing (*An Esquimaux Woman and Child*), Fuller documented and publicly presented his purchase in greater detail. In the *Sunday Times* of 28 July 1957, he ran a photo of the Guildford painting and described it as follows:

an original oil painting by John Russell, RA. ... shows the first Esquimaux brought to England by Commodore Palliser. It was the first painting Russell exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1769, the first exhibition of the R.A. There was no record of this picture since that date until I discovered it in a large country house, much neglected, more than thirty years ago.

Fuller, 1957

He wrote a similar account directly onto the reverse of the picture's frame, giving insight into his sources (but erring on the dates of the Inuit visit):

By John Russell R.A. His celebrated portraits of Micoc + Tootac the first Labrador Eskimos to be brought to Europe (by Sir Hugh Palliser) c. 1766–7. The first painting to be exhibited at the R.A. by Russell, 1769 (No 98). The painting was "lost" for many years until discovered by me + purchased on the 12 May 1925. Walpole described it + see "John Russell: His Life and work" by G.C. Williamson, 1894.

What, if anything, Fuller knew of the painting's history at the time of his 1925 purchase is unknown. As a collector of ethnographic objects, typically from the South Pacific, he presumably had an interest in researching his acquisitions. By 1957, he had connected the portrait's signature and subjects with Williamson's account of Russell's 1769 Royal Academy piece. He appears also to have found a record of Horace Walpole's comment on the piece ("Very natural"), made when Walpole viewed the portrait at the Academy exhibition and published in Algernon Graves's (1907:390) dictionary of 18th-century British artists.

In 1967, a few years after Fuller's death, his widow Estelle Fuller sold the portrait. Along with other Canadiana from British owners, the painting was "flown from London by Air Canada" to Toronto, Ontario, for the first Sotheby & Co. auction in Canada (1967:103). In the catalogue, the painting was attributed to John Russell and the work was described as the one shown at the Royal Academy in 1769.

The identity of the 1967 Sotheby's buyer remains unknown, but 30 years later, in 1997, the portrait was auctioned at Sotheby's in London and purchased by Rafael Valls Ltd. Gallery, London. Two weeks later it was purchased by Guildford Borough Council for Guildford House Gallery (Mardles, 1997). The 1997 Sotheby's catalogue offered a new and extensive description of the painting's historical context and provenance, citing Ann Savours's 1963 essay "Early Eskimo visitors to Britain" (Sotheby's, 1997:122). Perhaps Fuller's 1957 *Sunday Times* note had caught Savours's attention and inspired her article. We know Estelle Fuller and Savours were in touch, since Savours's essay reproduced an image of the Guildford portrait "courtesy of Mrs. E.W. Fuller" (Savours, 1963:338).

The existence of two similar paintings of Mikak and Tutauk by Russell began to emerge between Savours's 1963 article and the 1997 auction. Savours's history built on research by scholars who actually had been writing about the Göttingen portrait. One of these scholars was Hans-Windekilde Jannasch (born to Moravian parents in Nain, Labrador), who in 1958 had published an essay tracing Mikak's biography in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* using information in the Göttingen University Ethnological Museum's archives. Writing of the Göttingen portrait, Jannasch was the first to publish the information that Joseph Banks had commissioned the portrait from Russell and had later presented it to Göttingen professor J.F. Blumenbach (Jannasch, 1958).

Jannasch's article included an image of the Göttingen version of Russell's Mikak and Tutauk, which clearly differed from the image shown by Fuller in the *Sunday Times* in 1957, by Savours in 1963, and in the Sotheby's catalogue of 1967. Ethnologist J. Garth Taylor's two-part paper on Mikak in 1983 and 1984 also presented the Göttingen portrait.

In England, there had been minimal knowledge of the Göttingen piece for about a century before the Guildford Borough Council purchase in 1997. The first to become aware of the existence of two separate, similar works by Russell was likely Alastair Laing, researcher at London's Heim Gallery, in 1978 (Heim Gallery records, 1965–91, The Getty Research Institute). American anthropologist William C. Sturtevant then raised the issue again in 1997. Sturtevant was aware of the upcoming auction and had seen the Göttingen painting in 1988 (and would have known of Jannasch's and Taylor's papers). A month before the 1997 Sotheby's auction Sturtevant (1997) wrote to the British Museum about the Göttingen piece, proposing that it was the original and that the one offered by Sotheby's was a contemporary copy. It is uncertain whether, by

"contemporary," he meant a modern-day copy or a copy contemporary to the Göttingen piece.

The Göttingen museum addressed the existence of the Guildford Russell in 2005 when curator Gundolf Krüger queried its authenticity. News of the Guildford painting also reached Labrador in about 2000, when a descendant of Tutauk's from Rigolet informed Guildford of their connection to the painting's subjects (G. Haigh, pers. comm. to Nikčević, 2023).

Although there is a scarcity of formal records for the Göttingen portrait, it appears to have had only two owners. Sturtevant and Krüger's theories that the Göttingen painting was the original were based on both aesthetic clues and archival records. Georg August University of Göttingen acquired the piece through a professional friendship between Sir Joseph Banks, the English botanist and long-time president of the Royal Society, and the Göttingen-based naturalist and anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. On the reverse of the Göttingen portrait is a label presumed to be in Blumenbach's hand:

Mycock, an Eskimo woman with her son, who was brought from Labrador to London in 1769 by naval Lieutenant Francis Lucas and was painted by the famous portraitist John Russell for Sir Joseph Banks from whom I received this piece as a gift.

Translation by the authors

In an 1806 volume describing his physiological researches, including how Mikak's portrait was used for skull comparisons, Blumenbach (1806:64) again linked the painting with Banks (although the date "1796" is incorrect and should have been "1769"):

I received ... through the goodness of Mr. Baronet Banks, the masterful portrait of Mycock, an Eskimo woman who is known from the mission reports of the Evangelical Brotherhood to have died in 1795, and who had been in London in 1796, where Mr. Baronet had this life-size expressive picture of her made by the famous portrait painter John Russell.

Translation by the authors

Together with the more detailed appearance of the Göttingen portrait and the fact that it is dated to 1769 in Russell's own hand, Blumenbach's information is a crucial and convincing record of provenance. Blumenbach's writings link the Göttingen portrait to Banks's ownership, attest to the portrait's transfer to Blumenbach, and suggest that it was Banks who commissioned Russell to paint the portrait (Dougherty, 2012, quoting Blumenbach, 1806; Krüger, 2005). According to Blumenbach's correspondence with Banks (discussed below), the painting hung in the library of Banks's home for many years before it was sent as a gift to Blumenbach in 1797. How exactly Banks came to possess the painting remains unknown, and whether he commissioned Russell to paint it remains unconfirmed. The

potential commission is recorded only in Blumenbach's note that it "was painted by the famous portraitist John Russell for Sir Joseph Banks."

Banks had left London in August 1768 on the *Endeavour* with Captain James Cook's first Pacific voyage. He thus never met Mikak. (Mikak began the voyage from St. John's, Newfoundland, to London in November 1768. In May 1769, while Mikak was preparing to return to Labrador, Banks and Cook were in Tahiti about to take measurements of the transit of Venus, which took place on 3 June). Perhaps Banks knew in advance of her December 1768 arrival in England and pre-arranged for a painting? Prior news of plans to bring an Inuk woman from Labrador to England may have reached him through any number of contacts, including Governor Hugh Palliser, who would have begun official plans for Mikak's journey in either late 1767 or early 1768 while in England. Palliser, Banks, Cook, and the Cartwright brothers were all acquainted and had even met in Newfoundland in 1766. Nevertheless, we have found no direct evidence of an arrangement between Russell and Banks.

Alternatively, Russell's commission may have been made by Banks's wife Dorothea or by his sister Sophia who lived with the Bankses in Soho Square, London. Russell had a close connection with the Banks family, painting at least six portraits of family members (Williamson, 1894). The Royal Academy exhibition catalogue of 1769 printed an asterisk next to any works that were for sale by the artist, and there is no asterisk next to Russell's, suggesting that it already had an owner (arguably, the owner may have been Russell himself). That Banks commissioned the portrait from Russell is made plausible by Banks's documented conviction that artists should be employed to illustrate scientific phenomena. Banks is considered a supporter and even pioneer of this developing methodology, demonstrated in his instalment of artist Sydney Parkinson on the *Endeavour* voyage as well as his encouragement of John Russell's detailed representations of the moon's surface (Forrester, 2001; Steinhofel, 2007; Williams, 2013). Ethnographic collection was of general interest in the 1760s and 1770s but, falling outside an intellectual framework, was not given the same attention as the natural sciences of botany, zoology, and geology. Dance's pastel portraits of Inuit (Figs. 4 and 5), once in Dorothea Banks's collection, present detailed depictions of physiognomy and clothing that represent an early stage in ethnography with Banks as one of its forerunners (Mackie, 1985).

Blumenbach's interest in the Russell portrait began during a December 1791 visit to London, where he met Banks for the first time (after years of correspondence) and saw the painting in the library of Banks's home (Klatt, 2012). While there, Blumenbach also saw Nathaniel Dance's full-figure pastels of Attuiock and Caubvick from 1773 in Lady Banks's room, as well as an image of the famous Polynesian, Omai. In 1792, Blumenbach commissioned the London-based artist C.W. Hünneemann to make copies of Banks's Dance pastels (Fig. 6), later reflecting that the six guineas he paid Hünneemann for the pair was too

high (Dougherty, 2012, Letter 808). In September 1794, Blumenbach wrote Banks again with a further request, to have a copy made of the Russell oil:

when I was in London You were so kind Sir to allow me a copy of Mr Dance's pictures of the Eskimeaux man & woman in Lady Bankss Room, which copies were very well drawn by Mr Hunnenmann. May I at present take the Liberty to request the same favour of You in regard to the Eskimaux woman & child in Your Library & to Omais picture in Lady Banks's room ... In case that You would give me this kind permission, I should then write to Mr Hunnenmann that he may copy those so highly interesting portraits for [me] in the same manner with Crayon [or bl]ack lead as he copied the other both. As far as I know him I am certainly persuaded that he will take the greatest care for the pretious originals.

Dougherty, 2012:346, Letter 869;  
transcribed by Dougherty

Blumenbach sent a second request on 10 December 1796 to have copies made of the portraits of Mikak and of Omai, and a third letter of 24 January 1797 suggests that Banks had generously offered to send the originals:

It is...impossible for me to express You my acknowledgements in any proportion to my feelings, but You will believe that in this line hardly any thing in the world could make me happier than those unvaluable portraits You speake of, & that on the other hand certainly nobody could set a higher value upon them, in every regard, than I do.

Dougherty, 2013:94, Letter 1038;  
translated by Dougherty

Blumenbach again wrote Banks on 2 April 1797, reporting that he had received the portrait of Mikak along with another of Tahitian islanders. Here too, Blumenbach suggests that Banks has sent him the original works:

I repeat my most cordial thanks for the pretious pictures You have so generously parted with to enrich my anthropological collection & who are arrived in the safest way & perfectly well preserved ... Good Mycock recalls me in the most vivid way to Your library, as she was one of the first objects which stroke me there when I entered it the first time Dec.[ember] 19, 1791.

Dougherty, 2013:117, Letter 1054,  
bracketed text by Dougherty; Dawson, 1958:114

Entries in John Russell's diary of early April 1769 serve as a valuable record of his production of a painting of Mikak and Tutauk, but there is no mention of a commission. His three brief diary entries mentioning the sitting confirm that he painted the Inuit from life in April 1769. Although the portrait he produced appears to be a sensitive picture of mother and child, Russell was, as Matt

Lodder has observed, “more given to documenting his ongoing existential and spiritual crises in his journal than showing any genuine human warmth towards his sitters” (Lodder, 2022:88). Russell may have been hypochondriacal in the extreme; he certainly was a fervent Methodist and a constant proselytizer, and he may have possessed a personality “at best difficult and frequently disturbed” (Jeffares, 2023a:2). Russell viewed portrait sittings as opportunities to preach Methodism, to the extent that his “presence in the houses of the time was only tolerated for the value of his work,” while his opinions could be “nauseous to his clients” (Anonymous, 1896:91). Russell’s diary hints that he was in character during Mikak’s sittings:

Had the Esquemaux Indian Woman to sit to me today. I long’d to have had power to have preached Christ to her but she could not understand a word of English;

Monday. I have been most exceptionally engaged in business with the Esquenaux [*sic*] Indians, my spirit good and enabled to run through a [?] with facility.

Tuesday. I concluded the Esquemaux Indians picture to day.

Russell, 1768–70; entry for Saturday (8 April 1769)

To Mikak, an encounter with an evangelical European would have been nothing new. Her relationship with Moravian missionaries had begun in Labrador and would continue in England and upon her return to Labrador. Although her command of English may have been minimal, it is tempting to suspect that she intentionally downplayed any understanding while in Russell’s company. In any case, sitting for Russell would have been one of many unusual experiences for Mikak and Tutauk in London, and it was surely charged by Russell’s eccentric character.

The Guildford painting and the Göttingen painting each have a unique and convincing custodial history, respectively linking them to John Russell’s 1807 estate sale and Joseph Banks’s library. It is entirely possible that imperfect records exclude crucial information. Why two similar oil paintings signed by Russell were painted at all remains to be discovered. Perhaps the Guildford portrait was a practice run by Russell in advance of his Royal Academy submission and was retained thereafter in his collection. Similarly, the work may be a studio *ricordo*, the artist’s studio record of a work already painted (Lodder, 2022). Another possibility is that the Guildford painting is a copy commissioned by Banks before shipping his first painting to Blumenbach—but why, then, would the copy be in Russell’s estate ten years later? Given their similarities, it is likely that whichever work was painted second, it would have been painted with the original alongside. Additionally, it is possible that a third, missing painting preceded or mediated the two known paintings.

Indeed, as our inquiry into the movements of the Göttingen and Guildford paintings seemed to be reaching an end, we were made aware of the existence of a third image of Mikak and Tutauk (Fig. 10).

### *A Third Portrayal of Mikak and Tutauk?*

Wholly intriguing is a black-and-white photograph of another image of Mikak and Tutauk held at the National Art Library, Victoria & Albert Museum (Fig. 10). Brought to our attention by art historian Matt Lodder (pers. comm. to Nikčević, 2023; Jeffares, 2023a), the photographed portrait clearly rehearses the composition of the Göttingen and Guildford portraits, yet it does not appear to be identical to either of the two works. Does the photograph record a third painting? Or does it record an imperfect reproduction of one of the two known paintings? The medium of the photographed portrait is unclear. As explored below, records suggest that it is an engraving, perhaps a mezzotint or aquatint.

Differences between the photographed portrait and the two known paintings confirm that the photograph documents a third depiction of Mikak and her son, while similarities suggest that it was created alongside one of the oil paintings. Mikak’s visible teeth and heart-shaped face evoke the Göttingen portrait more than the Guildford painting, and the framing at the bottom edge of the photographed work strengthens that association. Less of the bottom edge of Mikak’s coat and left and right sleeves are shown than in the Guildford portrait. The photographed portrait differs from both the Guildford and the Göttingen works, however, in the shading of Mikak’s face, the shape of her mouth, the design of the brass lappets at her ears, the shading of the V-shaped gusset at the front of her amauti, the detailing of her hand, and the styling of hair along Tutauk’s forehead. The attribution in the lower left corner of the wide black border, “J. Russell Pinx: 1769,” seems closer in form to the Guildford signature than the Göttingen signature: the bowl of the *J* is not defined (and so the initial resembles an *I*) and a lowercase *s* replaces the  $\beta$ . Yet it is the Göttingen painting, not the Guildford work, that is inscribed with “1769.”

The photograph is pasted into a folio-sized scrapbook compiled in the early 1900s by Francis Henry Webb, a great-grandson of John Russell. Webb attempted to bring together his ancestor’s known works “by means of prints, photographs, sketches etc.,” further clarifying that most of the photographs in the volume “are printed in platinotype and were taken by myself” (Webb, ca. 1910: Introduction; a platinotype, or platinum print, uses a platinum emulsion). A handwritten caption beneath the photograph reads “Micoe & Tootac. Esquimaux brought to England by Comr Pallisar” [*sic*]. Webb’s caption further suggests that the photo depicts an engraving of an oil painting that was “the first picture” shown by John Russell at the Royal Academy in 1769, and which sold from Russell’s estate “for 2.10.0” (about Cdn\$200 today). Another notation, “Picture Sold at Christies Dec 6 1919,” shows that Webb had some knowledge of the movements of one of the Russell paintings (Webb, ca. 1910:25). He was not, however, aware of the Göttingen and Guildford works and only knew of the portrait of Mikak and Tutauk through this mediated reproduction.

Although it is not obvious from the photograph that it depicts an engraving, Webb considered it to be one, noting in the caption that the engraver's name was missing ("No Engr Name"). Some of Webb's collection of photographs was inherited from his uncle, Samuel Henry Russell (1814–1873), probably taken in the 1840s when technological advances in photography inspired a surge in the popularity of photographic reproductions of paintings and of engravings of paintings (Fawcett, 1986). Several of Webb's other photographs appear to depict Russell's pastels and oils (See, 1918), which could suggest that an engraving of Mikak and Tutauk had remained in the Russell family after the 1807 estate auction and was later photographed. Another copy of this same black-and-white photograph exists in a second, abridged Russell scrapbook by Webb held at the Guildford House Gallery (Guildford, pers. comm. to Stopp, 2024); this copy could not be located during the time of our research.

Questions remain as to the location of the original engraving and when Webb obtained or made the photograph. While working on his 1894 biography of Russell, Williamson was in touch with Webb, but he does not mention a print or a photograph. This suggests that Webb only acquired the photograph (or the print itself, which he could have then photographed) after 1894. Frances Dorothy Cartwright may have sought this same engraving in the 1850s for her grangerized copy of her uncle John Cartwright's biography, a book she had written and published in 1826. Held at Library and Archives Canada, the grangerized volume includes pasted-in news clippings, personal notes, and prints of engravings of family members and famous 18th-century individuals. On a blank page alongside pasted-in text about Mikak is a faint handwritten note in pencil that reads "Esquimaux woman," suggesting that this was where she would have placed a print representing Mikak had she found one (F.D. Cartwright, 1826: alongside 40).

#### *Summary—The Portraits of Mikak and Tutauk*

The Göttingen and Guildford paintings and the black-and-white photo in the Webb catalogue of a possible engraving share enough similarities to suggest that at least two of them were created with reference to a painting as opposed to being depictions from life. Scholarly and art-world sources have often confused the two oil paintings. The role of the engraving remains to be determined.

A feature shared by all three images is the depiction of Mikak's facial tattooing. Fine tattooed lines on her forehead parallel the arc of her eyebrows, branched lines extend from each side of her nose and across her cheeks, and seven vertical lines extend from her lower lip across her chin. Russell painted these "spidery, stitched lines of traditional Nunatsiavut women's facial tattooing" in blue (Lodder, 2022:88). The earliest recorded evidence of tattooing among Labrador Inuit women dates to the 1566 broadsheet of a woman and her seven-year-old daughter (Sturtevant, 1980). This woman is represented with facial tattoos like

Mikak's and triangles on her cheeks. In contrast, the images of Caubvick and Ickongoque from their 1773 sojourn in England show no facial tattooing, nor are tattoos mentioned in descriptions of them. Tattooing was an ancient and pan-Inuit practice. In many parts of the Canadian Arctic and in Greenland it continued into the early 20th century and has seen recent revival (Turner, 1979; Jelinski, 2015, 2019; Campbell, 2021; Lodder, 2022). The absence of tattoos among the family group may indicate an unknown social practice, perhaps tied to a regional group of Labrador Inuit, to personal choices, or to cultural change. Pressure from Moravian missionaries is an unlikely explanation because the first Moravian station in northernmost Labrador had only begun operating in 1771–72.

We anticipate that there are other images of Mikak and Tutauk still to emerge. A well-known 18th-century Scottish portraitist, Catherine Read (also Katherine, and Reade or Reed), showed a pastel at a 1769 exhibition of the Free Society—the same year that Mikak was in London—which was described as "The Esquimeaux woman and child." Read also exhibited a portrait at the Society of Artists in 1769 described as "the Esquimaux princess (*Miscoe*)" (Graves, 1907:209; Jeffares, 2023b:13). Given the different titles and no mention of a child, this may be a separate, unknown image of Mikak painted by Read. Records of these Read works exist but the pieces themselves have not been found.

Finally, not shown here is a pencil sketch in one of John Russell's sketchbooks held at Birmingham Museums Trust of three individuals labelled "Micoc," "Tootac," and "3. Esquimaux" (Russell, 1783–1785:62). Brought to our attention by M. Lodder (pers. comm. to Nikčević, 2023; Lodder, 2022:119), it shows male figures dressed in elaborate European women's clothing, each with a pronounced goitre growth at the neck. Jeffares (2023a) has observed that Russell was known to produce genre pieces which would have included these grotesques. We have ruled out that the drawing is of Labrador Inuit for three reasons: a note on the page indicates that the name labels "Micoc" etc. were added after 1861; another identical image in the sketchbook names the figures as Jack, Bill, and Thomas; and there is no visual resemblance to the Inuit.

#### NEW IMAGES:

#### THE LABRADOR INUIT FAMILY GROUP

Two new additions to the six known portraits of the Inuit family group are watercolours that we refer to here as the Bonhams image (Fig. 11) and the Houghton image (Fig. 12). Both show the entire group in a setting that may have been the Cartwright family home in Marnham, Nottinghamshire. The two images are related in style and subject matter and are significant for their association with a well-documented period of the Inuit family's visit to England. The level of detail suggests that these drawings were made at the time of the 1773 visit, and in both images the subjects are identified

with name labels. The pictures present both a domestic tableau and a careful portrayal of Inuit appearances, and they likely served as Cartwright family mementoes in the wake of their subjects' death from smallpox.

Igloliorte (2020) has stated that art produced by Inuit speaks across linguistic, cultural, and historical divides. It is possible that these two amateur watercolours were created by one of the Inuit and later labelled, possibly by Catherine Cartwright. If this were the case, the unexpected gaze potentially complicates interpretation. Drawing and painting were skills typically cultivated by middle- and upper-class families in Georgian England. Having been drawn themselves, one of the Inuit group may have tried their hand with pencils, paints, and paper. On at least one occasion while in Labrador, George Cartwright requested or received a drawing from an Inuk. *A Sketch of a Bay in Labrador copied from one drawn by an Eskimeau Indian* was among the papers found with his *Additions to the Labrador Companion* (Stopp, 2008).

### *The Bonhams Image*

We provisionally refer to this watercolour (Fig. 11) by the name of the auction house where it was sold on 20 September 2022 (Bonhams, 2022). The painting came to the attention of Stopp when Bonhams sought contextual information for its auction catalogue. Neither its earlier provenance nor its current ownership are known to the authors. The anonymous seller reported through Bonhams to Stopp that the watercolour had been purchased “years ago” from an antiques dealer who had bought it as part of a group lot at a country house sale in Gloucestershire, and that it was apparently the only lot item related to the Cartwright family (Bonhams, pers. comm. to Stopp, 2022).

Unfinished, unframed, and unsigned, the piece was catalogued by Bonhams as “a rare portrait of five Labrador Inuit with Catherine Cartwright at Marnham, Nottinghamshire, 1772.” This pencil and watercolour image is on beige laid paper that has uneven edges and some creasing. Pencilled lines block the overall composition, framing the scene within a rectangle, and the figures have been carefully outlined in pencil. Short, multi-coloured dashes of watercolour on the bottom and rightmost edges of the paper may indicate that the artist tested out each colour prior to committing it to a larger area. The work's purpose as an aide-mémoire is indicated by the inclusion of the sitters' names in pencil (Table 2).

The drawing captures an informal moment of gathering in a private, domestic space, different from the conventions of professional portraiture. The five Labrador Inuit are shown in the company of Catherine Cartwright, whose letters and a (now lost) diary contained detailed descriptions of each Inuk (C. Cartwright, ca. 1773). All are seated on simple benches except the young girl, Ickeuna, who stands with her left hand resting on her mother's bench. Catherine's presence and the unfinished green background—and perhaps the traces of a tree trunk and

branch between Catherine and Caubvick—suggest a garden setting. In Catherine Cartwright's descriptions of the Inuit, we learn that Caubvick and Ickeuna were quite dear to her heart, and here the two are placed on either side of her. A revealing aspect of this scene is the placement of Caubvick's hand on Catherine's lap, next to Catherine's own hand, and what appears to be two intertwined circlets of beads held between them—a strand of red beads in Catherine's hand passing through an unpainted loop of beads held by Caubvick. The handwritten label “Aunt Catherine” floats directly above Catherine and outside the pencilled frame. The artist may have been Catherine, who imagined herself an “aunt” to the five Inuit she would refer to as her brother's “Children” (Stopp and Mitchell, 2010:406). It is also possible that the label was added later by Catherine's niece, Frances Dorothy Cartwright, and who may have owned this piece and who did own the similar watercolour of Caubvick in Figure 7).

In addition to a portion of the green background, the artist has coloured in each figure's head, Tooklavinia's crimson coat, and Catherine Cartwright's blue dress, suggesting a loose attempt to work colour by colour. The red of Tooklavinia's coat also animates lips, blushing cheeks, and beadwork throughout. Both Caubvick and Ickongoque wear the same brass headbands and hairstyles seen in Russell's portrait of Mikak. Catherine Cartwright's correspondence recorded a detail about these headbands not found in other descriptions of Labrador Inuit: the headband “is kept fast by a string of beads that goes under their chins” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). This string of beads is visible at Ickongoque's chin. The hair, twisted and knotted over the ears, typifies a Labrador Inuit style noted as early as 1694 by Louis Jolliet while voyaging along the coast of southeastern Labrador (“un bouquet sur chacune de leurs oreilles,” Delanglez, 1944:196; in English, “the young women make a bun which covers each ear, the rest is braided and wound in a spiral on the top of the head, making it appear like a rose in full bloom,” Delanglez, 1948:227). The topknot is absent in these portraits and may have been lowered over time as brass headbands were adopted. In the Bonhams image, a bun is shown at Ickongoque's neck.

Caubvick, Ickongoque, and Ickeuna all wear beadwork lappets, which hang from their headbands at the level of the ears, partially coloured in on Ickeuna and Ickongoque in what was likely intended to become a pattern of red, black, and white beads. This same trait is seen in Russell's Mikak, in the Dance pastel of Caubvick, in the Hunterian group drawing, in the oval watercolour of Caubvick, and in the Houghton image discussed below. Both men have bowl haircuts; Ickeuna, too, has a short fringe.

The artist has tried to capture the styling and ornamentation of each figure's clothing, pencilling in the outlines of each design and, adopting an ethnographic convention, representing Ickongoque with her back to the viewer to illustrate the wide hood of a mother's amauti and the long tail typical of Labrador Inuit women's coats. Tooklavinia is shown wearing a medallion around his

neck—only visible in outline but identifiable through its recurrence in the Houghton image, where the same item is drawn on Attuiock’s front.

### *The Houghton Image*

A second amateur watercolour (Fig. 12) depicting all five Inuit, this one completed in vibrant colour, has been in the collection of Harvard University’s Houghton Library since 1948 (Houghton Library, 2010). In researching 18th-century representations of Labrador Inuit, Nikčević came across the painting in September 2022. Like the Bonhams watercolour, this one is unsigned, but the similarities of content, composition, medium, and style suggest that both drawings are the work of the same amateur artist. The textured paper shows staining and has cut edges, and a vertical fold mark bisects the centre. The names of each Inuk are written in ink on the reverse, placed where each person stands. A notation in pencil that reads, “Cartwright’s handwriting” is also on the reverse. One of us (Stopp) has worked with handwritten texts by George Cartwright and this does not appear to be a good match, nor are these his name spellings (Table 2).

This piece was first listed for sale by Maggs Bros. Ltd. booksellers of London, England, in 1939 (Maggs, 1939:23). It was described as a “Curious Watercolour Drawing of the Labrador Esquimaux” and contextualized with information from George Cartwright’s published journal. The painting was part of a set of early documents related to the history of Labrador and the island of Newfoundland that included a copy of George Cartwright’s 1792 *Journal of Transactions and Events*, along with John Cartwright’s map of Newfoundland’s interior (described as “the original” and named *A Sketch of the River Exploits, the East End of Lieutenant’s Lake, and Parts adjacent, in Newfoundland. Lieutenant John Cartwright, of His Majesty’s Ship Guernsey, 1768*). The set of items also included an engraving of this map. John Cartwright created at least three maps of Newfoundland, and although the Maggs records do not include the name of the purchaser of the map described in the catalogue as original, this may be the map currently in the collection of The Rooms, Newfoundland and Labrador (Catalogue #975.265) and first discussed by Marshall (1977; Fig. 2).

The watercolour did not sell in 1939, and Maggs listed it again in 1947 when it was purchased by Houghton Library (Maggs, 1947). Houghton’s (1948) sparse accession record from March 1948 describes the work as “the five Eskimos brought back to England by Cartwright in 1772” and labels it a “Morse gift,” meaning it was purchased using money from the William Inglis Morse fund. Morse was Harvard’s honorary curator of Canadian history and literature at the time (Z. Hill [Houghton Library] pers. comm. to Nikčević 2022).

Similarities between the Bonhams and Houghton images include the green background; the male figure labelled Tooklavinia seated in profile on a bench in the

foreground and wearing a bright red coat; the frontal view of Caubvick, back view of Ickongoque, and quarter-angle views of Attuiock and Ickeuna; and Ickeuna’s standing position. Traits found in the Houghton piece include the women’s two-toned boots and the detailed depictions of the subjects’ clothing, particularly the extensive and intricate beadwork. Ickongoque, positioned on the left side of the scene, is shown facing away from the viewer to display the large hood of her amauti, as in the Bonhams image. A bracelet is on the wrist of her extended right arm, perhaps a medallion affixed by black ribbon. Both Caubvick and Ickongoque are shown standing, wearing brown beaded amautis with cut and beadwork similar to their clothing in the Bonhams image. Ickeuna is wearing skin boots and a sealskin coat and pants. The sealskin is recognizable by its mottled taupe-and-black colouring, described in a letter by Catherine, who noted that Ickeuna preferred her sealskin coat for “the exquisite oddity of it” and wore it “to Court” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). Attuiock and Tooklavinia wear beaded crimson garments and medallions on black cords or ribbons around their necks, echoing the Bonhams image. Caubvick’s appearance clearly evokes not only the Bonhams drawing but also the already-noted oval watercolour (Fig. 7) pasted into Frances Dorothy Cartwright’s scrapbook (F.D. Cartwright, 1826), confirming a proposal made several years ago that the oval portrait depicts Caubvick (Stopp, 2009). The existence of three similar amateur portrayals of Caubvick raises the possibility that at least one of the images was drawn with reference to another image, as opposed to from life, and may postdate the Inuit visit.

The Houghton and Bonhams watercolours together present much new visual information about Inuit appearance, both reflecting and complicating historical sources. We know from textual records that, while they were in England, the Inuit wore clothing with flannels underneath. George Cartwright supplied Ickongoque and Caubvick with broadcloth, with which they reproduced traditional attire (G. Cartwright, 1792: undated entry of 1773). These garments were ornamented with glass beads “in the fashion of their own Country, which they string with great exactness & taste, that their dresses are curious and beautiful ... Seal skins & Deer skins are what they wear at home, & came over in but as they are not cured, but only dried, they are not very sweet” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). Except for Ickeuna’s attire, it is likely that many of the garments shown in the watercolours were made of fabric.

The gaiters depicted also appear to be cloth, and the women are wearing slip-on shoes. Catherine’s correspondence adds greater specificity about the newly made clothing: for a visit to court in April 1773, she reported that their “new dresses on this occasion is scarlet cloth trimm’d with black velvet richly ornamented with beads” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). This letter suggests that all four Inuit wore “scarlet cloth” when visiting court. The Houghton image, however, shows Caubvick and

Ickongoque wearing what appear to be skin garments with red gaiters (probably cloth), while the men are in red garments (probably cloth). The drawings may be synoptic of a range of attire. What appear to be skin garments may be made of brown cloth, but it is also possible that the artist creatively chose to depict the Inuit in both their traditional skin clothing and their new cloth attire.

The Dance pastels (Figs. 4 and 5) show Caubvick wearing reddish leggings and an amauti that may be of cloth. Attuiock's garments may be of skin or cloth, while the footwear (kamiks) may be skin. The beadwork roundels on Caubvick's front in the small oval painting (Fig. 7) and in the Houghton and Bonhams images are not apparent in the Dance pastel. Attuiock's coat in the Dance pastel is adorned with vertical leather cords finished with beads, which, according to the note attached to the back of the picture, signified his status as a priest. Catherine Cartwright notes in a letter that Tooklavinia wears clothing like Attuiock's, "excepting fewer bead ornaments, he not being a Priest" (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). In the group sketch at the Royal College of Surgeons (Fig. 3), Tooklavinia's clothing has less beadwork than Attuiock's. Contradicting these details, in the Houghton image it is Tooklavinia, the figure seated at front, whose coat has evenly spaced columns of beads around its midsection. Attuiock's coat in the Houghton image shows only a band of short bead strands across the chest. This suggests, again, that the clothing depicted in these two watercolours may not be entirely realistic. The watercolours were likely intended less as exacting ethnographic documents than as personal keepsakes.

At the bottom right of the Houghton image, on the grass next to Caubvick, is what appears to be a sewing basket. Its lid has a handle and is held shut by a twist of coloured beads. This may be a Labrador Inuit basket brought over by Caubvick or a gift from the Cartwrights. It probably held precious steel sewing needles, thread, scissors, and beads. Two overlapping circlets of red, white, and black beads are lying on the grass next to the basket, resembling the items held by Catherine and Caubvick in the Bonhams image.

The bottom left corner of the Houghton image shows an open, compartmented, wooden tool chest with a saw, hatchet, and row of hanging smaller tools. On the ground next to the box are a hand adze, what may be a block of wood, and an unidentified tool. The toolbox likely represents a gift received by the Inuit and, like steel sewing needles and beads, would have been a trade item of considerable value on the Labrador coast. Cartwright, for instance, lists items such as "Taylors thimbles," "fine long darning needles," "small Hatchets," and "Handsaws" in his lists of items for the "Eskimeau trade" (G. Cartwright 1783; Stopp 2008:178; Stopp 2016:266).

References to tool chests and medallions such as those worn by the men surface in later accounts relating to the deaths of a group of Inuit. Upon her return to Labrador in 1774, Caubvick brought back the personal items of her deceased family members. Five years later, Cartwright was

brought a "medal" found in 1778 by a British trapper named William Phippard "among the Indian baggage, which they found on the island in Ivucktoke Bay [Groswater Bay], where they saw so many dead Esquimaux." Cartwright recognized it: "As I well remember this medal (for it belonged to a brother of mine who gave it to one of the Indians whom I brought to England) I am no longer in doubt respecting their persons, or the cause of their death" (G. Cartwright 1792: entry for 28 March 1779). Cartwright reflected that the group had died of smallpox, that Caubvick was among them, and that smallpox had been transmitted through her belongings. There is, however, no evidence for these statements, neither that Caubvick was among the deceased nor that smallpox was the cause.

Another medallion surfaced in the early 20th century. This George II silver medal was recovered "on an old Indian Trail near Hamilton Inlet, Labrador" in 1900. In 1917, it entered the collection of the American Numismatic Society (2022: item 1917.137.3; Kleeberg, 2009: entry 317). Given the location of its discovery and the hole along the top edge, it was probably an item of hybrid Inuit material culture (Inuit clothing was decorated with European objects such as medals, spoon bowls, or tobacco bale tags, as well as beads).

The chest in the Houghton image may be one of those described in a September 1778 letter from George Cartwright to Joseph Banks, as "the carpenters tool boxes, which my Lord Dartmouth and yourself gave the Indians I had [in England]." A chest was recovered from the above mentioned island along with items that could be identified as belonging to Attuiock's brother Emicktoke that included "a suit of laced cloathes and a silver cup known to have belonged to the man Coghlan had in England" (Lysaght, 1971:269).

### *Flaxman's Caubvick*

The third new image relating to the family group, and the fifth and final new image we introduce overall, is a pen-and-ink drawing (Fig. 13) of Caubvick by the draughtsman and sculptor John Flaxman. Flaxman's drawing was auctioned at Sotheby's in 1998 and illustrated in the sales catalogue (Sotheby's 1998:26, Lot 22; G. Haigh, pers. comm. to Nikčević, 2023). Its resemblance to the Dance's pastel of Caubvick suggests that it was copied from that work in the Banks residence, possibly in 1779 when Flaxman, then an artist with the Wedgwood & Bentley factory, created a jasperware portrait of Banks (Reilly and Savage, 1973). As on the Dance portrait, a handwritten note on the lower right of Flaxman's drawing identifies the subject as "Caubvick/Wolverene." Oddly, however, a note on the back identifies the piece as "A Laplander/by/John Flaxman," and the auction catalogue (Sotheby's 1998:26, Lot 22) titles the piece *A Laplander*.

REVISITING *A LABRADOR WOMAN*  
BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST

The woman shown in the oil painting at the Royal College of Surgeons' Hunterian Museum (Fig. 8) has been given different identities over time (Stopp, 2009). The surgeon and anatomist John Hunter amassed the museum's collection in the 18th century but, like the Banks papers, many of Hunter's papers were destroyed following his death. Like Banks, Hunter had professional and personal ties with the individuals who figure in the Inuit histories, including Joseph Banks and George Cartwright, and he himself had met the Inuit family group. In his journal, George Cartwright (1792:Vol.1:271) published a well-known account of a 1773 "dining visit" of Attuiock, Caubvick, and the others to Hunter's home, where they were shocked to find human bones in a display case.

Hunter died in 1793, and care of his collection was assigned to his former apprentice, William Clift. Clift left a catalogue entry about *A Labrador Woman* in 1816, which is the earliest information the Hunterian has on file about it. Clift identified the woman as Mikak but gave a biography that partly recounted Caubvick's history (Stopp, 2009). Not only is there no record of the work's artist or its date of entry into Hunter's collection, but Clift's mixed histories also suggest that his note was based on memory, not first-hand experience or any original document. In the 1970s, the portrait was identified as both Caubvick (Lysaght, 1971) and Ickongoque (Pearson, 1978). In the early 2000s, the museum gave the identification as Caubvick, based on the biographical details in Clift's 1816 inventory and on a perceived likeness to the depiction of Caubvick in the newly discovered group sketch (Fig. 3), which is also held at the Hunterian Museum.

In 2003, conservation of the painting revealed traces of facial tattooing that had been painted over. In placement and style, the tattooing is similar to that of Russell's Mikak (Mikak's chin bears seven lines, while the angle of *A Labrador Woman's* chin shows six at most).

As noted earlier, Catherine Read exhibited an oil painting in 1769 of an Inuit woman described as *Portrait of the Esquimaux Princess* (Society of Artists, exhibit no. 146). Algernon Graves's 1907 dictionary of contributors to that exhibition added "(Miscoe)" after the title of Read's entry; Horace Walpole noted in his 1769 Society of Artists catalogue that Read's *Esquimaux princess* was "in oil" (and that it was "better than her Crayons"). Given the year and Graves's reference to "Miscoe," it is likely that Read's portrait was of Mikak.

Both Lodder and Jeffares have considered the possibility that Read's oil, otherwise lost, may be the Hunterian's *A Labrador Woman* (Lodder [quoting Jeffares], pers. comm. to Nikčević, 2023). A key piece of evidence supporting this attribution is that neither Caubvick nor Ickongoque is depicted or described with facial tattooing. While Lodder (2022) ultimately accepts the identification of *A Labrador Woman's* sitter as Caubvick and insightfully

notes that the English stigmatization of tattooing may have influenced representational conventions, potentially resulting in the later painting over of tattoos, both the Houghton and Bonhams watercolours follow the Dance pastel and Hunterian group sketch in depicting Caubvick and Ickongoque without tattoos. It is thus more likely that Caubvick and Ickongoque truly did not have tattoos. In this case, the painting over of tattoos would only have been necessary for an earlier painting of a tattooed Inuk woman, such as Mikak. As well, the unbeaded skin amauti shown in *A Labrador Woman* resembles the one in Russell's painting of Mikak far more than it resembles those depicted in portraits of Caubvick and Ickongoque. *A Labrador Woman* may be Read's portrait of Mikak or may be of another Inuk woman by a different artist, both as yet unidentified.

### CONCLUSION

We recognize the remarkable synchronicity of historically related paintings and drawings coming to our attention over the past two years. These additional images of 18th-century Labrador Inuit in England expand the iconographic repertoire of Labrador Inuit history, possibly complicate some existing identifications, and add dimension to the textual records. They are visual records of these individuals and their time, with details that would otherwise remain unknown or imagined. In their capacity to document, signify, evoke, and travel, these portraits are palimpsests of meaning and memory, working across time and space to inspire new and different interpretations as they continue to be re-examined in the present (Taylor, 2003; Bailey, 2007). They hold in perpetuity meanings, inter-relations, and lives that can never be fully known. What is known of their historical context serves as an important complement to the images, while any known provenance legitimates them as visual texts. Traces of historical and archaeological data are reconstituted through the images. Beads, for instance, were objects of importance for Inuit. They have been recovered in Labrador Inuit sod houses and are noted for their trade value in historical documents; the portraits augment these data with information that would otherwise be unknown, such as the colours and intricate patterning of the beading and the richness and abundance of beading on a single garment.

Different intentionalities are evident in the creation and use of the images. The three amateur watercolours, for instance, held personal, nostalgic relevance for the Cartwright family as keepsakes or mementoes, even though they were created by an unpracticed hand—perhaps especially if they were created by one of the Inuit. In contrast, the portraits by Russell and Dance, the copies by Hünneberg and Flaxman, the Hunterian Museum group sketch, and *A Labrador Woman* were made by professional artists, several at the behest of scientific and social elite. These images served as data of the day, made for ethnographic and anthropological purposes. John Hunter

acquired artworks for research, as did J.F. Blumenbach, who could afford to commission copies and held sufficient social rank to receive an original oil painting by Russell from Joseph Banks. Their interests lay in ethnography, physiology, and anatomy—often as means of determining human difference and hierarchy—and their ties were to elite academic centres such as the Royal Society (Banks, Hunter) and the University of Göttingen (Blumenbach), key places of Enlightenment science and imperial knowledge production about the world’s peoples and cultures. Blumenbach’s interest in Inuit portraits, like surgeon John Hunter’s, lay in part in the perceived capacity of the paintings to support the identification of racial types and cranial structures (Blumenbach, 1806; Pearson, 1978; Stopp and Nikčević, 2024).

In contrast, George Cartwright was unable to obtain copies of the professional portraits for personal purposes, despite twice writing to Banks to request reproductions—once for emotional reasons after the deaths of Attuiock and his family, and again in an attempt to have an image for the publication of his journal. In a letter to Banks written from Plymouth in 1773, a day after Cartwright had informed a recovering Caubvick that her relatives had died from smallpox, Cartwright asked if prints could be made from “your drawings of the Indians” (C.R. Fay, 1954:299; Dawson, 1958:203; Lysaght, 1971:260). There is no evidence that he ever received any. Even Catherine Cartwright thought that “Prints of them are now engraving” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). In 1790, Cartwright again wrote to Banks as he was preparing the publication of his journal, asking whether an engraving had been made “from the picture, which you had taken of the Indians,” only to learn (as he had suspected) that the cost of printing it would have been too great—and evidently Banks did not offer to cover the cost himself (Lysaght, 1971:275). While no engravings of the Dance pastels are known, the existence of the Flaxman drawing may indicate that Banks commissioned the artist to make copies of, at least, Dance’s portrait of Caubvick.

Considerations of class and status also influenced how Inuit were presented by their English hosts. By imbuing their Inuit guests with high status, the English revealed the value they placed on associating with persons of social standing. A Cartwright family letter, for instance, bearing news that George had arrived in London, in a single sentence signalled strategic status associations tied to Indigenous chieftom and British royalty: “He brought with him two of the Chiefs & their wives & one Child, and one Eagle for her Majesty” (A. Cartwright, 1772). George Cartwright (in his diary) and his sister Catherine (in her letters) refer to Attuiock as High Priest, barbarian King, shaman, Angikok, and noble. Catherine Cartwright (25 April 1773 letter) described him in “noble savage” terms, noting his “solemn & majestic manner ... he threw his eyes round the room, as if comparing time past & places distant ... & laying a plan for his future greatness.” Indeed, Attuiock is shown with an appropriately serious expression

in both the Houghton and Bonhams images. In his *Journal*, Cartwright variously referred to Attuiock as both a “priest” and a “chief.” Attuiock does appear to have held an angagok role among a set of Inuit families that included his brothers, and his identification as a healer was based in part on Cartwright’s observations while in Labrador of a performative ceremony in which Attuiock undertook to rid Ickongoque of a headache, singing rhythmically and manipulating her head in a specific way (G. Cartwright, 1792:entry for 30 October 1772). For the Cartwrights, iteration of Attuiock’s high status to their friends and society was social signalling. It influenced and controlled others’ understanding of the importance and social status of their Inuit guests, and would have served as a conduit to social spheres that included invitations and audiences with society members and at Court. Mikak’s experiences as an important personage paralleled those of the Inuit family and, in some respects, were more intense since she was hosted by government and expected to fulfill a set of political and economic goals. Sitting for portraits by famous artists signified the singular status of these Inuit while commissioned portraits also communicated the social and economic standing of their hosts and of the portrait’s owners.

Related is the trope of the “Indian princess,” which surfaces in descriptions of Mikak and Caubvick and in the title of Read’s unknown portrait, *Esquimaux Princess*. Mikak’s history in particular parallels the “Pocahontas perplex” considered years ago by Green (1975; see also Savage, 2024). Like Pocahontas, Mikak performs as a mediator between clashing cultures to achieve mutual understanding that forwards colonial goals. She is presented as a self-sacrificing individual who helped Europeans both in negotiations in England and on the ground in Labrador. Her efforts in Labrador to convince her own people of the value of Moravian presence represent positions informed largely, if not solely, by Europeans; she saves them from losing their way and their lives and mediates various initiatives. To be admitted into Western history as a key actor, she must defy aspects of Inuit culture and some of her own people to both support and achieve Christian and colonial sympathies. At times she bridges Inuit and British worlds through transformation into a European, by donning her European clothing. Caubvick, similarly, is lauded for her appearance and gentle character, celebrated for embodying European ideals of beauty and such Austenesque 18th-century feminine ideals as “sense, sweetness, sprightliness, and sensibility” (C. Cartwright, 25 April 1773 letter). These compliments may well have been sincerely meant, but they likewise served as the Cartwrights’ advertisement of their guest’s appeal and social fitness in order to achieve their own social acceptance by public viewers, professional artists, scientists, government, high society, and court.

Returning to the theme of Labrador Inuit sitting for portraits, the pictures discussed here are complex representations of, most obviously, the Euro-western

gaze upon Inuit. Likewise, they literally frame the active presence of Inuit engaging with the imperial world, successfully navigating novel situations and surroundings that included sitting for portraits. The paintings by Russell, the pastels by Dance, and presumably also the pieces by Read (even if not among the extant works) represent encounters between Inuit and well-known professional artists. If meetings with influential professionals, officials, aristocracy, and royalty reflect in part the various hosts' own social interests and self-esteem, so, too, might they suggest that the Inuit shared that esteem and felt deserving of the best of what could be offered.

Of course, the artworks cannot be lifted out of their political-economic context. The formal portraits inevitably represent British imperial enterprise, signifying that Britain had met with Labrador Inuit and that a combined future lay ahead. Artworks like these were a tangible way for Britons "to imagine and experience new dominions they had reportedly conquered an ocean away" (Shannon, 2012:222). As performative representations, the images conveyed to their audience "a promised action or function" depending on the viewer (Mielke, 2011:2). For Labrador Inuit sitters, these are records of performing being Inuit and constituting culture far from home. They also embed the baffling process of posing for an artist. There is no record of eighteenth-century Inuit thoughts on portraiture, even though their English hosts dutifully recorded their Inuit visitors' awe and enjoyment of other aspects of English culture (grand houses, the use of currency, St. Paul's Cathedral, the theatre, Blackfriars Bridge). Perhaps the process was not, in fact, especially strange or confusing. Inuit may well have recognized that this form of performance might allow them to shape their own futures by influencing both how the British viewed them and, in Labrador, other Inuit. The variety of clothing depicted across the Russell, Houghton, Bonhams, and Dance illustrations, for instance—both traditional skin clothing and new cloth garments—as well as the variety of medals and jewellery, may reflect both the sitters' sartorial choices and their interest in bearing markers of cross-cultural contact and travel, returning to Labrador with goods and influential trade connections. Russell's Mikak holds the George III coronation medal that she received from the Princess Dowager Augusta, signifying her political involvement and powerful contacts, while her multi-strand pearl bracelet, a gift from the Duke of Gloucester, mirrors jewellery worn by royalty in portraiture of the period. As the bracelet's pearls rehearse the white beads of Mikak's lappets and the central gold medal evokes the nearby coronation medal, Mikak's presentation in this image symbolizes her political achievements, namely: forging a harmonious, profitable, nation-to-nation relationship between Labrador and England. At once a performance and its record, a memento, an artist's achievement, an ethnographic document, an emblem of future trade relationships—and an object to be gifted, traded, and bought and sold—this portrait's power might be said to lie largely in the desired self-presentation of its primary sitter.

Altogether, these works are now powerful visual memorials of key figures in the history of Nunatsiavut, the Inuit homeland in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. They have relevance for Inuit history in Canada and for Canadian history in general. The portrayals of Mikak and Tutauk serve as unique dynastic markers for their descendants, many of whom have ties to the Rigolet area of Groswater Bay where Tutauk lived as an adult. All of these images manifest Labrador Inuit endeavour and performance, courage and tragedy, and transition and persistence throughout the early colonial period in northeastern Canada. Each speaks to a range of complex relations between Inuit and non-Inuit in the increasingly global world of the late 1700s, which for these individuals began in Labrador and involved Atlantic crossings, disembarkations in unknown places, and intensive encounters with another culture. These individuals acted in ways that, in some respects, did not follow normative perceptions of Inuit society as wholly under the colonial thumb; instead, they made choices and took actions that substantiate claims of agency and demonstrate how Inuit individuals could and did influence the contact zone. Although the subjects of these portraits were excluded from the circulation of knowledge created about them, their journeys and their portraits have retained layers of meaning beyond their lifetimes.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The contributions of many were foundational to our research journey. In alphabetical order, we thank: Anonymous contributors for their interest and generosity, as well as anonymous reviewers for suggestions that strengthened the paper; The *Arctic* editorial team, for their expert help in preparing this paper for publication; Ruth Bubb, art conservator and restorer, London, UK, for information on the conservation of *A Labrador Woman* and for insights into the preservation of representations of tattooing in eighteenth-century paintings; Amelia Fay, Manitoba Museum, Manitoba, Canada, for thoughtful suggestions; Wade Greely, The Rooms, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, for clarifying queries about the John Cartwright maps; Gemma Haigh, Guildford Heritage Services, Guildford, UK, for providing important background information on the Guildford Museum's portrait of Mikak and Tutauk; Michael Kraus, Georg August University of Göttingen, Germany, for his collaboration on the portraits held at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology; Sarah Leary, Guildford Museum, Guildford, UK, for hosting Nikčević and assisting with details during the writing stage; Matt Lodder, University of Essex, UK, for sharing information about John Russell's diaries and insights on various topics including tattooing; Sarah Pearson, Hunterian Museum, Royal College of Surgeons of England, London, UK, for hosting Nikčević, uncovering and sharing object documentation for *A Labrador Woman*, and connecting us with conservator Ruth Bubb; Melanie Turner, The Rooms, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, for clarifying queries about the John Cartwright maps;

Aurore Vesin, Pictures Department, Bonhams, London, UK, for that important moment of first contact; Fuchsia Voremberg, Maggs Bros. Ltd., London, UK, for assistance with the Maggs archives and for suggesting that the pencilled note at the back of the Houghton image may have been added by the bookseller in

the early 20th century. Finally, in memoriam, we acknowledge the invaluable work of scholars Frank W.P. Doherty, Georg August University of Göttingen, and Norbert Klatt, Norbert Klatt Verlag, Göttingen, Germany, with respect to their dedicated curation of Blumenbach's papers and for hosting Stopp in Göttingen in 1990.

## REFERENCES

- American Numismatic Society. 2022. Silver medal, Great Britain, 1727–1760. Identifier 1917.137.3.  
<http://numismatics.org/collection/1917.137.3>
- Anonymous. 1896. Review of: John Russell, R.A. By G.C. Williamson, D. Litt. Illustrated. London: Bell & Sons. Athenaeum, 18 January (No. 3560):91.
- ArtUK. n.d. John Russell, Micoc and Tootac. Guildford House Gallery.  
[https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/micoc-and-tootac-12514/view\\_as/grid/search/keyword:micoc/page/1](https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/micoc-and-tootac-12514/view_as/grid/search/keyword:micoc/page/1)
- Atlas of Canada. 2022. Natural Resources Canada. Canada Centre for Mapping and Earth Observation.  
[www.atlas.gc.ca](http://www.atlas.gc.ca)
- Baehre, R. 2008. Early anthropological discourse on the Inuit and the influence of Virchow on Boas. *Études Inuit Studies* 32(2):13–34.  
<https://doi.org/10.7202/038213ar>
- Bailey, G. 2007. Time perspectives, palimpsests and the archaeology of time. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26(2):198–223.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaa.2006.08.002>
- Bankmann, U. 1997. The “Esquimaux-Indians” in Berlin, 1824–1825: Drawings and prints. *European Review of Native American Studies* 11(2):21–27.
- Barron, O. 1904. The Cartwrights. *The Ancestor*, 10 July.  
<http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/articles/misc/thecartwrights1.htm>
- Barüske, H. 1972. Hans Egede und die Kolonisation Grönlands [Hans Egede and the colonization of Greenland]. *Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen* 1:1–8.
- Bellin, J.D., and Mielke, L.L., eds. 2011. *Native acts: Indian performance, 1603–1832*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1df4g7c>
- Blumenbach, J.F. 1806. *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte [Contributions to natural history]*. Bd. 1. 2 Ausgabe. Göttingen: Heinrich Dieterich. 55–66.  
[https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/blumenbach\\_beytraege0102\\_1806/80](https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/blumenbach_beytraege0102_1806/80)
- Bonhams. 2022. British school, late 18th century: A rare portrait of five Labrador Inuit with Catherine Cartwright at Marnham, Nottinghamshire, 1772. Lot 162.  
<https://www.bonhams.com/auction/27490/lot/162/british-school-late-18thcentury-a-rare-portrait-of-five-labrador-inuit-with-catherine-cartwright-at-marnham-nottinghamshire-1772-unframed/>
- Bubb, R. 2003. Conservation report 011(b): Mecoek, a Labrador woman. Unpublished report on file, Royal College of Surgeons, London, UK.
- Burke, J., and Burke, J.B. 1847. *Genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*. Volume II—M to Z. London: Henry Colburn.
- Campbell, H. 2021. Tunniit/tattooes: The complicated history of photographing Inuit tattoos. Library and Archives Canada blog.  
<https://thediscoverblog.com/2021/01/14/tunniit-tattooes-the-complicated-history-of-photographing-inuit-tattooes/>
- Cartwright, A. 1772. Letter of 16 December 1772. Anne Cartwright to Miss F. Cartwright. Library and Archives Canada. Reference: R13263–148–X–E, Volume number: 6, File part: 51–52 Item ID number: 3984900.  
<http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3984900&lang=eng>
- Cartwright, C. 1773. Letters of 25 April 1773; 20 June 1773. In: Bundle of letters and copy letters. East Riding of Yorkshire Council archives. Finding no. DDGR/45/8.  
<http://www.eastriding.gov.uk/cs/culture-and-information/archives/advanced-archive-search/>
- Cartwright, F.D. 1826. *The life and correspondence of Major Cartwright*. Vol. 1, Part 1. London: G. Woodfall. Grangerized copy. On file, Library and Archives Canada. ID no. 3964651.  
<http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3964651&lang=eng>
- Cartwright, G. 1783. Letter to Robert Hunter, 3 February 1783. Dorset History Centre. Catalogue no. D/LEB/X/5.
- . 1792. *A journal of transactions and events during a residence of nearly sixteen years on the coast of Labrador*. Newark, United Kingdom: Allin and Ridge.
- Cartwright, J. 1768. Letter to Catherine (Kitty) Cartwright, 23 December 1768. British Library. Ref. Ad 89063.

- Christie, Mr. [James]. 1807. A catalogue of all the capital and valuable finished and unfinished original works of the distinguished artist, John Russell, Esq. R.A. deceased. Auction catalogue, 14 February 1807, Item 23. Manuscript on file, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Libraries.  
<https://archive.org/details/b14140160/page/n3/mode/2up>
- Christie, Manson & Woods. 1919. Historical portraits and pictures by old masters: The property of Capt. B.C. Vernon-Wentworth and others. Auction catalogue, Thursday, 13 November 1919, Lot 165. On file, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.  
<http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990131979020203941/catalog>
- Cogniet, L. 1826. A woman from the land of Eskimos. Cleveland Museum of Art.  
<https://www.clevelandart.org>
- Country Life. 1925. By direction of B.H. Jacobsen, Esq., Nevill Court, Tunbridge Wells—The costly and valuable contents of the mansion. Auction advertisement, Douglas Young & Co. 25 April.
- Dawson, W.R. 1958. The Banks letters. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.  
<https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.153857>
- Delanglez, J. 1944. Journal de Louis Jolliet allant à la découverte du Labrador (1694). Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1943–1944. Québec: Redempti Paradis. 147–206.  
<https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/2276313>
- . 1948. Life and voyages of Louis Jolliet (1645–1700). Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History.  
<https://archive.org/details/lifevoyagesoflou0000dela/page/n5/mode/2up>
- Dickason, O.P. 1984. The myth of the savage and the beginnings of French colonialism in the Americas. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.  
<https://ualbertapress.ca/9781772124545/the-myth-of-the-savage-and-the-beginnings-of-french-colonialism-in-the-americas/>
- Dodd, D. 2009. Mikak (c. 1740–1795). Submission report. Person. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.
- Dougherty, F.W.P. 2012. The correspondence of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Vol. 4: 1791–1795. Letters 645–965. Revised, augmented and edited by N. Klatt. Göttingen: Norbert Klatt Verlag.  
[http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/correspondence\\_blumenbach\\_IV.pdf](http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/correspondence_blumenbach_IV.pdf)
- Dougherty, F.W.P. 2013. The correspondence of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Vol. 5: 1796–1800, Letters 966–1359. Revised, augmented and edited by N. Klatt. Göttingen: Norbert Klatt Verlag.  
[http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/correspondence\\_blumenbach\\_V.pdf](http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/correspondence_blumenbach_V.pdf)
- Douglas Young & Co. 1925. Costly contents of the mansion, including art treasures. Auction catalogue, 11 May 1925. London: Douglas Young & Co.  
[https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY\\_ALMA21137577120001551](https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21137577120001551)
- Fawcett, T. 1986. Graphic versus photographic in the nineteenth-century reproduction. *Art History* 9(2):185–212.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.1986.tb00194.x>
- Fay, A.E.M. 2016. Understanding Inuit-European contact along the Labrador coast: A case for continuity. PhD dissertation, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador.  
<http://research.library.mun.ca/id/eprint/12189>
- Fay, C.R. 1954. New light on George Cartwright. *Dalhousie Review* 3(34):298–304.
- Feest, C.F., ed. 1987. *Indians and Europe: An interdisciplinary collection of essays*. Aachen: Edition Herodot, Rader Verlag.
- Forrester, G. 2001. John Russell, 1745–1806, British, a drawing of a part for the map of the moon, 1794. In: Wilcox, S., Forrester, G., O'Neill, M., and Sloan, K., eds. *The line of beauty: British drawings and watercolors of the eighteenth century—exhibition catalogue*. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art.  
<https://hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/4753996>
- Fuller, A. 1957. Esquimaux in England. Letters to the editor. *The Sunday Times*, 28 July. Gale—The Times Digital Archive, 1785–2019.  
[gale.com/apps/doc/FPI800511540/STHA?u=essex&sid=bookmark-STHA](https://www.gale.com/apps/doc/FPI800511540/STHA?u=essex&sid=bookmark-STHA)
- Getty Provenance Index. n.d. The J. Paul Getty Trust. Document Sale catalog Br–458, Lot 0023.  
<https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/>
- Graves, A. 1907. *The Society of artists of Great Britain, 1760–1791: The free society of artists 1761–1783, a complete dictionary of contributors and their works from the foundation of the societies to 1791*. London: G. Bell & sons.  
<https://archive.org/details/cu31924020694513/page/n13/mode/2up?view=theater>
- Green, R.D. 1975. The Pocahontas perplex: The image of Indian women in American culture. *Massachusetts Review* 16(4):698–714.
- Guildford House Gallery. 2022. *Georgian women: Portraits by John Russell*. Guildford House Gallery, 16 July–8 October 2022. Curated by G. Haigh.  
<https://www.guildford.gov.uk/article/26845/Online-exhibitions>
- . 2023. *Micoc and Tootac*.  
<https://app.guildford.gov.uk/BoroughCollection/artist/9>
- Haigh, G. ca. 2019. *Micoc and Tootac*. Unpublished research summary 1003. On file, Guildford House Gallery, Guildford, UK.
- Heim Gallery Records. 1965–1991. The Getty Research Institute. Accession number 910004.

- Houghton Library. 1948. Accession record for “Labrador Eskimos” watercolour. Houghton Library accession books 1941–2001, Vol. 2. 47M-1-47Z-10.
- . 2010. Labrador Eskimos. MS Eng 1646. Houghton Library, Harvard University.  
<https://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990122087190203941/catalog>
- Igloliorte, H. 2020. Inuit art is a marker of cultural resilience. *Inuit Art Quarterly* (June).  
<https://www.inuitartfoundation.org/iaq-online/inuit-art-is-a-marker-of-cultural-resilience>
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. 2024. Inuktut.  
<https://www.itk.ca/projects/inuktut/>
- Jannasch, H.-W. 1958. Reunion with Mikak. *Canadian Geographical Journal* 57(3):83–85.
- Jeffares, N. 2023a. Russell, John. Essay. Pastels & pastellists. Online edition of Jeffares. 2006. *Dictionary of pastellists before 1800*. Lewes: Unicorn Press.  
<http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/Russell.pdf>
- . 2023b. Read, Katherine. Essay. Named sitters. Pastels & pastellists. Online edition of Jeffares. 2006. *Dictionary of pastellists before 1800*. Lewes: Unicorn Press.  
<http://www.pastellists.com/articles/read.pdf>
- Jelinski, J. 2015. Kakiniit and other “strange blue speckles”: Self-representation and Qallunaat images of Inuit tattooing. MA thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec.  
<https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/id/eprint/980380/>
- . 2019. “If only it makes them pretty”: Tattooing in “prompted” Inuit drawings. *Études Inuit Studies* 42(1–2):211–241.  
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1064502ar>
- Kaplan, S.A. 1985. European goods and socio-economic change in early Labrador Inuit society. In: Fitzhugh, W.W., ed. *Cultures in contact—The European impact on native cultural institutions in eastern North America, A.D. 1000–1800*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press. 45–69.
- Klatt, N. 2012. Blumenbachs Aufenthalt in England: Versuch einer rekonstruktion. *Beiträge zur Blumenbach-Forschung*, 4 [Small contributions to Blumenbach research 4].  
[http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/blumenbach\\_beitraege4.pdf](http://www.klatt-verlag.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/blumenbach_beitraege4.pdf)
- Kleeberg, J.M. 2009. Numismatic finds of the Americas. *Numismatic notes and monographs* 169. New York: American Numismatic Society. Entry 317.  
<http://numismatics.org/digitalibrary/ark:/53695/nnan147765#d541e2422>
- Krüger, G. 2005. “... etwas von dem Ueberflusse ausländischer Natürlicher Merkwürdigkeiten”—Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, England und die frühe Göttinger nVölkerkunde [“...something of the many natural wonders from abroad” – Johan Friedrich Blumenbach, England and early Göttingen ethnology]. In: Mittler, E., and Glitsch, S., eds. “Eine Welt allein ist nicht genug”: Großbritannien, Hannover und Göttingen 1714–1837. *Göttinger Bibliotheksschriften* 31. Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen. 202–225.  
<https://doi.org/10.17875/gup2005-2154>
- Lodder, M. 2022. *Painted people: Humanity in 21 tattoos*. London: William Collins.
- Lutz, H., ed. 2005. *The diary of Abraham Ulrikab: Text and context*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1353/book4430>
- Lysaght, A.M. 1971. *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766: His diary, manuscripts and collections*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mackie, E.W. 1985. William Hunter and Captain Cook: The 18th century ethnographical collection in the Hunterian Museum. *Glasgow Archaeological Journal* 12:1–18.
- Maggs Brothers Ltd. 1939. *Canada and Newfoundland Catalogue No. 678*. London.
- . 1947. *Voyages and travels, Vol. 3, Part 4, with special section on the Channel Islands. Catalogue No. 766*. London.
- Mardles, T. 1997. Guildford House Gallery: John Russell RA (1745–1806) portrait of Micoc and her son Tootac, Esquimaux Indians. In: Simon, R., ed. *The National Art Collections Fund 1997 Review*. London: National Art Collections Fund. 71.
- Markham, N. 2020. *Labrador Inuit and the world’s Columbian exposition*. MA thesis, Memorial University, St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador.  
<http://research.library.mun.ca/id/eprint/15042>
- Marshall, I. 1977. An unpublished map made by John Cartwright between 1768 and 1773 showing Beothuk Indian settlements and artifacts and allowing a new population estimate. *Ethnohistory* 24(3):223–249.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/481697>
- . 1979. *Inventory of the Cartwright papers*. On file, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John’s, Newfoundland.
- . 1996. *A history and ethnography of the Beothuk*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773565890>

- Mielke, L.L. 2011. Introduction. In: Bellin, J.D., and Mielke, L.L., eds. *Native acts: Indian performance, 1603–1832*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1–26.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1df4g7c.3>
- Morgan, C. 2017. *Travellers through empire*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Nunatsiavut kavamanga/Government. 2024. Introduction to Inuttitut Lessons. Department of Language, Culture, and Tourism.  
<https://nunatsiavut.com/department/language-culture-tourism/cultural-division/>
- Obermeier, F. 2005. Canadian Inuit in 16th century European illustrations. In: Klooss, W., ed. *Narratives of exploration and discovery: Essays in honour of Konrad Gross*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier. 159–175.
- Parks Canada. 2011. Mikak, National Historic Person.  
[https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_nhs\\_eng.aspx?id=13074](https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=13074)
- Pearson, A.A. 1978. John Hunter and the woman from Labrador. *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England* 60(1):7–13.  
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2491567/>
- Pennock, C.D. 2023. *On savage shores: How Indigenous Americans discovered Europe*. New York: Knopf.
- Petrone, P. 1988. *Northern voices: Inuit writing in English*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Pushaw, B. 2021. Poq's temporal sovereignty and the Inuit printing of colonial history. *Journal18" A Journal of Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture* 12.  
<https://doi.org/10.30610/12.2021.5>
- Reilly, R., and Savage, G. 1973. *Wedgwood, the portrait medallions*. London: Barrie & Jenkins.  
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/428931001>
- Rollmann, H. 2011. "So fond of the pleasure to shoot": The sale of firearms to Inuit on Labrador's north coast in the late eighteenth century. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 26(1):5–24.  
[https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/nflds26\\_1art01](https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/nflds26_1art01)
- . 2013. Hopedale: Inuit gateway to the south and Moravian settlement. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 28(2):153–192.  
[https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/nflds28\\_2art01](https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/nflds28_2art01)
- . 2014. Nunak: A Labrador Inuk in eighteenth-century London. *Them Days* 38(2):10–14.
- . 2015. English-Inuit hostilities at Cape Charles (Labrador) in 1767. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 39(1):189–199.  
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1036083ar>
- . 2017. Karpik (ca. 1754–1769), first fruit among the Inuit of Labrador. In: Mai, C., Kröger, R., and Meyer, D., eds. *250 Jahre Unitätsarchiv: Beiträge der Jubiläumstagung vom 28. Bis 29. Juni 2014*. Herrnhut: Herrnhuter Verlag. 195–222.
- Royal Academy. 1769. *The exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCLXIX, the first*. London: William Bunce.  
<https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/exhibition-catalogue/ra-sec-voll-1769>
- Russell, J. *Diaries, 1766–1802*. Vol. 3. From Sunday, 11 December 1768 to Monday, 2 April 1770. On file, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum. Call no. 86.FF.40.
- . 1783–1785. Sketchbook G. Birmingham Museums Trust/Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery. Ref. no. 1951P117.
- Russell, R.A., J. 1783–1785. Sketchbook D. Birmingham Museums Trust/Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery. Ref. no. 1951P114. 62–63 and loose sheet.
- Savage, K. 2024. *Breaking the bronze ceiling*. New York: Fordham University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781531506414-005>
- Savours, A. 1963. Early Eskimo visitors to Britain. *Geographical Magazine* 36(6):336–343.
- See, R.R.M. 1918. Portraits of children of the Russell family by John Russell. *The Connoisseur* 52(208):183–192.
- Shannon, T.J. 2011. "This wretched scene of British curiosity and savage debauchery": Performing Indian kingship in eighteenth-century Britain. In: Bellin, J.D., and Mielke, L. L., eds. *Native acts: Indian performance, 1603–1832*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 221–247.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1df4g7c.11>
- Sotheby & Co, and the Robert Simpson Company Limited. 1967. *Catalogue of paintings, drawings and sculpture and a group of manuscript maps relating to Lord Amherst's campaign in Canada, 1758–1760*. Auction catalogue, Monday, 16 October 1967, Lot 68. London: Sotheby's & Co. 102–103. On file, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.
- Sotheby's. 1997. *British Paintings 1500–1850*. Auction catalogue, Wednesday, 12 November 1997, Lot 123. London: Sotheby's. 122–123. On file, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.
- . 1998. *Eighteenth and nineteenth century British drawings and watercolours*. Auction catalogue, Thursday, 16 July 1998, Lot 22. London: Sotheby's. On file, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.
- Steinhöfel, A. 2007. Viewing the moon: Between myth and astronomy in the Age of the Enlightenment. In: Littlejohns, R., and Soncini, S., eds. *Myths of Europe*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 113–122.  
[https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401203944\\_011](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401203944_011)
- Stopp, M. 2007. *The life story of the Labrador Inuit woman Mikak*. On file, Nunatsiavut Government, Nain, NL.
- . ed. 2008. *The new Labrador papers of Captain George Cartwright*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780773548398>

- . 2009. Eighteenth century Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic* 62(1):45–64.  
<https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic112>
- . 2014. Final report of 2009 archaeological testing at Great Caribou Island-1 (FbAv-13) and Western Arm-1 (EkBc-04). Report to Provincial Archaeology Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's.
- . 2016a. The Labrador Inuit portraits. *Newfoundland Quarterly* 109(1):4–10.
- . 2016b. George Cartwright's "the Labrador companion." Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1675cbg>
- . 2024. The spirit of revolution on a contested coast: Sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Inuit resistance and dispossession in southeastern Labrador, Canada. *Historical Archaeology* 58:544–564.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s41636-024-00526-3>
- Stopp, M., and Mitchell, G.. 2010. "Our amazing visitors": Catherine Cartwright's account of Labrador Inuit in England. *Arctic* 63(4):399–413.  
<https://doi.org/10.14430/arctic3330>
- Stopp, M., and Nikčević, H. 2024. Attuiock and Caubvick: Two portraits of Labrador Inuit in the Blumenbach collection. In: Kraus, M., ed. *Weltanfragmente: Die Ethnologische Sammlung der Georg-August-universität Göttingen*. 401–408.
- Sturtevant, W.C. 1980. The first Inuit depiction by Europeans. *Etudes/Inuit/Studies* 4(1-2):47–49.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42869797?seq=1>
- . 1997. Letter of 13 October 1997 to The British Museum—Ethnography. In G. Haigh, research notes, Guildford Museum, ca. 2019.
- Sturtevant, W.C., and Quinn, D.B. 1989. This new prey: Eskimos in Europe in 1567, 1576, and 1577. In: Feest, C.F., ed. *Indians in Europe: An interdisciplinary collection of essays*. Aachen: Edition Herodot, Rader Verlag. 61–140.
- Taylor, D. 2003. *The archive and the repertoire: Performing cultural memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822385318>
- Taylor, J.G. 1983. The two worlds of Mikak, Part I. *The Beaver* 314(3):4–13.
- . 1984. The two worlds of Mikak, Part II. *The Beaver* 314(4):18–25.
- The British Museum. n.d. Portrait of Andrew Gifford. Oil painting by John Russell. Painting 13.  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/PA\\_Painting-13](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/PA_Painting-13)
- Thrush, C. 2016. *Indigenous London: Native travellers at the heart of London*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.12987/yale/9780300206302.001.0001>
- Turner, L.M. 1979. *Indians and Eskimos in the Quebec–Labrador Peninsula*. Québec: Presses Coméditex in collaboration with Inuksiutut Association. Reprint of 1894 printing, 11th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.
- Vaughan, A.T. 2006. *Transatlantic encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, J., Sir., and Savours, A. 1999. The captured "countrey people": Their depiction and medical history. In: Symons, T.H.B., ed. *Meta incognita: A discourse of discovery—Martin Frobisher's Arctic expeditions, 1576–1578*. Mercury series, Directorate Paper 10. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization. 553–562.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16t34.9>
- Webb, F.H. ca. 1910–1918. *Catalogue of the works of John Russell*. Six volumes. Manuscript material. National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum. Accession no. IV.RC.D.8. 25.  
<https://nal-vam.on.worldcat.org/oclc/1008474781>
- Whiteley, W.H. 1979. Mikak. *Dictionary of Canadian biography*, Vol. 4. University of Toronto/Université Laval.  
[http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mikak\\_4E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mikak_4E.html)
- Williams, G. 2013. *Naturalists at sea: Scientific travellers from Dampier to Darwin*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300182200>
- Williamson, G.C. 1893. John Russell, R.A. *The Antiquary* 4 (27):183.
- . 1894. John Russell, R.A. London: G. Bell.  
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hn2y82&view=lup&seq=62>