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For John Franklin

OPENING THE CAIRN CONTAINING THE REELS OF FRANKLIN

BR

ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS
FROM
BRITISH AND FOREIGN SHORES

FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE EXPEDITION OF 1875

BY
D. MURRAY SMITH, F.R.G.S.

Numerous Coloured Illustrations, Maps, and other Engravings

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"THE SEA IS ENGLAND'S GLORY!" sings a minstrel of our own day, and the truth of his song comes home to the heart of the whole British nation. The sea and all its associations have ever been dear to Englishmen. The sight of a Jack Tar on shore—whether steering a donkey through a country fair, walking through fashionable streets on a summer day smoking a long pipe and protecting his complexion under an open umbrella, or otherwise poking harmless fun at Madame Decorum—is always pleasant and mirth-provoking. When we have a holiday, it is to the sea we fly to enjoy it. The songs that are sung in England with equal approbation in hamlet and in hall, are the songs of the ocean. No reported calamity stirs the national sympathy more deeply than a story of gallant rescue, of self-sacrifice, or of "hair-breadth 'scape," at sea. In our schooldays, it was in making ships that we tested the metal of the first pocket knife we ever possessed; and, down to his latest year, it is the music of the sea that is the spell and inspiration under which the "roving Englishman" passes restless from land to land—from the dark north to "far Cathay" and the broad shining waters of Indian seas. Through every valley of our isle, as through the hollows of an ocean shell, the irresistible voice of the waves passes inland, murmurs in the ears of lads in remote parsonages and in country schoolrooms—draws them as with the song of the syren, and woos them to the shore. And not in the ears of youth alone is the tone of the ever-sounding sea alluring. To many a noble and ambitious spirit, fretting at the sameness and tameness, the conventionalities and restrictions of modern life, the sea brings welcome emancipation, and comforts with the stormy but unflattering solace of its winds and waves.

"Once more upon the waters! Yet once more!
And the waves bound beneath me as a steed
That knows its rider! Welcome to their roar!
Swift be their guidance, wheresoe'er it lead!
Though the strained mast should quiver as a reed,
And the rent canvas, fluttering, strew the gale,
Still must I on!"

The spirit of our old sea-king fathers is strong in England still; and the nation glows and thrills to-day over stories of ocean adventure—of devotion among messmates, of discipline stronger than death, of perils courageously braved, of scenes of wonder and mystery discovered—with a sympathy as full, and an admiration as hearty and as high, as filled our fathers' spirits when they read the stories of Cook's voyages in the wondrous southern seas, of the splendid battles of the Baltic or the Nile, or the crowning sea-fight that "was in Trafalgar's Bay."

The peculiar elements of uncertainty and constant danger which surround the ventures of those who "go down to the sea in ships, and do business upon the great waters," and the close neighbourhood and familiar intercourse in which they daily and nightly dwell with the great forces of nature—nothing but a board between them and the merciless ocean, the winds of heaven for their companions, no roof above them but that eternal ceiling "fretted with golden fire"—impart to the employments of the mariner a character of romance and poetry unknown in the ordinary occupations of landmen, and to which the continual succession of new scenes, strange incidents, and everchanging phases of danger from tempest, collision, fire, and exposure to the last extremity of hunger and thirst, add a perpetual, a fearful, and a fascinating variety. Enter a fishing village, and you may see in the distant and wistful expression of the eyes of the fisher folk—an expression as of men accustomed to search and dwell upon the far horizon of lonely seas—an index of the romantic element in the calling they pursue. The Merchant Service, also, is not without its character of romance, and the loyalty of captains to their owners when a valuable freight has been in danger, has shown itself in deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice unsurpassed in any other department of naval life. All honour to him who is "the last man to leave his ship," and who so often, rather than that his character for courage and faithfulness should in the last dreadful moment be doubted, has refused to leave his vessel, and chosen rather to go down with her when—

"Rose from sea to sky the wild farewell;"

thus carrying his sailing certificate into the next world undishonoured!

But if there is much to be said in praise of our fishermen and merchant

seamen, and of the hardihood, heroism, and romance of their lives, what shall we say of our men-of-war—of them who tread the deck “where Blake and mighty Nelson fell?” It is difficult to name the Royal Navy without getting into heroics on the subject; and this is very far from the purpose at present in hand. It is to the quality of the romance and the adventurous character of naval life in its different departments, that an inquiry is at present instituted. And though our modern ironclad looks more like a floating gasometer than a craft fitted to “walk the waters like a thing of life;” though “boarding” and “cutting out” are now pretty much among the lost arts of naval warfare, and though victory in the sea-fights of the future will be due as much to science and engineering skill as to personal intrepidity and resource, yet it is certain that the romance of the navy did not pass away with the three-decker and the trim frigate. That romance has not vanished—it has only altered its character, and courage and naval genius have as full play in the new, as in the old condition of naval affairs.

But of all departments of naval enterprise, that of Arctic Discovery has been, and remains, the most fascinating, whether regarded from the point of view of the possible results to be gained, or the exceptional, even wonderful, conditions under which these results are often sought. The ambition of the Arctic explorer is not the gain desired by the merchantman, nor the glory of conquest which allures the naval commander. Discovery is his aim, and the passion for adventure in the remotest, most singular, and most dangerous of all the earth's seas, warms him in the pursuit of that object. The rarest and best of the qualities brought into play in naval life, are required in the highest perfection for the successful prosecution of his enterprise. The most indomitable courage, the most watchful foresight, the most skilful management of resources and of men, are required on the commander's part; while his officers and crew are called upon to observe the most perfect discipline, the most complete self-denial, and to undergo perhaps the hardest and most continuous exertion required of men under any conditions, and in any region of the globe. Yet the labours of Arctic voyagers are not wholly unrelieved by enjoyment. They have new lands to discover, new seas to penetrate; and, in their progress towards these ends, above and around them extends the most weird and wonderful scenery of the world. Blue ice-mountains that take the rosy hues of the dawn and the sunset, float around them; in the summer, the unsetting sun rolls round the heaven above them, from which the colours of the sunrise are seldom absent; and the sky shows them the strangest pictures of mirage, of double suns enclosed within circle and cross—the geometry of the polar heavens—of ghostly moon-haloes. The aurora, with its waving spears of many-coloured light, streams from horizon to zenith; the corona raises its luminous pyramid above the west long after sunset; the constellations shine with a jewelled lustre unknown in more

familiar skies. Then the very trials and hardships of the unearthly cruise draw officers and men together in close fellowship and friendship, and the best traits of character are brought strongly out under enterprises and sufferings in which the safety of each depends upon the faithfulness of all.

Such, faintly shadowed forth, are some of the chief conditions under which Arctic exploration is prosecuted; and, as we think of them, we recall the quaint but eloquent words in which old Samuel Purchas—parson of St Martin's, by Ludgate, London, and compiler of a most curious and valuable collection of voyages—speaks of the character and the labours of Polar explorers: "How shall I," says this old writer, with simple but kindly and eloquent feeling—"How shall I admire your heroicke courage, ye marine worthies, beyond all names of worthinesse! that neyther dread so long eyther presence or absence of the sunne; nor those foggy mysts, tempestuous winds, cold blasts, snowes and hagle in the ayre; nor the unequal seas, which might amaze the hearer, and amaze the beholder, where the Tritons and Neptune's selfe would quake with chilling feare, to behold such monstrous icie ilands rending themselves with terrour of their own massiness, and disdayning otherwise both the sea's sovereigntie, and the sunne's hottest violence, mustering themselves in those watery plaines where they hold a continual civill warre, and, rushing one upon another, make windes and waves give backe; seeming to rend the ears of others while they rend themselves with crashing and splitting their congealed armours."

It is a little singular that no department of naval achievement and adventure is at once so fascinating, so romantic in itself, and yet so unfamiliar to the million readers of England, as the department of Exploration, Adventure, and Discovery in the Polar Seas. This anomaly it is now proposed to do away with. It is to trace the history of every famous Arctic expedition that has left British or foreign shores, from the earliest times to our own; to note the gradual progress of the successive discoveries in the Polar seas, where yet much remains to be discovered; and to record the stirring adventures, disastrous reverses, triumphant successes, and deeds of heroic courage and perseverance, in the very face of death under a hundred forms at once, for which the annals of Arctic discovery are illustrious—that is the purpose of the present work.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE NORSE SEA-KINGS—EARLY NORSE NAVIGATORS—DISCOVERY OF ICELAND—
DISCOVERY OF GREENLAND—THE GATE TO THE POLAR REGIONS.

THE navigators of Britain and America may be said, generally, to trace their descent from the Norsemen (North-men), who inhabited Scandinavia, an ill-defined region on the north-west shores of Europe, and including the regions now known as Denmark, and the southern coasts of Norway and Sweden. So rapidly did this robust race multiply and increase in their native provinces, that at a very early period their country became over-populated, and it became necessary for those of them who were not sufficiently provided for at home, to put forth in the vessels which necessity had early taught them to construct, and to roam the seas in search of a means of subsistence. This they generally succeeded in finding *in the shape of booty*, on the shores of some richer and less warlike country than their own. For centuries these ocean freebooters were the scourge and the terror of Western Europe. Brave, daring, brilliant in the rapidity with which they planned, and the skill with which they executed their piratical expeditions, the Norsemen—known later, some of them, as the Normans—soon enriched themselves with the spoils of every maritime country in Northern Europe. During the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, the seas swarmed with their terrible war-ships, and from one end of Europe to the other, they made the coasts of those countries, now the most powerful, a prey to their depredations. During the space of two hundred years, they almost incessantly ravaged England, and frequently subdued it. They invaded Scotland and Ireland, and made incursions on the coasts of Livonia, Courland, and Pomerania. They spread like a devouring flame over Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and the banks of the Rhine, as far as Mainz. They penetrated into the heart of France, having long before ravaged the coasts; they found their way inland, up the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone. Within the space of thirty years, they frequently pillaged and burned Paris,

Amiens, Orleans, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Saintes, Angoulême, Nantes, and Tours. In due time Rollo, a Danish chieftain, landed with a swarm of these Normans on the shores of France; captured a maritime province of that country, called it Normandy, after the name of its new proprietors—Neustria had been its name previously,—and commenced to consolidate his forces there, and prepare to take advantage of any other opening that might present itself. To the brave there are always opportunities, and accordingly in 1066, hearing there was an opening in England, these terrible Normans, under Duke William, swarmed over in a thousand war-ships to the British shores, defeated the English at the battle of Hastings, and seized the country—which they have held ever since to this day.

Such were the stirring people who sent forth the earliest voyagers to the Northern Seas. But as the earliest voyages were not productive in any special degree of results, with which our purpose is concerned, we shall have only a very few words to say about these early navigators.

It cannot be said that the earliest of these Norse voyagers were gentlemen of any very eminent social status. Among the first of them was Naddod the Viking, who, in sailing to the Faroe Isles, was driven away westward by an easterly gale, until he discovered (in 861) a great island covered with snow, and to which he therefore gave the name Snowland. Another adventurer, named Gardar, visited the island three years after, found it a tolerable, even a pleasant region, wintered upon it, gave it his own name (Gardar's-holm), and returning to his native Sweden, spread abroad such a glowing account of its fair woods and fertile soil, that he inflamed the mind of one of his countrymen, one Floki, to set out and find the new island. Floki found it, wintered upon it, observed that its bays and fiords seemed to be always full of ice, and consequently gave it a new name—Iceland, which name it still retains.

And with the discovery towards the close of the ninth century of that lonely island,

“Placed far amid the melancholy main,”

we have made the first step towards the discovery of lands that lie still farther to the north—the first step towards the discovery of the North-West Passage—of the North Pole itself.

About a hundred years later, another Norseman, named Thorwald, having qualified himself for adventure on sea by previously committing murder on land, set sail for Iceland. He was followed shortly afterwards by his son Eric, who it appears had also been guilty of murder and of many irregularities, and who, sailing westward, landed, in 982, on a strange shore, and wintered on an inlet on the coast, which was named after him, Eric's Sound. Finding the country a pleasant one, its coasts abounding in fish, its valleys rich in meadowland, and its hills covered with verdure, he

named the unknown shore Greenland, and in time he induced a colony of Icelanders to settle with him there. And thus we achieve the second step in our advance towards the North.

A regular and thriving trade had at the close of the tenth century sprung up between Iceland and Norway. In 1001, two Norsemen engaged in this trade—one of them named Lief, being the son of that Eric, who had landed upon and given name to Greenland—sailed far to the westward, having heard of land in that direction, and made wonderful discoveries. They struck a land unvisited by Norse voyagers before, and to different parts of its coast they gave different names. They ascended a river, the banks of which were covered with shrubs, bearing delicious fruits. The temperature of the air seemed soft and mild to Lief, son of Eric the Greenlander, the soil appeared to be fertile, and the river abounded with fish, especially salmon. The land they discovered is supposed to have been either Newfoundland or the shore of Canada, near the mouth of the St Lawrence; and thus the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, was anticipated by the Greenland colonists, though in the latter case the discovery was barren, no permanent colony having been founded on the great continent.

We have thus in recording the discovery successively of Iceland, Greenland, and the eastern coast of North America, gradually led our readers, as the early explorers were gradually led, to the very entrance of the arena of Polar Discovery—to the mouth of that spacious inlet of the North Atlantic Ocean, between Greenland on the east, and the coasts of North America on the west, which afterwards came to be known as Davis' Strait, and through which so many exploring expeditions have passed northward in search of the North-West Passage, and to what is now considered to be the goal of all Arctic research—the supposed open Polar Sea.

Hitherto the discoveries achieved upon the northern fringe of the Atlantic have been, so to speak, the results of chance. We now enter upon an era when northern discovery had become a definite aim, and when special expeditions fitted out as completely as the very imperfect knowledge of the time permitted, were despatched to the north to realise an idea which the maritime nations of Northern Europe have not ceased to cherish for nearly four centuries, and towards the realisation of which each successive expedition has contributed in a greater or less degree.

CHAPTER II.

THE EAST—ITS WEALTH AND THE DESIRABILITY OF OBTAINING A SEA-ROUTE TO INDIA AND CHINA—PORTUGUESE ROUTE TO INDIA ROUND CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—SPANISH ROUTE ROUND CAPE HORN—ENGLAND WITHOUT A ROUTE TO THE EAST.

THE East, the immemorial region of "barbaric pearl and gold," has in all ages been esteemed the land of unimagined riches, and "the wealth of the Indies" has passed into the language of proverb. In the western world, the earliest knowledge of the teeming riches of the East was obtained from the Bible. The building of the Temple of Solomon shows an accumulation of gold, obtained from Ophir—a name which is believed by many high authorities to have been applied to the great Asiatic peninsulas, Hindostan and China,—which created the impression among the nations of the west, that the wealth of the eastern world was beyond the glory of dreams. "And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon." Now as the talent weighed rather more than $113\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, by an easy computation we discover that this merely occasional and temporary draw upon Ophir, realised about £2,500,000 of our money. But the western estimate of the wealth of Ophir or the East, was not formed alone from the narratives of Scripture. After the aspiring spirit of Mahomet had raised his country from insignificance to imperial greatness, Arabian caravans traded to India and China, and the veritable gold of Ophir, which had covered the Temple of Solomon without and within, was brought in lavish abundance by Arab merchants, to enrich the palaces of the Califs of Damascus, and was carried to Western Europe by that branch of the dynasty of the Omniades which, founding an independent califate in Cordova, laid the foundations of the Moorish Empire in Spain.

From this it will readily appear that access to the East—the land whose soil was gold, whose rocks were precious stones—has been an eminently desirable object in all ages. The great Alexander of Macedon was dazzled by the glitter of the distant Ophir, and marched his conquering legions east-

ward, to be stopped, however, by the Indus, on the western frontier of India. In later days, the Mahometans brought the spices, the gold, the jewels of the far East to Syria, whence the Crusaders, witnessing all this magnificence, carried back to Western Europe a knowledge of Eastern luxury. This knowledge begot desire, and gradually among European nations a love of luxury and a passion for the products of far climes sprang up. To satisfy this desire, the most eastern maritime nations of Europe—the republics of Venice and Genoa—cultivated a trade with the East, in order to supply the markets of the West, and rose to greatness and splendour upon the profits of that trade. “In the middle of the thirteenth century Marco Polo, the famous navigator, brought back to Western Europe such glowing accounts of the East, as verified all the traditionary tales of Cipango and Cathay.” About that time men’s minds were awaking from the torpidity of the Middle Ages. The age of chivalry died with the last crusade. Trade and manufactures were calling into existence all over Western Europe a race of practical men, whose minds had shuffled off the coil of worn-out, exploded ideas. The last news from the East aroused cupidity and awakened enterprise; and there was a spirit in the very air, of vague and blind desire to reach the wonders and the wealth of the mysterious East. When such a spirit is abroad, the Unknown is sure to reveal itself sooner or later, and become the Known. At that period there was much mercantile activity in Portugal; her navigators were accustomed to coast along the western shores of Africa. Enterprise in this direction was encouraged by the Portuguese king, until coasting farther and still farther south, his navigators reached the southern extremity of the African continent, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and—stood away eastward for the El Dorado of the Indies. Thus one nation solved for itself the problem of how to reach the land of diamonds. Another nation had already solved for itself the same problem, but in a very different way.

When Columbus set sail upon his marvellous voyage it was to seek that for which all the maritime powers of Europe were dreaming and languishing—a sea-route to the East. When he sailed, he sailed for *India*; when he discovered the shore of the New World, he believed he had touched the eastern coasts of the *Indies*. The error, of course, was discovered in due time; but in the meanwhile the Spaniards were not slow to take full advantage of the glorious discovery that placed them in the van of European nations. Soon the eastern coasts of America, or rather of South America, were explored, until at length the Spanish captains rounding the southern extremity of the American continent by the Straits of Magellan, found themselves in the Pacific, and with a clear way westward to the goal of their desires.

Two routes had now been found to the wished-for Indies—the Portuguese route round Africa and eastward, and the Spanish route round South

America and westward—although this latter was not prosecuted to any great extent as a commercial highway. It must be carefully noted that each of these nations monopolised its own route, and treated as pirates any navigators not belonging to their respective nations, who attempted to pass by either route for the purpose of discovery or trade.

Both routes were thus closed to England.

But the astounding discovery of Columbus had aroused, as with an electric shock, the ambition and the energies of all maritime powers, and, as might be expected, England, the chosen home of the old sea-rovers of the north, was fully alive to the quick-coming changes of the time, and to the *vast advantages of a monopoly of some sea-passage to the East*. But where was such a route to be found?

CHAPTER III.

A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE TO INDIA FOR ENGLAND SUGGESTED—EXPEDITIONS IN SEARCH OF IT—SEBASTIAN CABOT—THORNE'S EXPEDITION—"TRINITY" AND "MINION"—SIR HUGH WILLOUGHBY AND RICHARD CHANCELLOR—STEPHEN BURROUGH—MARTIN FROBISHER'S VOYAGES—JOHN DAVIS—HALL AND KNIGHT—HENRY HUDSON—WILLIAM BAFFIN—"NORTH-WEST FOX"—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—HEARNE'S JOURNEY.

It has been already stated that the two most easterly maritime powers of Europe, the republics of Genoa and Venice, rose to great affluence and power through their trade with the East. Both powers produced capable and ambitious navigators in numbers enough and to spare, and consequently it was not unusual for mariners of these republics to take service under foreign powers. Thus Genoa gave Christopher Columbus to Spain, and Venice gave to England John Cabot and his son Sebastian.

It was within the closing years of the fifteenth century that the Cabots arrived in England, and settled in Bristol, even then a flourishing seaport. The elder Cabot, being a skilful pilot and intrepid navigator, was taken under the patronage of Henry VII., and encouraged to make voyages of discovery by the grant of a patent, bearing date 5th March 1496, in virtue of which "he had leave to go in search of unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them;" the king reserving to himself one-fifth part of the profits.

Sebastian Cabot, 1496.—To the genius of Sebastian Cabot is due the credit of originating the idea of a new sea-passage to India, by a north-west route through the Polar seas; and it was at this navigator's suggestion that England entered at once upon Arctic research, and upon the era of her naval greatness; for from that date to the present, England has won almost all the laurels due to discovery, both in the Arctic seas and elsewhere, and has maintained without a rival her supremacy among maritime powers.

An extract from a curious old document, written by Sebastian Cabot, and given in "*Hakluyt's Voyages*," will best explain his views about the practicability of a North-West Passage: "When the news were brought that Don Christoval Colon (Columbus), the Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, of which there was great talk in all the court of King

Henry VII., who then reigned ; insomuch that all men, with great admiration, affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to saile by the West into the East where spices grow, by a way that was never known before ; by his fame and report, there increaseth in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing ; and understanding by reason of the sphere (globe), that if I should sail by way of north-west I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be advertised of my device, who immediately commanded two caravels to be furnished with all things appertayning to the voyage, which was, as far as I remember, in the year 1496, in the beginning of summer ; I began therefore to sail toward the north-west, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay (China), and from thence to turn toward India ; but after certaine days, I found that the land ranne toward the north, which was to me a great displeasure. Nevertheless, sailing along by the coast to see if I could find any gulf that turned, I found the land still continued to the 56th degree under our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned to the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the equinoctiall (ever with intent to find the said passage to India), and came to that part of this firm lande which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparations for warres in Scotland, by reason whereof, there was no more consideration had to this voyage."

Leaving the English and the Scots to conduct their "warres" as best pleased them, Cabot accepted the invitation of the king of Spain, to repair to that country, and become "one of the council for the affairs of the New Indies." In the service of the king of Spain, Cabot made several voyages, and a number of discoveries, among which was that of the Rio de la Plata or River of Silver, which falls into the South Atlantic on the east coast of South America. In 1548, however, he returned to England, and was introduced to the young King Edward VI., who was so much delighted with the bearing and the conversation of the veteran voyager, that he created him, by patent, pilot-major, and settled on him a pension for life of 500 marks (£166, 13s. 4d.) per annum—a great sum in those days—"in consideration of the good and acceptable services done and to be done." "Never," says Sir John Barrow, "was a reward more deservedly bestowed. Placed at the head of the 'Society of Merchant Adventurers,' by his knowledge and experience, his zeal and penetration, he not only was the means of extending the foreign commerce of England, but of keeping alive that spirit of enterprise, which even in his lifetime was crowned with success, and which ultimately led to the most happy results for the nation that had so wisely and honourably enrolled this deserving foreigner in the list of her citizens."

Thorne's Expedition, 1527.—During the reign of Henry VIII., the spirit of discovery and of foreign enterprise that had been dormant in England for thirty years, was once more aroused, and from that day to this it has never slept. The first expedition undertaken solely by Englishmen, was at the suggestion of Master Robert Thorne, of Bristol, who is said to have exhorted King Henry VIII., "with very weighty and substantial reasons to set forth a discovery even to the North Pole!" In compliance with Thorne's suggestion, as we learn from the "*Chronicles*" of Hall and Grafton, "King Henry VIII. sent two fair ships well manned and victualled, having in them divers cunning men to seek strange regions, and so they set forth out of the Thames, the 20th day of May, in the nineteenth yere of his raigne, which was the yere of our Lord 1527." Of this expedition not much is known. One of the ships having sailed very far north-westward, was cast away on entering into a dangerous gulf between the north of Newfoundland and Greenland, the other returned home in October; "and this," says Hakluyt, "is all that I can hitherto learn or find out of this voyage, by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times."

"Trinitie" and "Minion," 1536.—Of the disastrous cruise of the "*Trinitie*" and the "*Minion*," in 1536, the sad history has been preserved. This voyage, says the old chronicler already named, was set on foot by "Master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of cosmographie." The undertaking being favoured by the king, a number of gentlemen were encouraged to accompany Hore in his voyage of discovery to the north-west parts of America, many of whom were of the Inns of Court and of Chancery. "The whole number that went in the two tall ships, were about six score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which were all mustered in warlike manner at Gravesend, and after the receiving of the sacrament, they embarked themselves in the end of April 1536." A record of this voyage, of which we give only the briefest outline, was communicated to Hakluyt by Mr Oliver Dawbeney, merchant of London. The vessels had been several days at anchor on the coast of Newfoundland, before any of "the natural people of the country" had been seen; but at length Dawbeney "spied a boat with savages of those parts, rowing down the bay towards them." He called upon his companions below to come up and behold the strange sight, and they, obeying perhaps a natural instinct, under the circumstances, manned a boat to meet and to take the savages. No more impolitic step could have been taken. The natives returned, landed, and fled, and the pursuers found in their camp "a fire and the side of a beare, on a wooden spit." Soon after this the voyagers "grew into great want of victuals." Had they conciliated the savages, they need have suffered no inconvenience from this cause. As it was, "such was the famine that

increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seek to relieve themselves of raw herbes and rootes, that they sought on the maine (land). But the famine increasing, and the relief of food being to little purpose, the (one) fellow killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his body whom he had murdered, broyled the same on the coles, and greedily devoured them." This practice of secret murder and cannibalism, carried on by a number of the men, "in the fieldes and deserts here and there," at length became known to the officers, who had believed that the missing men had either been killed by savages or devoured by wild beasts. But still the famine increased, until the men "agreed amongst themselves, rather than all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed." The same night, however, there arrived a French ship in that port "well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policy of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them they set sayle to come to England." So ended in complete disaster and almost unparalleled crime, an expedition which, had it been led by an experienced navigator, and conducted with ordinary policy—especially with regard to the natives,—might have achieved notable and valuable results.

Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, 1553.—The return of Sebastian Cabot, after his successes in the service of Spain, infused into the minds of the merchants of England that spirit of adventure for which they have ever since remained distinguished. In addition to his other honours, Cabot was appointed Grand Pilot of England, and "Governour of the mysterie and companie of the marchants adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown." In this capacity he suggested a voyage for the discovery of a North-East passage to Cathay in 1553, and the ordinances and instructions drawn up by him in furtherance of this object are equally wise and well-expressed. This expedition, the first regular enterprise of the kind undertaken by England, consisted of three vessels—the "*Bona Esperanza*," admiral of the fleet, 120 tons burthen, commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby, captain-general of the fleet; the "*Edward Buonaventure*," 160 tons, commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor; and the "*Bona Confidentia*," 90 tons, commanded by Master Cornelius Dufourth. Thirty-five persons, including six merchants, sailed in the first vessel; fifty, including two merchants, in the second; and twenty-eight, including two merchants, in the third. So confident of success were the promoters of the expedition, that they caused the ships to be sheathed with lead, as a protection against the worms, which, as they understood, were destructive of wooden sheathing in Indian seas. On the day appointed for the sailing of the expedition from Ratcliffe, which was the 20th May, the adventurers "saluted one his wife, another his children, and another his

kinsfolkes, and another his friends dearer than his kinsfolkes;" after which the ships dropped down to Greenwich, where the court then was. The great ships were towed down by the boats, "the mariners being all appparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth. The courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thick upon the shoare; the Privie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the court, and the rich ran to the toppes of the towers; the shippes hereupon discharge their ordnance, and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre, and of the sea, inso-much that the toppes of the hills sounded therewith the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners they shouted in such sort that the skie rang again with the noise thereof."

The voyage thus bravely begun ended in dire calamity, for Sir H. Willoughby, and the majority of his companions, who with the whole of the merchants, officers, and ship's company, together with those of the "Bona Confidentia," to the number of seventy persons, all miserably perished from the effects of cold and hunger, on a barren and uninhabited part of the eastern coast of Lapland. It fared better with Master Richard Chancellor in the "Edward Buonaventure." This stout mariner succeeded in reaching Wardhuys in Norway, where he met with "certaine Scottisshmen," who earnestly attempted to dissuade him from prosecuting his voyage. But he minded not the speeches of the Scots, and determined to push on, and either "to bring that to pass which was intended, or els to die the death." In this resolute spirit, Chancellor continued to forge toward the north, till he came "to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sunne shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea." At length, we are told, he entered into a very great bay, and seeing a fishing-boat, inquired of the people "what country it is, and what people, and of what manner of living they were;" but these men seeing the large ship, were greatly alarmed and fled. At last, however, they were overtaken, and immediately fell on their knees, offering to kiss Chancellor's feet. The Englishman treated them with politic kindness, and the report being spread abroad of the arrival of a strange people, "of singular gentleness and courtesie," the inhabitants brought them presents of provisions, and entered readily and fearlessly into trade with them.

The voyagers soon learned that the coast they had reached was that of Russia, the reigning monarch of which was named Ivan Vasilovich. With the view of furthering the interests of the London merchants, Master Chancellor there and then undertook a journey of fifteen hundred miles from the coast to Moscow the capital, to see the king. Here he was well received, and it is to his discreet and able representations, that England is indebted for the firm foundation of that commerce with Russia, which is still maintained between the countries.

Chancellor returned to England with a letter from the Czar addressed to the English king, and the prospects of vast profit which a trade with Russia held out, were regarded as some compensation for the melancholy fate of Willoughby and his companions. The captain of the "Edward Buonaventura" and two comrades were appointed commissioners from Philip and Mary, who were then on the English throne, to open up commercial relations with the Czar and his people; and, setting out on a new expedition, they arrived at Archangel, from which they travelled again to Moscow, to be again well received and to make a profitable voyage. On his disastrous voyage homewards, however, Chancellor weathered the storms of the passage only to be wrecked and drowned (10th November 1556) in Pitsligo Bay, on the east coast of Scotland; but the Russian ambassador whom he brought with him from the Czar, arrived safely in London, and entered into commercial treaties with the "merchant adventurers" of England, which have been of the greatest benefit to both countries.

Stephen Burrough, 1556.—Meantime the "Companie of Merchants Adventurers," of which Cabot was governor, were so anxious to follow up the attempt to find out a North-East route to India, that without waiting the result of Chancellor's second voyage, they fitted out a small vessel next year (in 1556) to make discoveries by sea to the eastward. The vessel, the "Searchthrift," commanded by Stephen Burrough, being ready for sea, set sail on the 29th April, passed the North Cape on the 23d May, and reached the mouth of the Petchora on the 15th July. In latitude $70^{\circ} 15'$, they encountered much ice; but on the 25th they fell in with a strange and monstrous object, which seems to have inspired greater terror even than the ice. It was the first whale that our navigators had seen. The incident is thus recorded in Hakluyt: "On St James his day, bolting to the windwards, we had the latitude at noon in seventy degrees twenty minutes. The same day at a south-west sunne, there was a monstrous whale aboard of us, so nere to our side, that we might have thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not do, for fear he should have overthrowen our shippe; and then I called my company together, and all of us shouted, and with the crie that we made he departed from us. There was as much above water of his back as the breadth of our pinnace, and at his falling down, he made such a terrible noise in the water, that a man would greatly have marvelled, except he had known the cause of it; but, God be thanked! we were quickly delivered of him."

Continuing his course to the north-east, Burrough passed Nova Zembla and Waigatz, but was at length stopped by fog and ice. He returned to England in 1557, and was appointed Comptroller of the Royal Navy in reward for his discoveries.

Martin Frobisher, 1576.—But though considerable progress was thus being made in the direction of a North-East passage to India, the idea of a *North-West* passage had not been lost sight of, and now the time had come when the famous search for this sea-way, which has only been found out within our own day, was practically to commence. The first great navigator who made himself illustrious in this famous quest was MARTIN FROBISHER. It was his opinion that the discovery of a North-West passage "was the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate;" and having obtained the countenance and assistance of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and of other friends, he was enabled to fit out a squadron of three small vessels, the united burthen of which was only seventy-five tons. With this expedition he set sail on the 8th June 1576. The vessels passed Greenwich, where the court was residing at the time, and the great Queen Elizabeth bade the voyagers farewell, "by shaking her hand at them out of the window!" Reaching the south of Greenland, the floating ice obliged him to stand to the south-west, when sighting the coast of Labrador, he steered northwards and discovered an opening to the north of Labrador (lat. 63° 8' N.), to which the name Frobisher's Strait was given, but which is now known to be an inlet of Davis' Strait. While in this region, the Captain descried "a number of small things floating in the sea afarre off," which he at first took to be "porpoises or seals or some kind of strange fish." They turned out, however, to be natives in their skin-covered boats. These strangers approached with hesitation, and one of them being persuaded to go on board, was presented by Frobisher with a bell and a knife. The Captain then had the native sent on shore in a boat, with five of a crew. Orders had been given to the sailors not to go on shore. These orders they chose to disobey, and the result was they were seized by the natives, and none of them ever heard of more. This loss deeply afflicted Frobisher, and a few days afterwards, having enticed a native close to his barque by ringing a bell and holding it out, the commander "caught the man fast and plucked him with maine force, boat and all, into his barke out of the sea." With this "strange infidel, whose like was never seene, read, or heard of before," Frobisher set sail for England, where he arrived on the 2d October, "highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cathaia."

Frobisher had brought home with him a quantity of mica, which was reported to contain a considerable proportion of gold. The excitement caused by this event was intense, and a new voyage was set on foot for the following year, in which we are told by Master George Best, Frobisher's lieutenant, that "the captain was specially directed by commission, for the searching more of this gold ore, than for the searching any further discovery of the passage."

The second voyage undertaken in 1577, in one of her Majesty's vessels of 180 tons, and two smaller craft of 30 tons each, is unusually interesting though not productive in geographical discovery. Coasting along the south of Greenland, he saw no creature "but little birdes." Sailing for that strait they had visited the previous year, they landed on an island, and obtained a great quantity of the supposed gold ore. On the top of a high hill, "they made," says the quaint chronicler, "a colume or crosse of stones heaped up, of a good height togider in good sort, and solemnly sounded a trumpet, and said certaine prayers, kneeling about the enseigne, and honoured the place by the name of Mount Warwickke."

Immediately after returning to their boats, they saw a number of natives waving a flag on Mount Warwick, and apparently anxious for a conference. Two men from each side were appointed to confer together, and one native having received goods from the Englishmen, for which some return was expected, he "for lacke of better merchandise, cutt off the tayle of his coat, and gave it unto the general for a present." On this, which was not a civil return, the general and the master seized the savages; but the ground being slippery, they missed their grasp, and the natives running away, "lightly recovered their bow and arrows," and attacked the unarmed general and the master, driving them to their boats, and wounding the former. The sailors in the boats now began to fire, on which the savages ran away, and the English after them. "One Nicholas Gonger, a good footman, and unencumbered with any furniture, having only a dagger at his backe, overtook one of them, and being a Cornish man, and a good wrestler, shewed his companion such a Cornish trick, that he made his sides ake against the ground for a moneth after; and so being stayed he was taken away, but the other escaped." Thus they had obtained no food from the natives hitherto, for the natives were "more ready to eat them than to give them wherewithal to eat." They took in a quantity of glittering ore on the southern side of Frobisher's Strait, "but upon tryall made it proved no better than blacklead, and verified the proverb—all is not gold that glistereth." They took a full cargo of the ore, however, amounting to two hundred tons, and their commission being now accomplished, set sail homewards and arrived in safety. A third voyage was undertaken in 1578, for the two-fold purpose of collecting ores and founding a colony. This expedition was barren of results, and we hear no more of Martin Frobisher as an explorer in northern seas.

John Davis, 1585.—In continuing our chronological account of Arctic Exploration, we now come to record the discoveries of JOHN DAVIS, one of the most remarkable of the "ancient mariners," a man shrewd, brave, indomitable, yet kindly withal, ever seeking and ever giving sympathy—a man impressionable to all the ever-varying appearances of nature, as every true

sailor is, a man with a soul far reaching and widely receptive, with a heart true and an honour unstained. His name is immortalised in Davis' Strait, of which he was the discoverer, but he has won even a higher if more modest immortality, in having been the discoverer of those great whaling and sealing stations, which have been the source of so much profit to his country. And those Arctic fisheries which he had the good fortune to open up, are valuable to England in a far higher sense than as producing enormous wealth in oil, skins, and furs every year; for it is amid these dangerous seas, with winds, currents, floating icebergs, nipping floes, and ever recurring shallows to guard against, that England's most skilful pilots and navigators are reared.

Davis belonged to Sandridge, in Devonshire, the most renowned of the maritime counties of Britain, the most prolific in high-souled gentlemen—in the great spirits that made the naval glory of England illustrious beyond compare, in

"The specious times of great Elizabeth."

The merchants of London and of the western counties, who were still satisfied that the discovery of the North-West passage to the ever-wished-for East was a thing yet to be accomplished, and which already might have been achieved, had not former voyagers been diverted from the original objects of their expeditions, at length resolved to fit out a new adventure toward the north. William Sanderson, merchant of London, was entrusted to superintend the outfit, and John Davis received the appointment of captain and chief-pilot. The expedition consisted of two barques—the "Sunshine," 50 tons, and carrying twenty-three persons, and the "Moonshine," 35 tons, and carrying nineteen persons. Four of the individuals in the "Sunshine" were musicians, and they had an opportunity before all was done, of tuning up their "flutes and soft recorders," amid the strangest of scenes, and to the oddest of audiences, as we shall see.

On the 7th June 1585, the barques dipped their flags, and bade adieu to Dartmouth, and by the 19th July they were among the ice on the western side of Greenland, and first heard "the mighty great roaring" of the northern sea, produced by the "rowling together of great islands of ice." "The loathsome views of the shore," says Davis, "and the irksome noise of the ice *was such as that it bred strange concepts in us*, so that we supposed the place to be waste and void of *any sensible or vegetable creatures*, whereupon I called the same Desolation. So coasting this shore (Greenland), towards the south in the latitude of 60°, I found it to trend towards the west. I still followed the leading thereof, in the same height; . . . and we past all the ice, and found many green and pleasant isles, bordering upon the shore, but the mountains of the maine were still covered with great quantities of snowe. I brought my ship among these isles, and there moored to refresh ourselves in our wearie travell, in the latitude of 64° or thereabouts. The

people of the country having espied our shippes, came down unto us in their canoes, holding up their right hand to the sun, and crying 'Yliaout!' would strike their brestes. We doing the like, the people came aboard our shippes—men of good stature, unbearded, small eyed, and of tractable conditions, by whom as signes would furnish, we understood that towardes the North and West there was a great sea; and using the people with kindness in giving them nayles and knives, which of all things they most desired, and finding the sea free from ice, supposing ourselves to be past all danger, we shaped our course West-Nor'-West, thinking thereby to pass for China." The air was moderate like April weather in England, and it was cold only when the wind blew from the land or ice, but when it came over the open sea, "it was very hote."

In his course north-west, Davis discovered an archipelago of islands, and to one of the inlets in which he anchored, he gave the name of Gilbert's Sound. Here, we are told, a multitude of natives approached in their canoes, on which the musicians began to play, and the sailors to dance—making tokens of friendship. The simple and harmless natives soon understood their meaning, and were so delighted with their treatment and the music, that they flocked round them in vast numbers. The sailors shook hands with them, and won so far on their goodwill, that they obtained from the "salvages" whatever they wished—canoes, clothing, bows, spears, and in short whatever they asked for.

Continuing to sail to the north-west, the adventurers on the 6th August discovered land in $66^{\circ} 40'$; the sea being altogether free from ice. Here they anchored under a hill, to which they gave the name of *Mount Raleigh*—"the cliffs whereof were orient as gold." The foreland to the north of their anchorage was called *Cape Dyer*, that to the south, *Cape Walsingham*, while to the sound itself they gave the name of *Exeter Sound*. All these names are retained in use to the present day. They mark the prominent features of the east coast of the land known as Cumberland Island, in the middle of Davis' Strait, and on its west coast. Other results of this first voyage, were the discovery of the wealth of those northern seas, in whales, seals, deer-skins, and other articles of peltry; and the discovery of a wide open passage to the westward, which Davis dared not explore as the time for the open navigation was drawing to a close, and he was not provisioned for a winter among the ice—such a thing, indeed, being at this early stage of exploration unknown. On the return of Davis, in September, to Dartmouth, these results were esteemed highly promising, and the Exeter and London merchants fitted out a second expedition, adding to the little squadron a vessel of 120 tons, named the "Mermaid."

Davis left Dartmouth on his second voyage on May 7, 1586, and arriving again on the west coast of Greenland, renewed his intercourse with the

natives, who came off to the ships in as many as a hundred canoes at a time, bringing with them seal and stag skins, white hares, seal fish, "samon peale and cod, dry caplin, with other fish and birds such as the country did yield." "In latitude about 66°, the 'Mermaid,' the chief ship of the squadron," says Davis, "found many occasions of discontentment, and being unwilling to proceed, she there forsook me. Then," continues the fine old skipper, "considering how I had given my faith and most constant promise to my worshipful good friend, Master William Sanderson, . . . and also knowing that I should lose the favour of Master Secretary, if I should shrink from his direction, in one small bark of thirty tons, *alone without further comfort or company*, I proceeded on my voyage." To find a North-West Passage being his great aim, Davis coasted along the west shores of the strait that bears his name, until the season for navigation was closing, when he returned south, and was fortunate enough to catch a number of "great cod," which supplemented his slender supplies, and so sailed for England. Part of the fish that had been caught, Davis showed to "Master Secretary," and the result was that next year 1587, a third expedition consisting of two ships to try their fortune on the newly discovered fishing-ground, and a pinnace for discovery, were fitted out for the intrepid voyager.

Sailing from Dartmouth for the third time (May 19), for the strait he had discovered, Davis reached latitude 67° 40', on the 24th June. He had left the two ships to prosecute the fishing, and sailed north for discoveries. He continued beating north "to the latitude of 75°, in a great sea, free from ice, coasting the western shore of Desolation. The people came continually rowing out unto me in their canoes, twenty, forty, and one hundred, at a time, and would give me fish dried, Samon, Samon peale, cod, Caplin, Lumpe, stone base, and such like, besides divers kinds of birds as Partrig, Fesant, Gulls, sea-birdes, and other kinds of fleshe. I still laboured by signs to know of them what they knew of any sea towards the north, they still made signs of a great sea as we understood them. Then I departed from that coast, thinking to discover the north parts of America. And after I had sailed toward the west near forty leagues, I fell upon a great bank of ice. The wind being north, and blew much, I was constrained to coast towards the south, not seeing any shore west from me. Neither was there any ice towards the north, *but a great sea, free, large, very salt and blue, and of an unsearchable depth*. So coasting towards the south, I came to the place where I left the ships to fishe, but found them not. Thus being forsaken, and left in this distress, referring myself to the merciful providence of God, I shaped my course for England, and unhopd for of any, God alone relieving me, I arrived at Dartmouth. By this last discovery, it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment toward the north; but by reason of the Spanish fleet, and unfortunate time of Master Secretary's

death, the voyage was omitted, and never since attempted." And so ends the Arctic adventures of "J. Davis of Sandrudg, by Dartmouth, Gentleman." Sir John Ross, writing of the three voyages of the stout-hearted Dartmouth captain, says: "The discoveries which he made in the course of his three voyages, proved of great commercial importance; since to him, more than to any preceding or subsequent navigator, has the whale fishery been indebted. Let not his name be slightly passed over! In talent he has not had many rivals; and it is ignorance probably rather than ingratitude, which fails to thank him for the debts owed him by British Commerce!"

Weymouth, Hall and Knight, 1602-1607.—The successive voyages to the north of Weymouth (1602), and of James Hall and John Knight (1605-1607), contain but little to interest the non-professional reader. They reached no high latitudes—they made no important discovery, and it was not till the advent of Henry Hudson, that English discovery in the frozen seas was again resumed with that ability and perseverance, which deserve and command success.

Henry Hudson, 1607.—It is to be remembered that during the whole of the fifteenth century, the Spaniards and Portuguese—kings, nobles, and merchant and other adventurers—had been reaping golden harvests from their monopoly of trade with the Orient. But the English could not see with indifference the whole of the lucrative commerce carried on with the eastern world by these two nations. The successful expeditions of Sir Francis Drake in 1578, and of Candish in 1586, had only too clearly proved to England, the immense value of the trade with the East. The Spanish galleons from the Indies, which the English navigators captured during the war with Spain, were so richly laden, that the captain who could succeed in taking one of them was made wealthy for the remainder of his days. It was not, therefore, to be expected that England should cease to cherish the hope that a shorter route than those of Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope, was to be found to the land of spices and of gold, by going "north-about." Already, however, several attempts had been made to force a route, both by a north-east and a north-west passage. The former was found to be closed effectually by fields of ice—the latter was still undiscovered. In this position of affairs it was resolved to try a new route, and see what could be done by steering direct for the North Pole itself. With this view the merchants of London organised a new expedition in the beginning of the seventeenth century, selecting as their commander, Henry Hudson, an experienced and intrepid seaman, well skilled in the theory as well as the practice of navigation, and in the use of nautical instruments.

It was the 1st May 1607 when Hudson, with ten men and a boy, in a

small barque, neither the name nor the tonnage of which is on record, set sail from Gravesend. The little barque and its slender crew did a wonderful deal of work. By the 13th June he was running along the east coast of Greenland—a course that had never previously been selected by any British explorer. On the 22d he had reached the very high latitude of $72^{\circ} 38'$, and pursuing his way, he gratified his desire to see that part of Greenland, which was “to any Christian unknowne, and we thought it might as well have been open sea as land, and by that means our passage should have been the larger to the pole.” This land is now known as Hudson’s Land, and the cape which here projects (latitude 73°), and which he named Cape Hold-with-Hope, still retains the same name. This cape had little or no snow on it, the air was temperate on their approach to it, and great rain-drops fell. From this land he steered his small craft away north-eastward toward Newland (Spitzbergen) which the Dutch had discovered eleven years before. This land was reached in latitude about 78° , and in running along its shore, they felt no great degree of cold, “yet there was great store of ice to the westward, which obliged them to stand to the northward between the land and the ice.” On the 11th July, they found themselves by observation in latitude $79^{\circ} 17'$. At this point they found much driftwood among the ice; and they saw plenty of seals, and some bears, one of which was killed, and many of the people (the ten men and a boy) made themselves sick with eating bear’s flesh unsalted. In $80^{\circ} 23'$ they entered a deep bay of Spitzbergen, and going on shore found morses’ teeth, whale bones, deer’s horns, etc. It was hot on shore, and they drank water to slake their thirst. On the 31st July, finding his stores exhausted, he bore up for England, arriving in the Thames 15th September.

Hudson’s attempt to find a north-east passage by Nova Zembla, in his second voyage, was vain and fruitless, though his observation as to the growth of the ice in these regions shows the sagacity of this navigator. “It is no marvell,” he says, “that there is so much ice in the sea toward the pole, so many sounds and rivers being in the lands of Novaya Zembyla and Spitzbergen to engender it; besides the coasts of Pechora, Russia, and Greenland, with Lappia, as by proofes, I find by my travell in these parts; by means of which ice I suppose there will be no navigable passage this way.” His third voyage was vagrant and aimless, and its only result was the discovery of the Hudson River.

The fourth voyage which terminated so tragically was undertaken in 1610. Sir John Wolstenholm and Sir Dudley Digges, and some others, being convinced of the existence of the North-West Passage, fitted out an expedition at their own expense, and gave the command to Hudson. The vessel was the “Discovery,” 55 tons. She was intended only to make a single summer voyage, and therefore was provisioned only for six months. She left 17th April 1610, and was off the mouth of Frobisher’s Strait by 9th June; but on

account of the ice and contrary winds was compelled to ply to the westward for nearly a month. This passage leading westward was Hudson's Strait, which, however, had partly been discovered by Davis. Continuing to ply west they arrived at the western extremity of the strait, which is formed by the north-west point of Labrador—named by Hudson *Cape Wolstenholm*. The islands in the neighbourhood were named *Digges' Islands*. From this point a large sea opened out to the south—Hudson's Bay—but at this stage of the voyage, Hudson's own narrative ends, and the remainder of the fortunes of the "Discovery" are chronicled by one Abacuk Pricket. This worthy begins by stating that Hudson being beset with ice, and almost despairing whether he should ever get clear of it, called the ship's company together, and taking out his chart showed them that he had entered the strait (Hudson's Strait) over three hundred miles farther than any Englishman had been before. He now left it to their own choice, whether to proceed or return. Some were of one mind, some of another; but adds the chronicle, "there were some who then spake words which were remembered a great while after!"

The mate and boatswain, who had used improper language on the occasion referred to, were afterwards removed from office, and others appointed in their places. Another source of disaffection was, that having entered a bay on Michaelmas day, and to which the name Michaelmas Bay was given, the master gave orders to weigh anchor and set sail, while some wanted to remain for a time and rest. On the 10th November they were frozen in, and by this time their six months' provisions were finished—the Arctic winter was before them, and they had no prospects of food to enable them to bear up against it. The dreadful result was mutiny, and this is how, according to the story of the not too credible Abacuk, the tragic climax was brought about.

Hudson had taken into his house in London a young man named Greene, who, though an abandoned profligate himself, was of respectable parentage. Greene accompanied Hudson to sea, but quarrelled with the surgeon, and others of the crew. Meantime the provisions of the vessel being nearly exhausted, Hudson preparing to leave the bay in which they had wintered, called the men together, and divided what was left among them. There was no more than about a pound of bread per day for each man for a fortnight, "and he wept when he gave it unto them." They had five cheeses which were also divided among them, and which afforded them three pounds and a half for seven days. Then they stood to the north-west, and on the 18th June fell in with ice, and on the 21st, they being still in the ice, Wilson the boatswain, and Greene, whom Hudson had taken into his house with the view of saving him from ruin, came to Pricket, who was lying lame in his cabin, and told him that they and the rest of their associates, meant to turn the captain and all the sick into the boat, and set them adrift to shift

for themselves. They also said there were not fourteen days' victuals left for the whole crew; that they had not eaten anything the last three days, and were therefore resolved "either to mend or end; and what they had begun they would go through with or die." Immediately afterwards, five or six more of the mutineers entered Pricket's room, and the whole of them having sworn an oath "to do nothing but to the glory of God and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man," they went on deck to put their oath into practice by practically murdering the captain and their sick shipmates. As soon as Hudson came out of his cabin, he was seized and bound, and he and the sick and lame hurried into the boat and cut adrift among the ice. Of Hudson and the castaways with him, no more has ever been heard. They were, in all likelihood, soon swamped among the ice, and thus spared the torture and slow death of starvation. Pricket thereafter took charge of the master's cabin and chest. Greene, with some other mutineers, was killed in a fight with the natives; and the survivors, after many perils, reached Ireland. No official inquiry was ever made into the truth or falsehood of Pricket's story.

William Baffin, 1615.—In 1615 an expedition was undertaken, which is of special interests, not so much from its actual results as from the circumstance that he whom Admiral Sherard Osborne estimates as "the ablest, the prince, of Arctic navigators—William Baffin"—took part in it. Sir Thomas Button had previously (in 1612) commanded an expedition for the discovery of the North-West Passage; but he met with no noteworthy success, and the record of his voyage was not published, probably for the best of all reasons, that there was nothing of interest to record. In the same year (1612), James Hall undertook a voyage to Greenland, on the coast of which, however, he was mortally wounded by an Esquimaux, "who, with his dart, strook him a deadly wound upon the right side, which our surgeon did think did pierce his liver." This assault seems to have been an act of vengeance for an insult received in a former voyage. After the death of the captain, the expedition returned. In 1614, a vessel was fitted out for Captain Gibbons, who was described by Sir Thomas Button, with whom he had sailed, as being "not short of any man that ever yet he carried to sea." His only discovery was that of the bay in lat. 57°, on the coast of Labrador, in which he was imprisoned by the ice for five months, and to which his own ship's company are said to have given in derision the name of "Gibbons his hole." But the complete failure of Gibbons did not discourage the "merchant adventurers" from prosecuting discovery in the north-west, and Robert Bylot, who had been employed on the three former voyages under Hudson, Button, and Gibbons, was appointed master of the "Discovery," with William Baffin as mate and associate. Reaching Resolution Island at the mouth of Hudson's Strait, they followed up the passage to Salisbury Island, discovered Mill Islands, to which they

gave this name from the grinding of the masses of ice in the neighbourhood against one another. They pursued their course to lat. $65^{\circ} 26'$, long. $86^{\circ} 10'$ W., and then, concluding that they were in a great bay, and that therefore there was no passage in this direction westward, they tacked and returned homeward without further search.

Again, in 1616, the "Discovery"—this being her fifth voyage in search of a North-West Passage—was fitted out under the command of Robert Bylot, and with Baffin as pilot. The vessel set sail 26th March, was in Davis' Strait, in lat. $65^{\circ} 20'$; on the coast of Greenland by the 19th April, whence they ran north to $70^{\circ} 20'$. Continuing to push northward, it froze so hard, says Baffin, "that on Midsummer Day our shrouds, roapes, and sailes were so frozen that we could scarce handle them." On the 2d July they reached a "fair cape" in lat. $76^{\circ} 35'$, which they named Sir Dudley Digge's Cape; and on the 4th they found themselves in a large sound, in which they saw so many whales that they named it *Whale Sound*. It lies in lat. $77^{\circ} 30'$, a point far beyond Davis' farthest, which was Hope Sanderson, or Sanderson his Hope (of a north-west passage), in lat. between 72° and 73° . But the intrepid Baffin was not to be stopped by *Whale Sound* at the then extraordinary high latitude of $77^{\circ} 30'$. He still pushed north, and discovered a great sound running to the north of 78° , and to which he gave the name *Sir Thomas Smith's Sound*, so naming it after the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, the chief of the "merchant adventurers" who had fitted out the "Discovery" for this, the fifth time.

And here it may be as well to state that in discovering *Smith's Sound*, Baffin opened up a field which, from his own time to the present, has been regarded by explorers as leading to what is supposed to be the key of the position in the Polar seas. This sound led Parry to his highest latitude. Dr Kane, the great American explorer, reached its southern entrance; his successors, Hayes and Hall, passed through it northward into Kennedy Channel, and to what is still believed by many to be the southern shore of the open Polar Sea; and through this very gate to the North Pole, opened up by Baffin two hundred and fifty years ago, the great English Expedition, now (1875) in the Polar seas, will fight its way in its two steamers to a decisive conflict with the circumpolar ice—a conflict, the victory in which means the discovery of the North Pole itself.

But the splendid achievement of Baffin and Bylot in this voyage was not to end with the discovery of the gate of the North Pole. Standing away south-westward, on the 12th July they opened out another great sound in $74^{\circ} 20'$, which they named *Sir James Lancaster Sound*, another discovery which, like *Smith's Sound*, was destined to become illustrious, and to gather round it all the fascination of romance in the future adventures of Arctic explorers. "Here," says Baffin, "our hope of passage began to be less every day than

other, for from this sound to the southward we had a ledge of ice between the shore and us (thus precluding any search for a *west* passage), but clear to the seaward. We kept close by this ledge of ice till the 14th day, in the afternoon, by which time we were in lat. of $71^{\circ} 16'$, and plainly perceived the land to the southward of $70^{\circ} 30'$. Then we, having so much ice round about us, were forced to stand more eastward." In this way they sailed and drifted down to $65^{\circ} 40'$, when, says Baffin, "we left off seeking to the west shore, because we were in the indraft of *Cumberland Isles*," where he knew no hope of a west passage was to be looked for. It is interesting to read the quaint remarks with which the simple but great navigator closes his record of this most famous voyage. "Now," he says, "seeing that we had made an end of our discovery, and the year being too far spent to goe for the bottom of the bay to search for dressed finnes (whalebone), therefore we determined to go for the coast of Greenland, to see if we could get some refreshing for our men." Like every great navigator, his first care was for the health of his crew. And by this time scurvy had set in among the sailors. One man had died, and three were sick in their hammocks. They therefore stood for the shore, and, anchoring in Cockin Sound (lat. $65^{\circ} 45'$), found abundance of scurvy grass, which they boiled in beer, and, mixing it with sorrel and orpen, both very plentiful, made good salads. The sick men perfectly recovered in the space of eight or nine days. They then put up for England, and arrived in Dover Roads on the 30th August.

"North-West Fox," 1631.—The voyage of Captain Luke Fox, who styled himself, somewhat affectedly, "North-West Fox," was undertaken in 1631; but though the navigator's record of it is interesting from the oddness and occasionally the witty and unexpected remarks with which it is enlivened—for Fox was a man of talent as well as eccentricity—the voyage itself was wholly without result in the way of advancing geographical knowledge, and therefore deserves no more than a passing notice here. In the same year Captain James set out from Bristol for Hudson's Strait; but his description of his misfortunes and sore trials, besides being of questionable reliability, includes nothing important in the way of discovery. "Captain James's history of his voyage," says Barrow, "may be called a book of 'Lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning;' it is one continued strain of difficulties, and dangers, and complainings from the first making of the ice off Cape Farewell till his return to the same point." With this dismal tale it is fortunate we are not called upon to deal.

In the course of our History of Arctic Discovery, it will be necessary to make mention frequently of the Hudson's Bay Company, and as the formation of this Company took place at about the point of time we have now

reached in our chronological survey, it may be of advantage to state the circumstance which led to it. After the discovery of Hudson's Bay the value of the fisheries of that immense inland sea soon became famous. To the value of these fishing-grounds the French, after having possessed themselves of Canada, showed themselves to be by no means indifferent. One of the first Frenchmen to pass over from Canada to the shores of this inland sea was one M. Grosseliez, a bold and enterprising man who, seeing the advantage that might be derived to the French settlements in North America, by possessing themselves of the ports and harbours of Hudson's Bay, prevailed on some of his countrymen at Quebec, about the middle of the seventeenth century, to fit out a ship for the purpose of exploring the coasts of that bay, and proceeded on the expedition himself. Having explored the bay in the neighbourhood of Nelson River, he deputed his brother-in-law to repair to France and lay before the Government a representation of the advantages which might be derived from an establishment on its coasts. The proposal of M. Grosseliez was treated as visionary; but so strongly convinced was he of its advantages that he set out for France himself, where, however, he met with no better success than his brother-in-law. The English minister at Paris—Mr Montague—hearing of the proposal of Grosseliez and of its rejection, sent for the Frenchman to explain his views, and derived so much satisfaction from them that he gave Grosseliez a letter to Prince Rupert in England. Here the French-Canadian met with a most flattering reception. He was immediately engaged to go out in one of his Majesty's ships, not merely to form a settlement in Hudson's Bay, but also to prosecute the oft-attempted passage to China by the north-west. To the command of this vessel Captain Gillam was appointed. He set sail in 1668 with Grosseliez, and is said to have proceeded as far up Davis' Strait as 75°. On his return into Hudson's Bay he entered Rupert's River, 29th September, and prepared to pass the winter there. The river was not frozen over before the 9th December, and the cold is said to have ceased as early as the month of April. Here Captain Gillam laid the foundation of the first English settlement, by building a small stone fort, to which he gave the name of *Fort Charles*.

But Prince Rupert's action in the direction of forming a settlement and trading-station on the great bay did not end here. He obtained from King Charles a charter dated 1669, and granted to himself and several other adventurers therein named, for having, at their own cost and charges, undertaken an expedition to Hudson's Bay, "for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities." The charter stated that they had already made such discoveries as encouraged them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design; and that by means thereof great advantage might probably arise to the king and his dominions; and therefore his Majesty, for

the better promoting of their endeavours for the good of his people, was pleased to confer on them, exclusively, all the land and territories in Hudson's Bay, together with all the trade thereof, and all others which they should require, etc.

The body of gentlemen and merchants thus incorporated turned their chief, if not their whole, attention to the establishment of forts and factories, and to extend their trade with the Indians, from whom they obtained the most valuable furs for articles of very trifling cost, to the entire neglect of discovery or any scientific pursuit. The Company thus rapidly acquired wealth, and in this prosperous state of affairs the North-West Passage seems to have been entirely forgotten, not only by the adventurers who had obtained their exclusive charter under this pretext, but also by the nation at large; for, with the exception of the resultless voyages of Wood and Flawes (1676), of Knight and Seroggs (1719-1722), Middleton (1741), and Moor and Smith (1746), we hear little more of Arctic Exploration for about a century.

Hearne, 1769.—But as the chief condition upon which the Hudson's Bay Company obtained their charter was "for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea," it was necessary that they should either make some little exertion in aid of geographical discovery, or allow their legal right to the privileges conferred upon them to lapse. Accordingly, they undertook to make discoveries to the north-west of their inland sea by land, partly to explore a large river reported to run from that direction, on which a certain copper mine which figures largely in several of the explorations of America during the close of the last and the beginning of the present century was reported to exist, and partly for the sake of geographical science. For this service Samuel Hearne, a servant of the Company, was considered well qualified, and accordingly he set out on his journey from Fort Prince of Wales on 6th November 1769, crossed the Seal River, and travelled over the Barren Grounds. The weather, however, began to be exceedingly cold, soon all his provisions were expended and no supplies were to be obtained; the chief of the Indians who accompanied him wished to return, and ultimately leaving, Hearne was obliged to retrace his steps after reaching no farther than about the 64th degree of latitude. He arrived at the factory on the 11th December, having thus been absent only thirty-five days. Another abortive attempt was made in the spring of the following year, 1770; this second failure being due to a want of forethought and to imperfect preparations for a journey so important. Indeed, these ventures were undertaken in a careless, half-hearted way, which practically insured their failure—and they would have been altogether unworthy a place in our history were it not that they prepare the reader for one of the most daring and most fascinating expeditions ever undertaken by man,

namely, that of Franklin from the Hudson's Bay forts to the shores of the Polar Sea at the mouth of the Coppermine River (1819-1822); an expedition the unparalleled trials and sufferings of which might have been obviated had Hearne accomplished his preliminary journey successfully, and taken proper notes of his routes, observations of latitude, etc., as aids to those who were to follow him.

Setting out again in December 1770, to discover the situation of the copper mine, Hearne reached the Coppermine River on the 13th July; but gives neither the route to the stream nor the latitude of the spot at which he struck it. No sooner had he reached the river than a tragedy occurred which, though it wrought no harm to Hearne, was the cause of the acutest suffering, and might have proved the total destruction of Franklin and his gallant companions. The Indians that accompanied Hearne as his guides and hunters lived in constant hostility to the Esquimaux, and they now prepared to attack the latter in their tents. They approached their sleeping victims on the 17th July, about one o'clock in the morning. When the Indians found that all was quiet in the Esquimaux encampment, "they rushed forth from their ambuscade and fell on the poor unsuspecting creatures, unperceived till close at the very eaves of their tents, when they soon began the bloody massacre, while I," says Hearne, "stood neuter in the rear." The Esquimaux camp included about twenty persons, men, women, and children, who were all put to death in the most barbarous and inhuman manner—the Hudson's Bay Company's agent standing by and not even volunteering a remonstrance with the Indians in his employment, and with whom, from his connection with the Company, upon whom the Indians were dependent for supplies, it is natural to suppose he would have had considerable influence. The memory of this massacre was fresh in the minds of the Esquimaux, when Franklin came with his Indian guides to explore their country and to purchase their hospitality and good offices. Having reached and, in a slight, imperfect, and uncertain way, surveyed what he believed to be the sea at the mouth of the Coppermine River—although it is doubtful whether he did actually reach the sea—Hearne commenced his return journey.

CHAPTER IV.

SUMMER CRUISE BY SPITZBERGEN ROUTE—HORATIO NELSON ACTS AS CAPTAIN'S COCKSWAIN IN THE "CARCASS"—NELSON'S ADVENTURES IN THE SPITZBERGEN SEAS—CAPTAIN COOK IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS—CONCLUDING POLAR EXPEDITIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Captain C. J. Phipps, 1773.—We have now arrived at the period when Arctic exploration, with the view to discover a route to the East Indies by the North Pole, first attracted royal attention. The route by the North Pole, first suggested, as we have seen, by Robert Thorne, merchant, Bristol, was suffered to remain without investigation from the days of Baffin to the year 1773, when the Earl of Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, in consequence of an application which had been made to him by the Royal Society, laid before George III. a proposal for an expedition to try how far navigation was practicable in a due direction, and the King was pleased to direct that it should be immediately undertaken, "with every encouragement that could countenance such an undertaking, and every assistance that could contribute to its success." Two of the strongest ships that could be obtained—the "Racehorse" and the "Carcass"—were selected as being best fitted for the purpose, and the command was given to Captain Constantine John Phipps, son of the first Lord Mulgrave, and who afterwards acceded to that title. Captain Skiffington Lutwidge was second in command; and the comparative completeness of this first royal expedition to the Polar seas may be estimated from the circumstances that two masters of Greenland ships were employed as pilots, and that an astronomer, recommended by the Board of Longitude, was employed and supplied with instruments of various kinds, and of the best description then in use.

The "Racehorse" and "Carcass" sailed from the Nore on the 10th June 1773. On the 27th they had an observation of the sun at midnight, which gave the lat. $74^{\circ} 26'$; and they soon afterwards reached the latitude of the south part of Spitzbergen, with a fair wind, without an increase of cold, and without any appearance of ice, or sight of land. Standing in toward the land on the 29th, they found the coast formed of "high barren black rocks, without the least marks of vegetation; in many places bare and pointed, in other parts covered with snow, appearing even above the clouds; the valleys

between the high cliffs were filled with snow or ice. This prospect would have suggested the idea of perpetual winter, had not the mildness of the weather, the smooth water, bright sunshine, and constant daylight, given a cheerfulness and novelty to the whole of this striking and romantic scene." On the 5th July, the latitude of Magdalena Hook, on the west coast of Spitzbergen, was ascertained to be $79^{\circ} 34'$; and on the following day the expedition fell in with the main body of the ice, along which they stood, to ascertain whether it joined the land of Spitzbergen, or was so detached as to afford an opportunity of passing eastward. But the pilots and officers thought it impracticable to proceed in that direction, and predicted that they would soon be beset where they were, as this was about the spot where the most of the old discoverers had been stopped. On the 9th, having reached lat. $80^{\circ} 36'$, and having run along the edge of the ice from east to west above ten degrees, Captain Phipps "began to conceive that the ice was one compact impenetrable body." Stopped by ice towards the west, he now made several attempts to push his way eastward, but was arrested by finding the ice "locked in with the land, without any passage either to the northward or the eastward. Making a fourth, and a determined, effort, however, Captain Phipps passed Møffen Island, and, working in among the loose ice, reached as far north as $80^{\circ} 48'$, when he was stopped by the main body of the ice, which extended in a line nearly east and west.

At this stage of the expedition, a singular adventure took place, which brings the name of England's greatest naval hero into prominence, and is perhaps the first instance in which the bearer of it is known to have distinguished himself in his profession. A number of the officers from the "Racehorse" landed on a low, flat island in the mouth of Waygat Strait, near the *Seren Islands*, for the purpose of exploration. They found a number of large fir-trees lying on the shore, sixteen or eighteen feet above the level of the sea, and some of which had been torn up by the roots, others cut down with an axe, and notched for twelve-feet lengths. This timber, grown perhaps in the interior of Siberia, and swept downward by some swollen river of that region to the shores of the North Sea, whence it had drifted hither to Spitzbergen, was in no way decayed, nor were the marks of the hatchet in the least effaced. The beach appeared to them to be formed of old timber, sand, and whale bones, and the interior of the island seemed covered with moss, scurvy grass, sorrel, and a few ranunculuses, then in flower. In their wanderings, the officers came upon two reindeer feeding on the moss. One of these animals they killed, and found it fat and high in flavour. Returning to their boat, with only this deer to show for their sportsmanship, some of the officers caught sight of a walrus, or, as the huge double-tusked animal was named in those days, a sea-horse. The temptation to "bag" this monster of the Arctic seas was not to be resisted. Several

of the officers fired, but the walrus, which cares for nothing under a rifle bullet, was evidently more provoked than hurt by the muskets of the "Racehorse's" officers. It raised its head leisurely, surveyed the enemy, then diving out of sight, in an inconceivably short time it reappeared, together with a herd of its fellows, and boldly charged the boat. Shots, blows with boat-hooks, and with such other weapons as were available, were of no effect in keeping the enraged monsters at a distance. It was known that if, for a moment, one of them could get his tusks over the gunwale, the boat would be crushed up like a nut in the jaws of a gorilla, and the officer staff of the "Racehorse" would be sent to the bottom, and would run the gantlet of a score of walruses on their way thither. And so near were these immense creatures to achieving this aim that one of them had wrested an oar from one of the men, and the staving in or upsetting of the boat was now merely a question of a few minutes' time. At this moment a cheer is heard coming across the smooth, mist-covered waters, and one of the boats of the "Carcass," attracted by the sound of the musketry, came rapidly forging its way. The "Carcass" crew were bending to their oars with a will, and in the stern of their boat, tiller in hand, stood a mere vision of a petty officer, a child almost in years, delicate-looking as a girl, but eager as flame itself, seeing everything at a glance out of those wide and wonderful eyes, and steering his vessel with unswerving precision into the very midst of the scene of action. The walruses, beholding the approach of this unexpected contingent, and subjected to a volley from the new-comers at close quarters, plainly concluding that they had been deprived of their legitimate prey, dived, and made off. And who was the boy-officer of the relieving boat? Horatio, afterwards Lord Nelson and Bronte, the hero of Trafalgar.

As Nelson in his later years was always ready to acknowledge the value of the training he received in Captain Phipps' expedition toward the North Pole, it will not be out of place here to give some account of how he came to be connected with that expedition. Born in 1758, at the age of twelve he was appointed midshipman on board the "Raisonné," 64 guns, commanded by his uncle, Captain Suckling. Afterwards he was sent in a West India ship, under Mr John Rathbone, who had formerly been in the navy, in the "Dreadnought," with Suckling. "From this voyage," writes Nelson, "I returned to the 'Triumph,' at Chatham, in July 1772; and, if I did not improve in my education, I came back a practical seaman (at twelve years of age), with a horror of the royal navy, and with a saying then constant with seamen, 'Aft the most honour, forward the better man!' It was many weeks before I got in the least reconciled to a man-of-war, so deep was the prejudice rooted, and what pains were taken to instil this principle in a young mind! However, as my ambition was to be a seaman, it was always held out as a reward, that if I attended well to my navigation,

I should go in the cutter and decked longboats, which were attached to the commanding officer's ship at Chatham. Thus by degrees I became a good pilot for vessels of that description from Chatham to the Tower of London, down to the Swin and the North Foreland, and confident of myself amongst rocks and sands, which has been many times since of great comfort to me. In this way I was trained until the expedition towards the North Pole was fitted out, when, although no boys were allowed to go in the ships (as of no use), yet nothing could prevent my using my interest to go with Captain Lutwidge in the 'Carcass;' and, as I fancied I was to fill a man's place, I begged I might be his cockswain, which, finding my ardent desire for going with him, Captain Lutwidge complied with, and has continued the strictest friendship to this moment. Lord Mulgrave (Captain Phipps), whom I then first knew, maintained his kindest friendship and regard to the last moment of his life. When the boats were fitting out to quit the two ships, I exerted myself to have the command of a four-oared cutter *raised upon*, which was given me, with twelve men; and I prided myself that I could navigate her better than any other boat in the ship."

Young Nelson, the captain's cockswain, only fifteen years of age, but already a good seaman and skilful pilot, performed his work well in command of his cutter and twelve men. But the contempt for danger, the unconsciousness of which distinguished him throughout his life, led him into at least one scrape, which went very near cutting short the hero of the Nile and the Baltic. "One night," says Southey, "during the mid-watch, he stole from the ship with one of his comrades, taking advantage of a rising fog, and set out over the ice in pursuit of a bear. It was not long before they were missed. The fog thickened, and Captain Lutwidge and his officers became exceedingly alarmed for his safety. Between three and four in the morning the weather cleared, and the two adventurers were seen, at a considerable distance from the ship, attacking a huge bear. The signal for them to return was immediately made; Nelson's comrade called upon him to obey it, but in vain; his musket had flashed in the pan, their ammunition was expended, and a chasm in the ice, which divided him from the bear, probably preserved his life. 'Never mind,' he cried, 'do but let me get a blow at this devil with the butt-end of my musket, and we shall have him.' Captain Lutwidge, however, seeing his danger, fired a gun, which had the desired effect of frightening the beast; and the boy then returned, somewhat afraid of the consequences of his trespass. The captain reprimanded him sternly for conduct so unworthy of the office which he filled, and desired to know what motive he could have for hunting a bear. 'Sir,' said he, pouting his lip, as he was wont to do when agitated, 'I wished to kill the bear, that I might carry the skin to my father.'"

Meantime the progress made by Captain Phipps' expedition was not

very encouraging. On the 30th July the weather was exceedingly mild, fine, and clear. "The scene," writes the captain, "was beautiful and picturesque; the two ships becalmed in a large bay, with three apparent openings between the islands that formed it, but everywhere surrounded with ice as far as we could see, with some streams of water; not a breath of air; the water perfectly smooth; the ice covered with snow, low and even, except a few broken pieces near the edges; the pools of water in the middle of the pieces were frozen over with young ice."

At the close of July the ships were beset in the ice, which on the 1st of August began to press in fast and afforded not the smallest opening. Formerly flat and almost level with the water's edge the ice was now in many places forced higher than the mainyard by the pieces squeezing together. They now tried to cut a passage out, but the ice being in some parts twelve feet thick, they met with but little success. There was but one alternative, either to wait the event of the weather upon the ships, or to betake themselves to the boats. The likelihood that it might be necessary to sacrifice the ships had been foreseen; the boats accordingly were adapted, both in size and number, to transport, in case of emergency, the whole crew; and there were Dutch whalers upon the coast, in which they could all be conveyed to Europe. As for wintering where they were, that dreadful experiment had been tried too often. The days of the improved construction of winter quarters had not yet arrived. No time was to be lost; the ships had driven into shoal water, having but fourteen fathoms. Should they, or the ice in which they were fast, take the ground, they must inevitably be lost. Captain Phipps had sent for the officers of both ships, and told them his intention of preparing the boats for going away. They were immediately hoisted out, and the fitting began. Canvas bread-bags were made in case it should be necessary suddenly to desert the vessels. On the 7th August they began to haul the boats over the ice—Nelson having command of his four-oared cutter. The men behaved exceedingly well. They seemed reconciled to the thought of leaving the ships, and had full confidence in their officers. About noon the ice appeared rather more open near the vessels; and as the wind was easterly, though there was but little of it, the sails were set and they got about a mile to the westward. Whatever exertions were made, it could not be possible to get the boats to the water's edge before the 14th; and if the situation of the ships should not alter by that time, it would not be justifiable to stay any longer by them. The commander, therefore, resolved to carry on both attempts together, moving the boats constantly, and taking every opportunity of getting the ships through. On the morning of the 10th August, "the wind," writes Captain Phipps, in his "*Journal of a Voyage towards the North Pole*," "springing up in the N.N.E. in the morning, we set all the sail we could upon the ship, and forced her through a great deal

of very heavy ice: she struck often very hard, and with one stroke broke the shank of the best bower anchor. About noon we had got her through all the ice and out to sea. I stood to the N.W. to make the ice, and found the main body just where we left it. At three in the morning, with a good breeze easterly, we were standing to the westward between the land and the ice—both in sight; the weather hazy." Captain Phipps' summer cruise to Spitzbergen was now practically at an end. He had coasted along the edge of the ice in the latitude of about 80° , seeking east and west for a passage to the north, but finding none. The season was now far advanced, and as fogs and gales were now constantly to be expected, it was resolved to bear up for England, at the shores of which the "Racehorse" and "Carcass" duly arrived on the 25th September. The ships were paid off, and young Nelson immediately joined the "Sea-Horse," 20 guns, and sailed for the East Indies in the squadron commanded by Sir Edward Hughes.

Of practical results, so far as Arctic exploration is concerned, the cruise of Captain Phipps was sufficiently barren. He states that the summer was uncommonly favourable for his purpose, because it "afforded him the fullest opportunity of ascertaining, repeatedly, the situation of that wall of ice, extending for more than twenty degrees, between the latitudes of eighty and eighty-one, without the smallest appearance of any opening." But it has since been abundantly proved that there are very few years in which there are not many openings in the wall of ice, which usually stretches between the eastern coast of Greenland and the most northern parts of Spitzbergen; and consequently the summer in which Captain Phipps tried here for a north passage to the Pole, instead of being favourable, was peculiarly and exceptionably unfavourable, as will be seen in the history of more recent expeditions in this direction.

Captain Cook, 1776-1779.—The destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English fleet under Lord Howard of Effingham and by a series of terrific tempests which crushed the ribs of the Spanish galleons against the rocky coasts of the Western Isles and of Ireland in 1588, had irretrievably ruined the maritime power of Spain, and had thus thrown all the seas open to England, which from this time became unquestionably the leading naval power of the world. There was now no longer a monopoly of trade with India and China, or rather, the monopoly of the commerce of these countries which had previously been enjoyed by Spain and Portugal, now passed in effect into the hands of England; and the trade between Britain and the East was further confirmed to British merchants by the formation of the East India Company by royal patents of Elizabeth in 1600. But though we had now been in command of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope for many years, Englishmen had never lost sight of Sebastian Cabot's idea

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NELSON AND THE BEAR

of discovering a north passage to the East, and thus reaching India by a much shorter and less expensive route. In search of this route many endeavours in different directions had been made. It was now resolved to try for the unknown after a new plan. A North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific had been sought for by many navigators. It was now resolved to seek for a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The famous Captain Cook, who had already twice circumnavigated the globe, and had revealed almost a new world in the discovery of the various archipelagoes of the Pacific, and who was believed by his countrymen to be able to carry out any naval enterprise, however difficult, to a successful issue, was accordingly selected to command the new expedition. The two vessels fitted out for this purpose were the "Resolution," in which Captain Cook sailed, and the "Discovery." As an incentive to discovery in the Polar seas, a reward, in terms of the Act of 18 Geo. II., of £20,000 had been offered to ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects, which should succeed in making a North-West passage, but it excluded the king's own ships, and a further condition was that the passage was to be one leading through Hudson's Bay. This Act was now so amended that the reward was offered to ships of the royal navy as well as to merchantmen, and might be claimed for "any northern passage" between the two great oceans. Cook's expedition, therefore, started with the double incentive to success, of honour and reward.

The "Resolution" and "Discovery" sailed from Plymouth Sound, 12th July 1776; and, after making various discoveries in the southern hemisphere, the Pacific, and the two coasts of Asia and America, they entered Behring's Strait, 9th August 1779. Several attempts were made to penetrate the ice, but fortunately without success; for it is certain that had Cook been beset in the wide and shelterless icy gulfs of the north-east coast of America, his expedition would have met the fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby in Lapland—would have perished to a man. His vessels were not fitted for such severe navigation, nor were his preparations at all suitable for spending a winter among the ice. After cruising about between the coasts of Asia and America and finding the ice fields advancing upon him from the north, Captain Cook stood away southward and finally reached the Sandwich Islands where, as is well known, this great navigator lost his life.

Concluding Expeditions of the Eighteenth Century.—Exploration in the eighteenth century may be said to have been brought practically to a close with the expedition of Captain Phipps, as the subsequent endeavours to reach high northern latitudes are comparatively resultless, and are not considered worthy of separate notice. In order, however, to connect our narrative of the history of the exploration of the last and of the present century, a few words about the expeditions referred to will suffice.

In 1776, Lieutenant Pickersgill was directed to proceed to Davis' Strait in the armed brig "Lion," for the twofold purpose of protecting the British whale fishers, who, since about the year 1625, had resorted to the Arctic seas, and to obtain such information as might be useful to the vessel which was to be sent out in the following year to look for Captain Cook about the time he might be expected to approach the eastern side of America, in the event of his having discovered a passage eastward from the Pacific. He penetrated no higher up Davis' Strait than $68^{\circ} 10'$, and, after a voyage, in which he added nothing to the geographical knowledge of his time, he returned to England in the autumn. He was superseded in the command of the "Lion" by Lieutenant Walter Young, who ran up the Strait as far as $72^{\circ} 42'$, and who, without assigning any reason whatever, except the number of the ice islands among which he found himself, turned his vessels southward, and bore up for England, where he arrived before the open season of the Polar seas was over. In 1789, Alexander Mackenzie, a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, set out, under the auspices of that Company, to travel to the shores of the Polar Sea. He succeeded in discovering and descending the river which bears his name; but his journal is so unsatisfactory and equivocal that it remains an unsettled question to this day whether he actually penetrated to the mouth of the Mackenzie River in the Arctic Sea or was arrested on the shores of some lake or enlargement of its channel. In 1790, Mr Charles Duncan was employed to conduct an expedition for the discovery of the North-West Passage up Rowe's Welcome, one of the northern inlets of Hudson's Bay. Duped and frustrated by the Hudson's Bay Company, he was obliged to return, after two attempts to attain his purpose. His expedition was entirely fruitless; and thus ends the last expedition of the eighteenth century for the discovery of the North-West Passage.

It has been observed as something very remarkable "that our early adventurers, at a time when the art of navigation was in its infancy, the science but little understood, the instruments few and imperfect, in barks of twenty-five or thirty tons burden, ill-constructed, ill-found, and apparently ill-suited to brave the mountains of ice between which they had to force their way, and the dark and dismal storms which beset them, that these men should have succeeded in running through the straits to high latitudes, and home again, in less time than Mr Duncan required to reach one of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments, the route to which was then as well known as that to the Shetland Islands."

CHAPTER V.

OUTBREAK OF AMERICAN WAR—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—PROCLAMATION OF PEACE—ARCTIC EXPLORATION RESUMED—GROUP OF FAMOUS EXPLORERS—FRANKLIN'S FIRST ARCTIC VOYAGE—THE "DOROTHEA" AND "TRENT" SENT TO EXPLORE A PASSAGE ACROSS THE POLE—EARLY LIFE AND CAREER OF FRANKLIN.

Two years after the return of Captain Phipps from his summer cruise to Spitzbergen, an incident occurred which conclusively put an end to Arctic exploration for over forty years. Toward the close of the last century, the commerce and manufactures of our American colonies had already become great; and (in 1770) the taxes on industry imposed upon them, and maintained with blind obstinacy by the king and his ministers, were felt to be no longer bearable. The colonists had indulged themselves in an expectation that the people of Great Britain, from a consideration of the dangers and difficulties of war, would have preferred peace and a reconciliation; but when they were convinced of the fallacy of these hopes, they turned their attention to the means of self-defence. Prudence, policy, and reciprocal interest urged the expediency of concession on the part of England; but pride, false honour, and misconceived dignity drew in an opposite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which, under the influence of wisdom and forbearance, might have been easily compromised, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcilable breach. Hatred at length took the place of affectionate kinship, and the calamities of war were soon to supersede the benefits of commerce. Careful, however, not to strike the first blow, and thus incur the obloquy of having commenced hostilities, the Americans conducted their opposition to the measures of Government with exquisite address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, and preserved peace and good order among themselves, but at the same time made every possible preparation for the outbreak, which they perceived was inevitable. Bands of militia were being trained in the different districts, arms and ammunition were collected and stored in safe and convenient centres. Desirous of destroying a magazine of arms and powder, which had been formed at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, the English general sent an expedition of grenadiers and infantry towards Concord in the spring of 1775. A troop of militia had

assembled at Lexington to oppose them. "Disperse, rebels!" cried Major Pitcairn to the militia, as he rode up in front of the royal troops, "throw down your arms and disperse!" The Lexington men still continuing to stand firm, Pitcairn rode nearer, fired his pistol in their faces, and ordered his men to advance. That pistol shot was the short and sharp inauguration of a cannonade that was to last for many years. There was now work enough for our fleet; and active service, which had prize-money and promotion to bestow, left no room for discovery and scientific research.

But with the outbreak of the American war the waning century had not delivered itself of its last message of woe to mankind. In 1789 took place the terrific explosion of the French Revolution, in which, said Burke, "the French proved themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world." From the date of the fall of the Bastille to that of Waterloo, Europe was one wide battlefield. Our fleets were now on every sea, striking our enemies in their colonies, harassing their commerce, and blockading their ports. From the Baltic and the Mediterranean the broad pendant of the British commodore was never absent. Around our own shores, too, an ever-watchful fleet constantly cruised, for Napoleon had threatened invasion. During all this time, the navy, to which the splendid victories of Nelson brought so much distinction, was the profession held in highest favour in England; and cadets from the noblest families were in every one of the king's ships before the war was brought to a close. One consequence of this love for the sea was that, when peace was proclaimed after Waterloo in 1815, the navy contained a great number of young officers of the highest ability and possessed of a boundless ambition to attain distinction. The conclusion of the wars with America and France in 1815 put an end temporarily to their hopes of earning fame in active service, and it was therefore with eagerness that many of these enterprising spirits heard proposals to resume certain schemes of exploration, which, laid aside on the outbreak of the war, began again to engage men's minds, now that Napoleon was safely caged in St Helena, and the war was at an end. Of these schemes, that of the discovery of a North-West Passage to the Pacific was the first and most important. This great question, which had engaged the attention of almost all the northern powers of Europe, in which much money had been ventured, many lives and vessels lost, and on which the public curiosity had been so deeply excited, it was now proposed to set at rest at once and for ever.

In view of all that had hitherto been attempted in the direction of discovering a North-West Passage, it was sufficiently evident that the great obstacle in the way of a route to the Pacific was the quantity of ice with which the northern seas were encumbered. It was not *land* that blocked the progress of the Arctic navigator. Between Nova Zembla and Spitz-

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H. M. SHIP "DOROTHEA" BESET IN THE ICE, JUNE 11TH, 1818.

bergen, and between Spitzbergen and Greenland, no land had been seen to the north; while both Hudson's and Baffin's Bays showed numerous openings, which, if free from ice, might lead to the west. The ice, then, was the barrier, and any great change in its position, or any considerable modification in the degree of its compactness, might be a ground on which to base some hope of a passage. Again, the experience in seamanship obtained in every ocean during the forty years' war, and the great improvements that had been introduced in the construction of vessels, afforded some ground to expect that the obstacles that had been found insurmountable by our early voyagers in their weak vessels, and with their untrained and altogether inadequate crews, might be overcome by powerful ships, properly manned and equipped. And as there was also an opinion that this body of ice was merely a belt, beyond which, if it could be broken through, the sea would be found clear and navigable, vessels of the last-mentioned description were more likely to reach it than any that had hitherto made the attempt, with the exception of those under Captain Phipps, which were thought to have gone out in a peculiarly unfavourable season. "At all events," says Captain Beechey, "whatever arguments might have been founded upon the subject, and there were many, it was generally acknowledged that the time had arrived when the matter should be decided, or, at least, that the attempt should receive the benefit of that advancement of science and art which had been bestowed upon other experiments; and it was evident that it required only some little impetus to set the machine in motion for this attempt to become a great national undertaking."

In 1817, two years after the proclamation of the general peace, accounts of a change in the Polar ice, particularly favourable to the undertaking, were brought to England by our whalers. The Polar Sea was described as being remarkably open. This intelligence finally decided Government to send out in the following year a great expedition of four ships, two of which were to try to reach the Pacific by a northern route across the Pole, while the other two were to search for a western route through Baffin's Bay. This great twofold expedition is famous as including among its officers the most brilliant group of discoverers ever engaged on any similar mission. Among them were the two Rosses, Franklin, Parry, Buchan, Beechey, and George Back.

The four ships selected to form the expedition were the "Dorothea," "Trent," "Isabella," and "Alexander." Of these, the "Dorothea" and "Trent," commanded respectively by Captain Buchan and Lieutenant John Franklin, were directed to sail for Spitzbergen, and thence to seek for a passage northward to the Pole. Of Captain David Buchan of the Royal Navy, there is little to relate. For several years he had been serving on the coast of Newfoundland, and a short time previously to his appointment to the command of the Polar expedition—15th January 1818—he had distinguished

himself in charge of an expedition into the interior of that island. Though never engaged on any subsequent Arctic voyage of discovery, he continued to take a deep interest in every venture of the kind ; and he afforded Franklin much assistance in fitting out his land expeditions. He was lost in his passage home in the "Upton Castle" Indiaman in 1838.

John Franklin, perhaps the greatest of all Arctic explorers, was born at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, in 1786. He is described as a boy of well-knit muscular frame, with black eyes and dark hair, a frank and broad English countenance, lofty forehead, and well-formed chin, indicative of no ordinary amount of resolution. He first saw the sea on the Lincolnshire coast, and the first look of the ocean was a revelation which disclosed to him what he resolved should be his career. He had heard of the sea in his father's home at Spilsby ; he had read of it in the old grammar-school of Louth ; he had been told how upon that ocean the son of a country parson in an adjoining county was humbling the pride of England's enemy ; and he now saw it and accepted it as his fate. He was a sailor from the moment he first beheld the sea.

With the view of disgusting him with a sailor's life, he was sent on board a merchant-ship, like Cook, Dampier, and Nelson ; but the hardships of the merchant service failed to damp his enthusiasm, and the increasing change, the novelty and excitement of the profession were to him an unfailing charm. But Franklin's spirit aspired to something more adventurous than life in a merchant vessel. In his early years England was being thrilled with Nelson's great exploits, and the Royal Navy exercised a fascination over the minds of all young sailors. Franklin, boy as he was, felt the influence, and in 1800 he obtained an appointment as midshipman in the "Polyphemus," of 64 guns. Within a year the Lincolnshire boy shared in the terrible sea-fight off Copenhagen, in which the "Polyphemus" led the attack in the most gallant style. Soon after this first action Franklin was transferred to the discovery-ship, the "Investigator," commanded by the distinguished explorer Captain Flinders, a relative of the Franklin family. Here our hero obtained his early training in those scientific branches of his profession, his accomplishment in which, in his later days, contributed so much to his success as an explorer. For more than two years, as we learn from Admiral Sherard Osborne, the "Investigator"—an old, leaky, crazy vessel, such as in our days would not be deemed fit for the work of a collier—struggled along the coast of that island-continent of the Southern Ocean, which Flinders appropriately named "Australia." "It was a school of hardship and painful labour, yet not devoid of interest to the ardent young sailor, and in all probability it was in making these, the first discoveries of many a mile of coast, many a reef, many a haven, that Franklin's mind became first imbued with that sincere love of geographical exploration and maritime

discovery, which subsequently formed so prominent a feature in his professional career."

Flinders, Admiral Osborne informs us, was exactly the man to awaken such feelings in one so intelligent as John Franklin. He had been one of that company of navigators who won for England the honour of having really explored the great South Sea. He could tell of Otaheite, and of how our rough uncared-for seamen of that day forsook their king and their country, the pleasures and the duties of civilised life, for the love of its warm-hearted people. He had witnessed the ferocity of the Sandwich islanders, and could thrill his listeners with that awful hour of murder and cannibalism when Cook, the greatest of England's navigators, fell. He had weathered many a danger upon the inhospitable shores of the then unknown Australia, and had often navigated in high southern latitudes. He had in a small boat circumnavigated the stormy coasts of Van Diemen's Land, and shared with Bass the honour of discovering the strait which bears the name of the latter. The clever, modest, and unassuming Flinders formed the character of, and imparted much of his knowledge and information to, the youth, whose destiny it was in after-years to fall as the discoverer of the North-West Passage.

The old "Investigator" was at last condemned in 1803, and Franklin in company with his captain and shipmates transferred themselves to H.M.S. "Porpoise," for a passage to England. Sailing round the north coast of Australia the "Porpoise," in the darkness of the night of August 18, struck upon a reef, and in a few minutes was staved and dismasted. Franklin now found himself one of ninety-four souls, on a sandbank at a distance from the Australian shore of 180 miles. Help was not to be obtained nearer than at Port Jackson, distant 750 miles. Thither Captain Flinders proceeded in an open boat, and by a miracle succeeded in obtaining the means of returning and rescuing all his officers and crew.

But the adventures of the homeward voyage were not yet over. Having succeeded in reaching China, Franklin resolved upon returning home in one of the Honourable East India Company's ships from Canton. It had been arranged, for safety against French men-of-war, that a number of vessels should make the voyage in company; and on the 31st January 1804 a magnificent fleet of fifteen East Indiamen put to sea from Canton river, Franklin sailing in the "Earl Camden," Captain Dance, who acted as commodore of this famous argosy laden with "millions of pounds' worth" of silks and other products of China. Most of the vessels were painted with port-holes to resemble line-of-battle ships; and though they were not armed like men-of-war, their owners had furnished them with guns and men enough to make a good show of resistance in the event of their being attacked by French cruisers. On the 14th of February, sailing well together, they were shaping

their course for Malacca Strait, when a very surprising valentine came sailing over the waters to meet them in the shape of the "Marengo," a notorious French seventy-four, backed by three smart frigates, and commanded by Admiral Linois, one of the most intrepid French privateers of the day. Linois knows he has caught the great prize of these waters—the famous China fleet, with wealth enough on board to make himself and his followers independent for life. He bears down upon what he supposes to be the defenceless fleet of merchantmen, but is astounded to find, when he gets near enough, that the harmless traders are armed ships ranged in order of battle and ready from their hundred port-holes to give him a true British welcome. The Frenchman is considerably taken aback. He heaves to, uncertain whether this ship-shape squadron are really sheep in wolves' clothing, and half expecting that in the course of the night they will make sail, separate, and flee; but daylight finds them all as they had passed the night—at their quarters, guns shotted, and more prepared to do battle for the red flag that streams from their mizzen-peaks than on the previous day. Linois, more puzzled than ever, still hesitates, until the English bear away under easy sail. He then essays to cut off the rearmost ships. But the commodore is on the alert. He promptly throws out the signal, "Tack! bear down, and engage the enemy!" A cheer runs round the fleet of merchant sailors who at once prepare for action. This is altogether too much for the Frenchman, who now makes all sail away. Commodore Dance directs a general chase, and now is seen the singular spectacle of a French squadron of men-of-war, perfectly equipped, led by one of the most distinguished of the French admirals of that day, retreating before a fleet of armed merchant-ships!

Before another year had passed Franklin was signal midshipman on board the "Bellerophon," 74, and on the ever memorable 21st October 1805 he fought under Nelson at Trafalgar. "We see the Lincolnshire boy," says Osborne, "pass through all the phases from childhood to manhood, from the skylarking midgy to the steady, trustworthy lieutenant—tempered in a school of patient perseverance, and not spoilt by constant success. He saw the failure at Flushing; he marked how the under-estimating of a foe brought down upon his profession the mischances of the American war; and in the disastrous attempt to capture New Orleans he was for the first time wounded."

Such was the man who at the age of thirty-one was appointed to the command of the "Trent," the attendant ship of the "Dorothea," commissioned to find a way across the Pole to the Pacific. How ignorant were the English Admiralty of that day of the all but impossible nature of the task!

CHAPTER VI.

FRANKLIN'S FIRST ARCTIC CRUISE—OBJECTS OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE “DOROTHEA” AND “TRENT”—HARD WEATHER WITHIN THE ARCTIC CIRCLE—THE FIRST ICE—THE SUN AT MIDNIGHT—SPITZBERGEN—FIRST VIEW OF THE PACK OR MAIN BODY OF THE ICE—THE ICE-BLINK—ARCTIC SCENERY—FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH THE WALRUS—A BAD NIGHT AMONG THE ICE—THE FIRST BEAR—DESPERATE ADVENTURE WITH BEAR—CUNNING OF BEARS—HABITS OF THE WALRUS—NARROW ESCAPE FROM A WALRUS HERD—THE CHANGING CONDITIONS OF THE ICE—CORAL BROUGHT UP FROM THE SEA-BOTTOM—CHARGING THE PACK—VESSELS RENDERED USELESS FOR MAIN OBJECTS OF THE EXPEDITION—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE.

THE “Dorothea” (370 tons) and the “Trent” (a brig of 250 tons) were two stout but ugly whaling vessels, and to fit them in some degree for the hard knocks which were to be expected in the Polar Sea, as much wood and iron as could well be added to their original hulls was bolted on to and into them at Shadwell Dock. The expedition, says Captain Beechey—who sailed as lieutenant under Franklin and writes the account of the voyage—besides having for its object the determination of a geographical question of importance, was also of a scientific nature; and, being the only one of that description that had been fitted out by England since navigation had become, in the modern sense, scientific, a variety of suggestions and inventions, likely to prove useful on a service of such novelty, were submitted to the Admiralty and other departments of the Government. The peculiarity of the proposed route afforded opportunities of making some useful experiments upon the elliptical figure of the earth; on magnetic phenomena; on the refraction of the atmosphere in high latitudes under ordinary circumstances, and over extensive masses of ice; on the temperature and specific gravity of the sea at the surface and at various depths; and on meteorological and other interesting phenomena; to all of which Captain Buchan was to pay particular attention.

Two years' provisions and numerous stores, in addition to those usually supplied to men-of-war, were embarked in each ship, and the expedition being complete in its equipment, and having dropped down the Thames, Captain Buchan received his instructions and set sail on the 25th April.

The port of Lerwick was reached on the 1st and left on the 10th of May; on the 14th the Arctic circle was crossed, and on the 18th the expedition had reached the parallel of $72^{\circ} 33' N.$ Up to this period the weather had been so moderate that the ships had not so much as reefed a topsail; but the aspect of the sky now became changed, sail after sail was gradually reduced, as the breeze freshened, until storm staysails only were presented to the increasing gale and the ships were burying their gunwales deep in the wave. A cold wind now swept down from the north coating the sails and cordage with ice and covering the decks with snow. The curiously formed snow-flakes that fell were examined with much curiosity. They were crystallised nearly as hard as hailstones, and were formed into figures of from four to twelve rays and into other regular figures, some of which were of the most delicate and beautiful appearance.

Cherie Island, a small uninhabited isle in lat. $74^{\circ} 33' N.$, and long. $17^{\circ} 44' E.$, nearly midway between Spitzbergen and Norway, was seen on the 24th, deeply buried in snow, and shortly afterwards was observed an extensive field of ice sweeping from the northern extremity of the island—round the horizon in the direction of Spitzbergen in a compact body. From the neighbourhood of Cherie or Bear Island the expedition stood away northward toward the South Cape of Spitzbergen. In shaping this course it was necessary to pass through a wide belt of loose ice that had been disengaged from the main body. To such of the crew as had not before visited the Arctic regions the scene that now presented itself was novel and interesting; and the huge masses of ice, as they floated in succession past the vessels, were regarded with peculiar attention, partly on account of their grotesque shapes, but chiefly because they enabled the voyagers to form some judgment of the nature of the barrier which might ultimately present itself to their progress. The streams through which the course of the vessels lay consisted of small floes and pieces of ice, sufficiently detached in general to admit of a ship sailing between them, but occasionally interposing material obstructions to their passage. The progress of a vessel through such a maze of frozen masses is one of the most interesting experiences of the young Arctic explorer, and many of the officers and men of the "Dorothea" and "Trent" remained out of their beds at a late hour to enjoy the novel scene. There was also, at this time, an additional motive for remaining up. Very few in the expedition had ever *seen the sun at midnight*, and this night happening to be particularly clear, his broad, red disc, curiously distorted by refraction, and sweeping along the northern horizon, was an object of imposing grandeur, which detained upon the deck numbers of the crews who would have beheld with indifference the less imposing effect of an iceberg. The novelty of the appearance of the floating masses was wonderfully heightened by the singular and beautiful effect produced by the very low altitude at which the sun cast

his ruddy beams over the icy surface of the sea. The rays were too oblique to illuminate more than the inequalities of the floes, and falling thus partially on the grotesque shapes, either really assumed by the ice, or distorted by the unequal refraction of the atmosphere, so betrayed the imagination that it required no great exertion of fancy to trace in various directions, architectural edifices, grottoes, and caves glittering here and there as if with coloured gems and gold.

The streams of ice between which the vessels at first pursued their winding course became gradually narrower until it became necessary to charge the ice that hampered the way; but some of the masses were immovable, and the vessels glanced off and ran into the opposite bank of the channel. The ice-stream was crossed, however, during the night of the 25th, and on the following day the southern promontory of Spitzbergen was in sight; its dark, pointed mountain-summits rising majestically above beds of snow and giving a blank and dreary aspect to the coast. A heavy gale from the south-west struck the ships on the 28th, and parted them. The "Trent" ran before the gale, but towards the evening of that day the sight of many heavy pieces of ice led Franklin to conjecture that the *pack* was not far distant, and that consequently there was danger ahead. He therefore gave orders to round-to until the wind should moderate.

Rigorous Arctic weather now came on. The snow fell in heavy showers and several tons weight of ice accumulated on the sides of the "Trent," and received an additional layer every time the brig made a plunge. Everything was covered with a ragged, icy fringe; and "so great was the accumulation about the bows," says Beechy, "that we were obliged to cut it away repeatedly with axes to relieve the bowsprit from the enormous weight that was attached to it: and the ropes were so thickly covered with ice, that it was necessary to beat them with large sticks to keep them in a state of readiness for any evolution that might be rendered necessary either by the appearance of ice to leeward, or by a change of wind." When the fog cleared off in the morning it was perceived that the ice in which the brig had been beset, was really, as had been feared, part of the main body or *pack*, and that they had all reason to be devoutly thankful for Franklin's precaution in rounding-to the previous evening before the vessel had actually driven on to the pack; for had they encountered this main body of ice in thick weather and whilst running before a gale of wind, there would have been very little chance of saving either the vessel or her crew.

Having again fallen in with the "Dorothea" at Magdalena Bay, the appointed place of rendezvous on the west coast of Spitzbergen, the expedition, according to Government instructions, now stood away to the northward and again saw the main body of ice, quite compact as before, and extending round the northern horizon "in one vast unbroken plain, con-

needed so closely with the shore as to leave no passage whatever for a vessel." This immense barrier of ice which had hitherto closed the door to all northern discovery, and into which Phipps had vainly endeavoured to find an inlet in 1773, was examined by Franklin and his officers with intense curiosity. It was found to be composed of masses too heavy to be turned aside by the bows of the vessels, and too thick and broad to be operated upon by the ice-saws, with which the expedition was provided, with any chance of success. But, nevertheless, it was not the solid continent of ice described by Phipps, and hopes were still entertained that some opening into it would present itself before long, and enable the ships to advance. Meanwhile it was resolved to occupy the present time by taking a survey of Magdalena Bay, which was accordingly done.

The head of the bay is marked by a lofty pyramidal mountain of granite, called Rotge Hill, from the myriads of the small birds called rotges which frequent its base. These birds were so numerous that an uninterrupted line of them was seen extending half-way across the bay to a distance of three miles, and so close together that a single shot brought down thirty of them. This living cloud was estimated to be six yards broad and as many deep, so that, allowing sixteen birds to the cubic yard, there must have been nearly four millions of birds on the wing at one time. This number seems large, but when we add that the little rotges rise in such numbers as completely to darken the air, and that their chorus is distinctly audible at the distance of four miles, the estimate will not be thought overstated.

The principal features of Magdalena Bay are its four immense glaciers, formed upon the land by accumulations of frozen snow, and gradually creeping down upon the shore and casting off immense masses of ice (icebergs) from time to time. The largest of the glaciers, "Waggon Way," presented a perpendicular surface of three hundred feet, and was a thousand feet in length. Nevertheless, upon so gigantic a scale is all nature around, that this glacier does not create much astonishment in the mind of the beholder until he approaches within the influence of the *ice-blink*, or luminous haze which is invariably radiated by large frozen masses. Within this influence the wall of ice has an awfully grand appearance, heightened by a sense of the personal danger to which so near an approach exposes the spectator; for large pieces occasionally break away from this body and do much mischief. The soft blue tint of the surface of the ice is here also clearly discerned, whilst the long sparkling icicles pendant from the roofs of the caverns into which it is hollowed, add greatly to the interest of its appearance. On a perfectly calm day, when the blink of the ice is strong, a curious illusion is produced by the combined effect of the appearance of the ice below the water with the reflection of the ice-walls that tower above it. The sea presents a white creamy appearance. The seals sporting on its surface seem

to be swimming in a thick milky substance ; and the ripple, as it sweeps along, rises in long white lines, so that it is only in looking perpendicularly upon the water that the transparency is perceived, and the illusion detected.

But it is in the region within the Arctic circle that nature seems especially to delight in illusions, and rapid, and marvellous changes. In cloudy or misty weather, when the hills are clothed with newly fallen snow, nothing can be more dreary than the appearance of the shores of Spitzbergen. But on the other hand, it is impossible to conceive a more brilliant and lively effect than that which is produced on a fine day, when the sun shines forth and blends its rays with that peculiarly soft, bright atmosphere which overhangs a country deeply bedded in snow, and with a sky more intensely, purely blue than is seen in any other region. On such a day the winds are light, and the shores teem with living objects. All nature acknowledges the glorious sunshine. Such a day rose over the "Dorothea" and "Trent," in Magdalena Bay, on the 4th June 1818. The various amphibious animals and the myriads of birds which had resorted to the place, seemed to enjoy in the highest degree the change to sunny weather. From an early hour in the morning until the period of rest returned, the shores around reverberated with the cheerful cries of auks, willocks, divers, cormorants, gulls, and other aquatic birds, the huge-bearded walruses basked in the sun and mingled the roar, by which they express gratification and contentment, with the husky bark of the seal. When the hour of sunset arrived, all sounds of bird and beast at once ceased, and perfect silence prevailed, interrupted only by the reverberated boom of a burst iceberg, or the crash of some falling fragment of rock split off from the main mass by the action of the frost.

"In the day time," says Beechey, "the presence of our expedition was not disregarded. The birds shunned us in their flight, and every noise which was occasionally made, sounding strange to the place, sent to a greater distance the sea-gulls that were fishing among the rocks, and kept on the alert whole herds of animals, many of which would otherwise have been lost in sleep ; causing them to raise their heads when anything fell upon our deck, and to cast a searching look over the bay, as if to inquire whence so unusual a disturbance proceeded. When we first rowed into this bay, it was in quiet possession of herds of walruses, who were so unaccustomed to the sight of a boat that they assembled about her apparently highly incensed at the intrusion, and swam towards her as though they would have torn the planks assunder with their tusks. The wounds that were inflicted only served to increase their rage, and, I frankly admit, that when I considered how many miles we were from our vessel, and what might be the result of this onset, I wished we had the support of a second boat ; we continued, however, to keep them off with our firearms, and fortunately came off without any accident. When we afterwards came to anchor, we went

better provided, and succeeded in killing several of these animals upon the ice at the head of the bay."

Some of the walruses captured were found to be fourteen feet in length, and nine feet in girth. In the inside of several, round granite pebbles, larger than walnuts, and occasionally over twenty in number, were found. The hide was so tough that a bayonet was the only weapon that could pierce it.

Leaving Magdalena Bay on the 7th, the expedition revisited the main body of the ice, but found it as firm and compact as it had been when before examined. Coasting along the margin of the ice, the breeze suddenly deserted the vessels, and, as there was a heavy swell rolling up from the south-west, they were driven into the pack. A light breeze springing up from over the ice, they were released from their most perilous situation, and regained the open sea. In an hour's time, however, they were again becalmed, and again were they driven among the ice. The swell had now materially increased, and rolled in upon the pack most furiously. The great masses along the margin of the ice were at one moment wholly immersed in the sea, and the next soared up on the crest of a roller, while the broken fields beyond the margin rose and fell in the most threatening manner as the advancing wave forced its way along. This see-saw motion was alarming not only in appearance, but in fact; and must have proved fatal to any vessel that encountered it, as floes of ice, several yards in thickness, were continually crashing and breaking in pieces, and the sea for miles was covered with fragments ground so small that they actually formed a thick pasty substance—in nautical language, called *brash ice*—which extended to the depth of five feet.

In this dangerous situation Franklin endeavoured to get the bow, the strongest part, of the "Trent," placed in the direction of the most formidable pieces of ice—a manœuvre which, though likely to be attended with the loss of the bowsprit, was preferable to encountering the still greater risk of having the broadside of the vessel in contact with it. For this would have subjected her to the chance of dipping her gunwale under the floes as she rolled; an accident which, had it occurred, would either have laid open her side or have upset the vessel at once. In either case, the event would probably have proved fatal to all on board, as it would have been next to impossible to have rescued any person from the confused moving mass of brash ice which covered the sea in every direction. As the "Trent" advanced, the brash ice thickened until it became impenetrable. In this most perilous position on the edge of the pack, the vessel passed the night. To add to the danger and discomfort, she was found to leak, and the well was discovered nearly full of water. Fortunately a north breeze took the brig into the open sea next morning, and, meeting the "Dorothea," the two

made sail westward to reconnoitre the state of the ice in that direction. Nothing was to be done on this tack, for, meeting with a number of whalers, the expedition learned that the ice was quite compact to the west, and that fifteen vessels were beset in it. Captain Buchan and Lieutenant Franklin now shaped their course to the east, and kept near the land of Spitzbergen.

On the 10th June they made Prince Charles' Island, and on the following evening they were close to the ice off Cloven Cliff. The pack was still impenetrable, but it was some satisfaction to observe that the margin was removed several miles to the northward of its former position, and that there was a channel of water between it and the land. As the season was advancing, it was necessary at once to take advantage of this channel to get to the northward, and so carry out, in part at least, the instructions of the Admiralty. The ships accordingly passed Cloven Cliff, a remarkable isolated rock which marks the north-western angle of Spitzbergen. For some time the expedition steered along an intricate channel between the land and the ice, but scarcely had they passed Red Bay, so named from the colour of its cliffs, when, at two in the morning of the 12th June, the further advance of the vessels was stopped, and the channel by which they had entered became so completely closed up as to preclude the possibility of retreating. There was now danger and threatened destruction on every side. The ice pressed in heavily upon the brigs; a "nip" was imminent, which might either cut the vessels through or close above or below them; the water was shallow, with a rocky bottom, and a drift with the ice would have torn away the hulls of both. It was on this part of the coast of Spitzbergen that Hudson, Baffin, Poole, and almost all the early voyagers, had been stopped. Both vessels were now hauled into small bays in the floe formed by the change of tide, and secured there by ice anchors, and thus they remained for thirteen days. While thus moored to the ice the leak of the "Trent," formed by a bolt-hole having been left open, was found, and the opening effectually closed. A travelling party set out from the "Dorothea" to reach the shore at a distance of three or four miles; but they had not traversed half the distance when they were enveloped in a fog, lost their way, and after vain efforts to find their way back to the ship, had sat down on the ice to die—which they must have done within a few hours from the effects of fatigue and exposure—when a rescuing party found them and conducted them back.

Time now hanging heavy on the hands of the expedition, they resolved to have some sport. They burnt a quantity of walrus fat to attract any stray bears that might be ranging the ice in the neighbourhood. About midnight one of these ferocious animals was seen to draw his huge carcase out of the water and slowly approach the ships. The sight of the tall masts seemed to alarm him a little, for he occasionally hesitated, threw up his head, and seemed half inclined to turn round and be off. But the smell of the burnt

fat was too enticing, and he came on within range of the muskets. "On receiving the first shot," says Beechey, "he sprang round, uttered a terrific growl, and half raised himself upon his hind legs, as if in expectation of seizing the object that had caused him such excruciating pain; and woe to any human being who had at that moment been within reach of his merciless paws! The second and third balls laid him writhing upon the ice, and the mate of the "Dorothea" jumped down out of the vessel and endeavoured to despatch him with the butt-end of his musket. His gun, however, broke short off and for a moment left him at the mercy of his formidable antagonist, who showed, by turning sharply upon his assailant and seizing him by the thigh, that he was not yet mastered; and he would most certainly have inflicted a most serious wound, had it not been for the prompt attack of two or three of the sailors, who had followed the mate. The animal was by no means one of the largest of his species, being only six feet in length, and three feet four inches in height. His stomach was quite empty, *with the exception of a garter, such as is used by Greenland sailors to tie up their boat stockings!*" Alas! poor Greenlander!

An extraordinary bear adventure which took place in Nova Zembla during the second voyage of Barentz, is related in "Purchas his Pilgrimes," and may be inserted here.

"The 6th of September some of our men went on shore, upon the firme land to seek for stones, which are a kind of diamond, whereof there are many also in the States' Island, and while they were seeking the stones, two of our men lying together in one place, a great leane white beare came suddenly stealing out, and caught one of them fast by the neck; who not knowing what it was that tooke him by the necke, cryed out and sayed 'Who is it that pulls me so by the necke?' Wherewith the other that lay not farre from him, lifted up his head to see who it was; and, perceiving it to be a monstrous beare, cryed out and sayed, 'Oh mate! it is a beare;' and therewith presently rose up and ran away.

"The beare at the first falling upon the man bit his head in sunder, and suckt out his blood; wherewith the rest of the men that were on the land, being about twenty in number, ranne presently thither, either to save the man, or else to drive the beare from the body; and having charged their pieces, and bent their pikes, set upon her, that still was devouring the man, but perceiving them to come towards her, fiercely and cruelly ranne at them and got another of them out from the company, which she tore in pieces, wherewith all the rest ran away. We perceiving out of our ship and pin-nasse that our men ranne to the sea-side to save themselves, with all speed entered into their boats and rowed as fast as we could to relieve our men. Where, being on land, we beheld the cruell spectacle of our two dead men that had been so cruelly killed and torne in pieces by the beare. We, seeing

THE SUN AT MIDNIGHT.

that, encouraged our men to goe back again with us, and with pieces, curtel-axes, and halfe-pikes, to set upon the beare, but they would not all agree thereunto ; some of them saying, our men are already dead, and we shall get the beare well enough though we oppose ourselves into so open danger ; if we might save our fellowes' lives, then we would make haste ; but now we need not make such speed, but take her at an advantage, for we have to doe with a cruell, fierce, and ravenous beast. Whereupon three of our men went forward, the beare still devouring her prey, not once fearing the number of our men, and yet they were thirtie at the least ; the three that went forward in that sort were Cornelius Jacobson, William Geysen, and Hans Van Miflen, William Barentz, purser ; and, after that the sayd master and pylat had shot three times, and mist, the purser, stepping somewhat further forward, and seeing the beare to be within the length of a shoe, presently levelled his piece, and discharging it at the beare, shot her into the head, between the eyes, and yet she held the man still fast by the necke, and lifted up her head with the man in her mouth ; but she began somewhat to stagger, wherewith the purser and a Scottish man drew out their curtelaxes and strooke at her so hard that their curtelaxes burst, and yet she would not leave the man ; at last William Geysen went to them, and with all his might strooke the beare upon the snout with his piece, at which time the beare fell to the ground, making a great noise, and William Geysen leaping upon he cut her throat."

Moored to their ice-floe, unable on the one hand to reach land, and on the other to work their way into the open sea, the officers and men of the "Dorothea" and "Trent" found their most interesting occupation in watching the habits of the strange animals who sported about in the pools around the ships or basked on the ice in the sun. On one occasion a walrus rose in one of the pools close to the ship, and finding everything quiet, dived down and brought up its young, which it held to its breast by pressing it with its flipper. In this manner it moved about the pool, keeping in an erect posture, and always directing the face of its progeny toward the vessel. On the slightest movement on board, the mother released her flipper and pushed the young one under water ; but when everything was again quiet, brought it up as before, and for a length of time continued to play about the pool to the great amusement of the seamen, who would have it that the old walrus was instructing her infant in the mysteries of British sea-craft.

The following story told by Lieutenant Beechey of the "Trent" attests the very great cunning of the Polar bear : "Bears, when hungry, seem always on the watch for animals sleeping upon the ice, and endeavour by stratagem, to approach them unobserved ; for, on the smallest disturbance, the animals dart through holes in the ice, which they always take care to be near, and thus evade pursuit. One sunshiny day a walrus, of nine or ten

feet in length, rose in a pool of water not very far from us, and after looking round, drew his greasy carcase upon the ice, where he rolled about for a time, and at length laid himself down to sleep. A bear which had probably been observing his movements, crawled carefully upon the ice on the opposite side of the pool, and began to roll about also, but apparently more with design than amusement, as he progressively lessened the distance that intervened between him and his prey. The walrus, suspicious of his advances, drew himself up, preparatory to a precipitate retreat into the water, in case of a nearer acquaintance with his playful but treacherous visitor; on which the bear was instantly motionless as if in the act of sleep, but after a time began to lick his paws and clean himself, and occasionally to encroach a little more upon his intended prey. But even this artifice did not succeed; the wary walrus was far too cunning to allow himself to be entrapped, and suddenly plunged into the pool, which the bear no sooner observed than he threw off all disguise, marched toward the spot, and followed him in an instant into the water, where I fear he was as much disappointed in his meal as we were of the pleasure of witnessing a very interesting encounter."

Unfavourable weather continuing to prevail, the vessels remained moored to the floe and subject to occasional "nips" from the freezing water. The "*Dorothea*" was subjected to enormous pressure, and the field of ice to which she had been attached being rent and thrown up, one fragment was found to bear the exact impression of the planks and bolts of the vessel's bottom.

In the Arctic seas the ordinary agencies of nature are limited in the most curious manner. While it was blowing a gale of wind at sea, the ships moored to the ice-field were so perfectly becalmed that the vane at the mast-head was scarcely agitated. There was also a most marked difference in the state of the atmosphere over the packed ice and that over the open sea. Over the ice the sky was perfectly cloudless; while the sea was overcast with stormy-looking clouds, which passed heavily along with the gale, until they reached a line nearly perpendicular to the edge of the packed ice. But at this point or line of demarcation of the two atmospheres, it was curious to mark the rapid motion of the clouds to the right or left, and how immediately they became condensed or were dispersed on arriving at it; and although masses of clouds were continually borne towards the spot by the impetuosity of the tempest, the line of termination did not encroach upon that of the serene atmosphere overhanging the pack. This contrast between the two atmospheres, so remarkable in cloudy weather especially, is termed the ice-blink, and enables the experienced mariner to judge of the nature and position of the ice even at a distance.

On the north-west coasts of Spitzbergen the effect of a south-west gale is

first to pack the ice closely, and then to drive it bodily to the northward. But as soon as the gale abates, the ice shows wonderful elasticity—the floes separate, the prevailing current resumes its wonted course, and the ice, breaking up in every direction, may be seen travelling at a great rate. Accordingly, when on the 23d a north-east breeze sprang up, the leader of the expedition took immediate advantage of it to extricate the vessels that had been beset for thirteen days. In the hope, however, that this north wind would disclose some opening into the ice, the vessels after regaining the open sea kept close to the edge of the pack. Approaching Cloven Cliff the ice was found drifted close down upon the land, and a calm ensuing, the vessels were again stationary and idle. Several herds of walrus being seen on the loose ice near the pack, permission was given to the boats to go in pursuit of them.

At the time of the expedition under consideration, walrus were much more numerous on the western coast of Spitzbergen than in Baffin's Bay, or in any other quarter of the northern seas with which voyagers of that day were familiar; and it was their habit to congregate in herds numbering over a hundred animals, on the large pieces of ice near the edge of the main body. In these situations, says Beechey, they appear greatly to enjoy themselves, rolling and sporting about, making the air resound with their bellowing, which bears some resemblance to the bellowing of a bull. These diversions generally end in sleep, during which these wary animals take the precaution of appointing a sentinel to warn them of danger. So universal is the observance of this precaution that Captain Beechey scarcely ever saw a herd, however small, in which he did not notice one of the party on the watch, stretching his long neck in the air every half minute, to the utmost extent of its muscles, to survey the ground about him. In the event of any alarming appearances, the sentinel immediately seeks his own safety; and as these animals always lie huddled upon one another, the motion of one is immediately communicated to the whole group, which is instantly in motion toward the water. The pell-mell, head-and-heels rush to the water is a most ludicrous scene when the herd is a large one. From the unwieldy figure of the animals the state of fear into which they are thrown, and their lying so closely packed together, they tumble over one another, get angry, and in their endeavour to regain their feet, flounder about in each other's way, till having at last scrambled to the edge of the ice, they plunge into the water head first when they can, but in any and every position possible in which they may have been able to walk, roll, or stumble to the edge of the ice. The *gallop* of the sea-horse is probably the most awkward motion that is exhibited by any animal tribe, from the great difficulty of bringing the hind feet forward, arising from the immense weight of the animal and the great disproportion between the length of their bodies and their legs. In order to facilitate the

bringing up of the hinder parts of the body, the head is alternately lowered and raised, and the pliant, blubber-covered body heaved forward with a wavy motion, which reminds one of the hurried movement of a large caterpillar—a ludicrous association, that tends to heighten the grotesque effect.

On the evening of the 27th the walrus herds having squatted on the ice to enjoy the fine sunny evening and rest themselves after their exertions during the recent gale, the boats properly manned and equipped were sent off in pursuit of them. One herd was marked as giving its mind so entirely up to the enjoyment of "life's glad moments" that it could be approached without any alarm being raised. A number of them had landed on the sheet of ice on which the playful creatures were sporting, but at the discharge of the first musket the entire herd commenced such a furious stampede that they nearly overturned the whole of the party from the "Trent" placed to cut off their line of retreat. On went the walrus through the broken ranks of the seamen, until, reaching the edge, they performed their slow and ungainly summersault into the sea. Their impetuous charge had somewhat bewildered the men, and what with the extreme toughness of their skin and the respectful distance at which the sailors were obliged to keep to avoid the lashing heads and tusks of the animals, the herd escaped to the sea almost uninjured. One, however, was desperately wounded on the head with a ball, and the mate of the brig, being determined if possible to secure him, resolutely struck his tomahawk into the beast's skull, but the enraged animal, with a toss of his head, sent the weapon whirling in the air, and then lashing his neck, as though he would destroy with his immense tusks everything that came in his way, effected his escape to the water. The seamen followed and pushed off in their boats, but the walrus, finding themselves more at home now than on the ice, in their turn became the assailants, and the affair began to assume a serious aspect. They rose in great numbers on all sides, snorting with rage and rushing at the boats, and it was with the utmost difficulty they were prevented upsetting them or staving them in by placing their tusks upon the gunwales, or striking at them with their heads. "It was the opinion of our people," says Captain Beechey, "that in this assault the walruses were led on by one animal in particular, a much larger and more formidable beast than any of the others; and they directed their efforts more particularly towards him, but he withstood all the blows of their tomahawks without flinching, and his tough hide resisted the entry of the whale lances, which were unfortunately not very sharp, and soon bent double. The herd were so numerous and their attacks so incessant, that there was not time to load a musket, which indeed was the only mode of seriously injuring them. The purser fortunately had his gun loaded, and the whole crew being now nearly exhausted with chopping and sticking at their assailants, he snatched it up, and thrusting the muzzle down the throat of the leader, fired into his body.

The wound proved mortal, and the animal fell back amongst his companions, who immediately desisted from the attack, assembled round him, and in a moment quitted the boat, swimming away as hard as they could with their leader, whom they actually bore up with their tusks, and assiduously preserved from sinking. Whether this singular and compassionate conduct, which in all probability was done to prevent suffocation, arose from the sagacity of the animals, it is difficult to say; but there is every probability of it; and the fact must form an interesting trait in the history of the habits of the species."

Walrus-hunting, stalking reindeer, and shooting wildfowl, with which the bay abounded, occupied the time till the 6th July, when, finding that the ice had been driven northward, Buchan put to sea and sailed in that direction as far as $80^{\circ} 15'$; the ships in their progress, however, being often heavily struck by masses of ice. On the 7th an opening was discovered, and Captain Buchan crowding all sail on the "Dorothea," entered boldly into it, followed by Franklin in the "Trent." The ships continued to advance rapidly along the narrow channels between the floes, trimming their sails at each turn of the canal, and receiving occasional assistance from a light line cast to the men, who had gone out on the ice, and whose exertions were necessary to check the bow or quarter of the vessel, and otherwise assist the helm when the turnings of the channel were abrupt, or to prevent the vessels falling to leeward when their way had been deadened by the resistance of some heavy piece of ice against which they had struck. "A proficient in the art of marine drawing," says Beechey, "might here have found a beautiful subject for his pencil. The endless and ever varying forms of the ice; the glassy smooth canals winding among the floes, and reflecting the bright blue colour of their banks; the vessels in various positions, trimming their sails to maintain their course; groups of figures busily occupied upon the ice; and many other objects which would have presented themselves to a practised eye, would have supplied materials for a picture, which I shall not spoil by attempting to describe."

So rapid and unexpected are the climatic changes in these seas, however, that before the evening of the same day the channels had all but closed. Determined not to be beaten when there yet remained the smallest chance of pushing north, Captain Buchan ordered out his men, and commenced warping the vessels through the ice wherever the smallest opening presented itself. This was done by fixing large ropes by iron hooks driven into the ice, and heaving upon them with the windlass; a party of men being employed at the same time in freeing the forefoot of each vessel, by removing obstructions in the channel with saws. At last progress was finally arrested by the closing of the channels in latitude $80^{\circ} 37' N.$, the most northerly position reached by the expedition.

The vessels now began to drift with the ice to the southward, and though two most laborious days were spent in dragging to the north, the labour was thrown away, for the current set so fast to the southward, that ground was gradually being lost, and the latitude by observation was found to be $80^{\circ} 20'$. Here the vessels were again beached.

In order to understand more completely wherein the danger of the navigation of those seas consists, it will be necessary, at this stage, to describe as briefly as possible what were the principal characteristics of the ice, and the changing conditions to which they were subject. Westerly and southerly winds were prevailing, and occasionally, as at the change of the tide, the ice-fields would be subjected to such a pressure, that their edges would meet, crush together, and be crumbled to atoms; the bay or newly formed ice would slide upon and form a layer *over* the field that was in contact with it; immense hummocks would be overset and sometimes forced under water; and in other parts, again, fragments would be piled up thirty or forty feet in height. As nothing made of wood can withstand these "nips," a vessel, if caught, must either be crushed or rise and allow the ice to advance under it, until its opposing fields meet. Unless a vessel is very heavily laden, and lies low in the water—in which case it will be cut in two or buried altogether, crew and all, unless the latter are alert enough to leap upon the advancing ice—the wedge-like shape of a vessel is favourable to her rising. On the evening of the 10th, the "Trent" sustained a nip which threw her up four feet, and made her heel over four streaks; and on the 15th and 16th, both vessels were again squeezed and suffered damage, especially the "Dorothea," which was a longer and more wall-sided vessel than the "Trent." On that occasion an ice-field fifteen feet in thickness was broken up, and the pieces piled upon each other to a great height, until they upset, rolling over with a tremendous crash. The vessels fortunately rose to the pressure, else they must have had their sides staved in. As it was, the "Trent" received great damage upon her quarters, and was so twisted, that the doors of all the cabins flew open, and the panels of some started in the frames, while her false stern-post was moved three inches, and her timbers cracked to a most serious extent. The "Dorothea" suffered still more severely. A number of her beams were sprung, and two planks on the lower deck were split fore and aft, and doubled up, and she otherwise sustained serious injury in the hull. The vessels only righted and settled in the water to their proper draft at the next change of tide.

Sounding on the 19th, they found 300 fathoms, and brought up with the lead several specimens of living zoophytes, a star-fish, a lobster, a piece of sponge, and *a branch of dead coral attached to a stone*.

How came that coral into these high latitudes was a question which much puzzled the officers of both ships. It was of a species the growth of

which is generally limited to mild waters, yet here it was found at a very great depth, and in latitude 80° N. There was no known current in the Atlantic, by which this branch of coral could have been transported from the place of its growth to the shores of Spitzbergen; and even if there was such a current, the uninjured and perfect condition in which it was found, was conclusive proof that it could not have been so transported. The inference, therefore, seems to be, that the specimen was reared near where it was found, and that either the coral insect is capable of enduring a greater degree of cold, and has a wider range of habitation than is generally supposed, or else that the temperature of the Polar region has undergone a very considerable modification. As we proceed in our history, we shall have to return to this most interesting subject, and shall have to state a number of surprising facts which seem to point to the conclusion that the climate of the lands and seas within the Arctic circle was at one time considerably more temperate than it subsequently became.

The weather cleared up on the 19th, but the prospect of advancing to the north was as unpromising as ever. It was therefore resolved that the ships should endeavour to force their way out from the ice to the open sea, from which they were now about thirty miles distant. They therefore loosed from the ice-floe to which they had been attached, and commenced warping the ships in the desired direction; but, after five hours' hard labour, they had only advanced southward one mile. It took nine days' constant work, day and night, to extricate the ships.

Hopeless of finding a northern route close to the shores of Spitzbergen, Captain Buchan resolved to track the ice along westward to Greenland; but he had not proceeded far when a south-west gale arose, and, being thus unable to proceed on a western tack, the ships were put about. After this change of course, scarcely an hour had elapsed when the main body of the ice, which had been lost sight of for a short time, was seen close upon the lee-beam, with the sea beating furiously upon it. Everything was done to wear the ships off the pack in vain; they settled gradually down upon the danger, and were soon in the thick of the large masses of ice which skirt the pack in windy weather, and from which the exploring brigs received many a shock, that made all their timbers shiver. The "Dorothea," which had been more to leeward than the "Trent" when the gale sprung up, was now so close to the ice, that in order to escape immediate shipwreck, it became necessary for her to charge the pack (a practice which had been resorted to by whalers in extreme cases), and take refuge in it. It was a desperate necessity, and rendered all the more ominous from the circumstance, that in making direct for the ice-pack, the "Dorothea" was rapt away out of sight of her consort by an enveloping shroud of foam and spray dashed up to an immense height from the edge of the ice. Franklin soon found that nothing

was to be done with the "Trent" but to follow the example of the "Dorothea;" and he therefore made every preparation in his power to mitigate the first shock of the encounter with the ice. In order to avert the effect of the first concussion, a cable was cut up into thirty-foot lengths, "and these, with plates of iron four feet square, which had been supplied to us as fenders, together with some walrus hides, were hung round the vessel, especially about the bows." The masts, at the same time, were secured with additional ropes, and the hatches were battened down. These precautions having been made, the brig was now nearing the breakers, and it was resolved to put her before the wind, and drive her fairly in amongst them. The line of furious breakers in front extended uninterruptedly as far as the eye could reach—great masses of ice heaving and falling with the waves, dashing together with the utmost violence, raising a din and clamour overriding the hoarse song of the storm, and rendering it almost impossible for the officers to make their orders heard by the crew. "No language, I am convinced," says Beechey, "can convey an adequate idea of the terrific grandeur of the effect now produced by the collision and the tempestuous ocean. The sea violently agitated and rolling its mountainous waves against an opposing body is at all times a sublime and awful sight; but when, in addition, it encounters immense masses, which it has set in motion with a violence equal to its own, its effect is prodigiously increased. At one moment it bursts upon these icy fragments, and buries them many feet beneath its wave, and the next, as the buoyancy of the depressed body struggles for reascendancy, the water rushes in foaming cataracts over its edges, whilst every individual mass, rocking and labouring in its bed, grinds against and contends with its opponent until one is either split with the shock or upheaved upon the surface of the other. Nor is this collision confined to any particular spot; it is going on as far as the sight can reach; and when, from this convulsive scene below, the eye is turned to the extraordinary appearance of the blink in the sky above, where the unnatural charms of a calm and silvery atmosphere presents itself, bounded by a dark line of stormy clouds, such as at this moment lowered over our masts, as if to mark the confines within which the efforts of man would be of no avail, the reader may imagine the sensation of awe which must accompany that of grandeur in the mind of the beholder."

Meantime, throughout the crew, the greatest calmness, resolution, and self-control prevailed, and the last orders given before the supreme moment should arrive were executed with the utmost promptitude and steadiness. The brig now wore round before the wind, hung for an instant on the rising wave, and then dashed away before the gale in amongst the churning breakers thundering on the pack. "Steady! Hold on for your lives!" and every man instinctively secures his own hold, and with his eyes fixed upon the trembling masts, awaits in breathless anxiety the moment of concussion.

The brig cuts her way through the light ice, is lost for a moment among the breakers, and then, with a shock that throws every man down upon the deck, that bends the masts like whip shafts, and is followed by the cracking of the timbers below, the "Trent" meets the pack. She staggers under the shock, and seems to recoil, but the next wave, curling up under her counter, drives her about her own length within the margin of the ice. Here she gives one roll, and immediately is thrown broadside to the wind by the succeeding wave, which beats furiously against her stern, and brings her lee side in contact with the main body of ice, leaving her weather side exposed at the same time to a piece of ice twice her own size. Thus thrown broadside on, she is prevented from penetrating sufficiently far into the ice to escape the effect of the gale, and is placed where, so to speak, she is assailed by battering-rams, every one hammering at her with such Titanic, unrelenting blows that it is evident she must founder if this continue. Literally tossed from pillar to post, from pack to floe, there is nothing to do but helplessly to abide the issue, for the men can scarcely keep their feet, much less render assistance to the vessel. The motion is so great that the ship's bell, which, in the heaviest gale of wind, had never struck of itself, now began to toll like a passing measure, but the dismal sound was promptly stilled, and the bell muffled. It was now evident that the brig must be got further within the ice, or she must go to pieces. This could only be done by setting more head-sail, though at the risk of the masts, already tottering with the pressure of that which was spread. A reef was accordingly let out of the fore-topsail-yard, while the jib was dragged half way up its stay by means of the windlass. The additional pressure thus gained lifted the fore part of the vessel into the desired position, and forging her way leeward, she split a small field of ice fourteen feet thick, which had hitherto impeded her progress, and effected a passage for herself between the pieces.

Though now in a position of comparative safety, the "Trent" continued to be beaten by the ice, until after a lapse of four hours the gale began to moderate. The cloud of spray that had continued to circle round her, rendering every object invisible at the distance of a few fathoms, now cleared off, and Franklin had the gratification to observe the "Dorothea"—for the first time she had been seen since she entered the ice—still afloat. By signals, however, he soon learned that Captain Buchan's ship had sustained most serious injuries. It was now the chief aim to extricate both vessels from the ice, and, after infinite labour, they were both taken out to the open sea. But though now unfettered by ice, the prospects of the expedition were very different from those of the previous day. Both vessels were now disabled, one of them in a foundering condition, and, as far as regarded the main object of the expedition, it was now clear that both the "Dorothea" and the "Trent" were no longer of any use. The vessels made for Fair Haven,

in Spitzbergen, reaching a secure anchorage in South Gat. Here the vessels were inspected, and it was found that the "Dorothea" had the greater part of her timbers broken, and several of her beams sprung. The larboard side had been forced in so much that several spare oak planks, four and five inches thick, which were stowed in the wing, were found broken in several places. The spirit-room, which was built in the centre of the ship, was forced in, and casks bedded in the ground tier of the hold had their staves broken. She was practically a wreck.

The open season had not yet concluded, however, and it was resolved to make the best use of the few days still at the disposal of the expedition in surveying Fair Haven and the neighbouring coasts of Spitzbergen. The survey, which brought to light a number of interesting facts regarding this remote land on the threshold of the unknown region, and in the course of which several remarkable adventures were experienced, will be briefly summarised in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

SPITZBERGEN—DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND BY BARENTZ—FATE OF THE DISCOVERER—THE "DOROTHEA" AND "TRENT" IN SOUTH GAT OFF THE WEST COAST—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND—ITS SURVEY, AND THE ADVENTURES OF THE SURVEYORS—EARLY ATTEMPTS AT COLONISATION—CONCLUSION OF THE VOYAGE OF "DOROTHEA" AND "TRENT."

BEFORE proceeding with the survey of Spitzbergen and the final adventures of Franklin and his companions of the "Dorothea" and "Trent," it will be proper in the first place to briefly sketch the discovery and the early history of the island.

Before the close of the sixteenth century the Dutch, who had already become a great commercial nation, had resolved to seek a "north-about" route to the East, by which their capital might find its way into the Indies more readily and advantageously than by competing with the Spanish and Portuguese in their long and expensive voyages through the South Seas. With this view they fitted out a number of expeditions, of which, however, those of William Barentz more immediately concern us at the present time. With two ships under his command, Barentz left Holland on the 5th June 1594, and, steering north and north-east, discovered a part of Nova Zembla, in lat. $73^{\circ} 25' N.$, on the 4th of the following month. Coasting along the west side of the island and coming to its north-west extremity, named by him Cape Nassau, he thought he perceived land toward the E.N.E. He sailed in this direction for several leagues, until he arrived at a large body of ice too close for his vessel to enter, and having no visible termination either to northward or southward. Unable to proceed farther in this direction, he returned to Nova Zembla, rejoined the other exploring vessels, which the States-General had sent out during the same summer on a voyage of discovery, and which had passed the Waygat Strait and opened up the Kara Sea, between Nova Zembla and the north shores of Russia, and with them returned to Holland, arriving in the Texel, 18th September. Next year the States-General sent forth an expedition of seven ships, to which Barentz was appointed chief pilot. Again reaching Waygat Island, between Nova Zembla and the mainland, they were visited by a number of Russians who had come across from the continent in search of train oil, walrus tusks,

and geese, and were informed by them that in a few weeks the frost would set in and freeze the sea so hard that they would be able to travel over the strait to the Russian shores. Barentz was also informed that if he would sail eastward for five days he would be able to round a promontory beyond which he would find an open sea leading to the south-east—by which open sea was doubtless meant the mouth of the great river Obi. The attempt was made, but finding the sea encumbered with ice and very close, the ships were obliged to return, and after numerous difficulties succeeded in regaining Holland.

These two expeditions having proved unproductive of any valuable results, the States-General were unwilling to fit out any more vessels wholly at the Government expense; but anxious that discovery should still be prosecuted eastward along the shores of North Europe, they offered a reward to any person or persons who should discover the northern passage to China, provided that passage "could be sayled." Thus encouraged, a company of merchants fitted out two vessels for discovery in 1596, appointing Barentz pilot of one of them, and John Cornelison Ryp, master and factor of the other. The ships left Amsterdam on the 10th May, and on the 4th June reached the latitude of 71° N., at which point of their progress a strange sight appearing in the heavens astonished the voyagers. This was that remarkable and beautiful phenomenon of the Arctic heavens named Parhelia, which in the voyages of later explorers, it will be necessary to refer to at greater length. In this instance it consisted of two "mock suns," which are thus quaintly described: "On each side of the sunne there was another sunne and two raine-bowes, that past cleane thorow the three sunnes, and then two raine-bowes more, the one encompassing round about the sunnes, and the other crosse thorow the great rundle; the great rundle standing with the uttermost point elevated above the horizon 28° ." In other words, those were two parhelia and four circles, two of which passed through the sun and its parhelia, the third encompassed them, and the fourth passed vertically through the centre.

Continuing their voyage they arrived at Cherie or Bear Island, about a hundred geographical miles south of Spitzbergen. A party landed on the island, and having collected a quantity of the eggs of geese, were returning to the ships when they encountered an immense white bear, which fought with them while "four glasses ranne out," and swam away with a hatchet which had been struck into his back, but was afterwards killed, and found to be thirteen feet long. Bear Island was found to be much encumbered with ice. Progress in the desired eastward direction being most effectually barred, the voyagers stood away north, and on the 19th June reached the latitude of $80^{\circ} 11'$, when they found they had much land to the eastward of them. On this land they killed another bear and collected an immense

number of goose eggs. This land was Spitzbergen; and this is the first authenticated account of its discovery. Barentz entered and anchored in a bay running north and south, the latitude of the bay ($79^{\circ} 42' N.$), as well as the description of it, corresponding with that of Fair Haven. After remaining two days at anchor, Barentz steered to the north-west, but was stopped by that great barrier of ice which from that day to the present time has formed the chief obstacle to progress toward a higher latitude. He then sailed along the west coast of Spitzbergen southward, and arrived off Bear Island on the 1st July. Here Barentz and Ryp, the master of the companion vessel, differed in opinion as to the best course to be steered, but finally it was agreed that the ships should part company; that Ryp should endeavour to find a passage on the eastern coast of Spitzbergen, and that Barentz should continue his route eastward to Nova Zembla. There is no account of the further proceedings of Ryp, but he was no doubt stopped by the Polar ice, and compelled to sail southward for Cola, on the north coast of Lapland, where we shall subsequently hear of him.

Pursuing the course he had determined on, Barentz sailed eastward for Nova Zembla. The record of the subsequent proceedings of this intrepid commander and his devoted crew, and of their terrible sufferings in the first Arctic winter ever faced by Europeans, forms one of the most exciting episodes in the whole story of discovery in those seas. The brave Dutchman arrived off the coast of Nova Zembla on the 17th July, and sailed north along its west coast until, on the 7th August, he passed Cape Comfort, and found himself on a lee-shore running east and west, fronting the Polar pack, which, when it drifts south, is forced full upon it. He beheld all this coast much encumbered with heavy ice, some of which was aground in twenty fathoms water; and he had several hairbreadth escapes from the squeezing together of the flocs and the disruption of the bergs.

Vainly endeavouring to force his way east along the north coast of the island into open water, the commander, on the 25th August, gave up all hopes of being able to proceed on his voyage, and thought now only of how he could best get back and return home. Repulsed by the ice, he drew near the land, which he had scarcely reached before the ice enclosed his vessel. His boats were crushed and the ship narrowly escaped a similar fate. A storm sprung up from the north, making the coast a lee-shore for the vessel, and thus placing her in the most imminent peril. The northern wind had set him down to the eastward of Nova Zembla, and there was so much ice to the north of him that it was almost hopeless to think of returning in that direction, while, judging from appearances, he had as little to expect from attempting a southward route. He found himself in an inlet, which he named Ice Haven, but which is now known as Barentz Bay. Here he nearly lost his vessel by the enormous pressure of the ice, which lifted

her four feet on one occasion, broke the rudder, and otherwise damaged her. The winter also began to set in, and there seemed to be no alternative but to secure the vessel where she lay, and make the best preparation he could for passing the winter there. This determination, which the discovery of a quantity of driftwood on the shore not far from the vessel encouraged him to form, was finally resolved upon on the 11th September, and preparations were at once made to build a house "to keep and defend ourselves both from the cold and the wild beasts." While this tabernacle in the wilderness was being built, the carpenter died, but the loyal Dutchmen, though somewhat discouraged by this melancholy event, continued working away cheerfully at their house, while the cold of the swift-coming winter was so intense that, to use the expression of their historian, "as we put a nail into our mouths (as carpenters use to do), there would ice hang thereon when we took it out again, and make the blood follow." The bears also were a serious inconvenience to them, by obliging the foraging parties to go armed and in great strength. Yet amid all difficulties the house was gradually reared. A chimney was fixed in the centre of the roof, a Dutch clock was set up and made to strike the hours, bed-places were placed along the walls, and as the surgeon had wisely prescribed bathing as one of the preservatives of health, a wine-cask with a square opening cut in the side of it, by way of entrance, was set up in a corner and used as a bath. "The journal of the proceedings of these poor people during their cold, comfortless, dark, and dreadful winter," says Barrow, "is intensely painful and interesting. No murmur escapes them in their most hopeless and afflicted situation, but such a spirit of true piety, and a tone of such mild and subdued resignation to divine Providence, breathe through the whole narrative that it is impossible to peruse the simple tale of their sufferings, and contemplate their forlorn situation, without the deepest emotion for the unhappy fate of so many wretched beings, cut off from all human aid, and almost from all hope of their ever being able to leave their dark and dismal abode."

On the 12th October the house was finished, on the 24th the whole party had moved into it, and on the 3d November the upper limb of the sun showed itself above the horizon at noon for the last time that season, and the house these mariners had reared for themselves in this out-of-the-world region—where the ever-threatening chill of death was a more dreadful enemy from its silence, its abiding presence, and the treachery with which it first scathed and then destroyed its victims, than the raging snow-storms, or the ferocious brutes that prowled around the door—was to become practically their prison for ten long months. During the long Arctic night the bears do not give much trouble. They vanish with the sun and return only with his reappearance. But prior to the 3d November they had caused much annoyance. On one occasion three of these animals surprised some of the men,

who were employed in dragging articles from the ship to the house. The arms of the party attacked consisted of only two halberts. These were seized by Barentz and Gerrit de Veer (the latter is the writer of the journal of this first winter sojourn in the Arctic regions), who stood forth to defend themselves. The rest of the party fled to the ship; in doing which one of the men fell into a cleft in the ice, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained for his safety. De Veer and the master joined the man who had fallen, and succeeded in getting into the ship with him; but the bears seeing them running gave chase and followed them to the ship, which they would at once have entered only that "they were for a time diverted" by pieces of wood being thrown upon the ice, which they "ran after as a dog useth to do at a stone that is cast at him." Meanwhile the crew below endeavoured to strike a light to enable them to use their matchlocks, but failed. The enraged brutes now entered the ship and attacked the few men who remained upon the deck of the vessel. Most fortunately, the largest of these ferocious beasts received a wound on the snout with a halbert, which occasioned him so much pain that he withdrew from the vessel, and was immediately followed by the others. "And we thanked God that we were so well delivered from them."

When the bears had disappeared with the sun, white foxes began to come about the ship. These were often caught in traps, and afforded many a welcome mess of fresh meat, which in taste resembled "conies' flesh and seemed as dainty as venison" to the Dutchmen.

The cold increased as the winter advanced until it became all but insupportable. Some idea of its intensity may be formed from such facts as that the beer and all the spirits were frozen solid, "even our sacke, which is so hot (alcoholic?), was frozen very hard;" the walls and roof of the house were covered two inches thick with ice, and the clothes on the backs of the people, even near the fire, were covered with white frost. The men resorted to every expedient to moderate the effect of the deadly cold by clothing themselves in dresses and cloaks made from the furs of the animals they had killed, and by keeping up a good fire of wood. They even heated stones and billets of wood and laid these upon their bodies; but this only gave a partial relief; for even with such applications, and while sitting before a large fire, the side of their bodies turned from the heat was covered with hoar frost. "Yet," says Beechey, "amidst all this misery and intense suffering, the spirits of the party never drooped, nay, they even derived consolation from the increase of the bitterly cold temperature they were forced to endure, declaring that 'the cold beginning to strengthen was a sign the days were beginning to lengthen'—a pleasing recollection which 'put us in good comfort and eased our paine.'"

Towards the new year, the weather—if the unceasing and blood-congeal-

ing cold in which these men lived can strictly be called weather of any kind—continued extremely severe. Much snow had fallen, and their house was at this time completely buried, so that the inmates were obliged to unhang their door and cut their way out. This was undoubtedly the best thing that could have happened to them, as it must have rendered the apartment less penetrable to the cold than any contrivance they could themselves have resorted to. The frost was, however, so intense on the outside that no one dared venture from the house for several days, although their fuel was nearly exhausted. "Yet amidst all this suffering did those hardy people retain their cheerfulness, and even Twelfth Day was not suffered to pass without its usual festivities; for on that night they prayed their master that they might be 'merrie,' and said, 'we were content to spend some of the wine that night, which we had spared, and which was our share every second day; and whereof for certain days we had not drunk, and so that night we made merrie, and *drunke to the three kings*, and therewith we had two pound of meale, whereof we made pancakes with oyle, and every man a white bisket, which we sopt in wine; and so supposing that we were in our owne countrey, and amongst our friends, it comforted us, as well as if we had made a great banquet in our owne house.'"

"A certain rednesse of the skie" seen on the 16th January was the welcome harbinger of the return of the sun to these northern latitudes. "On the 24th January," says De Veer, "it was faire cleare weather with a west wind; then I and Jacob Hemskerk, and another with us, went to the sea-side, on the south side of Nova Zembla, where, contrary to our expectation, I first saw the edge of the sunne, wherewith we went speedily home againe, to tell William Barentz and the rest of our companions that joyful newes." On the 27th they "saw the sunne in its full roundnesse above the horizon, which made us all glad, and we gave God hearty thanks for His graco shewed unto us that that glorious light appeared to us again."

As the day-light lengthened the cold increased, the frost became more severe and the snow more frequent. Yet while it was light those of the party who were still strong enough to face the cold were in the habit of walking out "to stretch their limbs," and to drag fuel to the house. This, however, could only be done at considerable risk, for with the return of the daylight the bears renewed their visits and appeared to have become more ferocious than ever. They followed the people to the door of their house and attempted to force it. One of them was killed in the act of entering the room where the people slept. On opening this animal there was found in the stomach "part of a buck with the hair and skinne and all, which not long before she had torn and devoured." The ice broke away from the bay at the close of January only to close up again in March with such a tremendous reaction that it was piled up along the coast, as though there

had been whole towns made of ice with towers and bulwarks round about them. The cold chill continued extreme, and the snow falling abundantly, the party were shut up in their hut during the greater part of the month of April. On the 30th of this month the sun was first seen at midnight just above the horizon.

It was the month of June before they could set about repairing their two boats, so weak had the men become from their long privations. To repair the ship was out of the question, as she was completely bilged and remained still fast in the ice. On the 13th of the month everything was in readiness for their departure; previously to which, however, Barentz drew up in writing a statement detailing the names and the misfortunes of the party and all that had befallen them in that wretched abode. This document was left in a conspicuous place in the house to which they now bade farewell. All that remained was to get the sick down to the boats. Among these was Barentz, the able leader of this band, who had been ill for some time, and who, with a seaman named Adrianson, had to be drawn to the sea-side on a sledge. It was the intention of the mariners to return by the way they had come, along the west shore of the island. They had not proceeded far, however, when a misfortune befell them, which overwhelmed them with grief and despair. Barentz, in whom "they reposed themselves next under God," gradually sank on the 20th June. On being told that Adrianson was so sick that he could not live, he spoke and said, "I think I shall not live long after him." Then turning to Gerrit De Veer, his chief shipmate and old companion, he said, "'Gerrit, give me some drinke;' and he had no sooner drunke but he was taken with so sodain a qualme that he turned his eyes in his head and died." Adrianson, his companion in suffering, died on the same day.

Of the subsequent adventures of the discoverers of Spitzbergen—the men who were the first Europeans to spend a winter in high Arctic latitudes—Sir John Barrow remarks as follows: "There are numerous instances on record of extraordinary voyages being performed in rough and tempestuous seas in open boats, with the most scanty supply of provisions and water, but there is probably not one instance that can be compared to that in question, where fifteen persons, in two open boats, had to pass over a frozen ocean more than eleven hundred miles, 'in the ice, over the ice, and through the ice,' exposed to all the dangers of being at one time overwhelmed by the waves, at another of being crushed to atoms by the whirling of large masses of ice, and to the constant attack of ferocious bears, enduring for upwards of forty days' severe cold, fatigue, famine, and disease; and yet, excepting the two who died, and who entered the boats in a state of sickness and debility, the rest arrived in good health and spirits at Cola, where they had the satisfaction of meeting with their old friend and com-

panion Jan Cornelis Ryp, who had deserted them to go to the northward the year before. They had learned, indeed, at Kilduyn, that three Dutch ships were at Cola; and a Laplander, whom they sent overland, returned with a letter from Cornelis Ryp; but they could scarcely flatter themselves that it was the same who had sailed with them from Holland. He now took them on board his ship, and on the 29th October, they all arrived safely in the Maes, to the great joy of their friends, who had given them up for lost."

Having thus traced the discovery of Spitzbergen, and the fate of Barentz, among whose successors in exploration by the Spitzbergen route the chief were Hudson, Baffin, and Phipps, we return to the "Dorothea" and "Trent," which, in the last chapter, we left, after their extrication from the pack, securely moored in South Gat, south of Dane's Island, in the extreme north-west. The damage which the vessels, especially the "Dorothea," had sustained from tempest and repeated collision with the ice, was such as to render the further prosecution of the voyage impossible. This being evident, the next consideration was whether something more might not yet be accomplished by a boat expedition over the ice; but upon consultation with Lieutenant Franklin, and examination into the resources of the ships for such an enterprise, these were found so inadequate to the purpose that the project was speedily given up. Captain Buchan was thus reluctantly compelled to abandon all further attempt at discovery, and to proceed to England as soon as the necessary repairs of the vessels should be completed.

While these repairs were going forward, the officers of the expedition were employed in making a hasty survey of the island, or rather of that north-west and best known part of it, on the coast of which the "Dorothea" and "Trent" were stationed. Mr Fisher, the astronomer of the expedition, was directed to fix his observatory on Dane's Island, and to commence his observations on the pendulum, on the dip and the variation of the needle; and Lieutenants Franklin and Beechey were told off to construct a plan of the port and the adjacent islands, and to assist Mr Fisher in determining the geographical position of the observatory.

Spitzbergen (Ger. *Spitz*, pointed; *bergen*, mountains) is the name applied to a group of islands in $76^{\circ} 30' - 80^{\circ} 30' \text{ N.}$; $10^{\circ} 40' - 21^{\circ} 40' \text{ E.}$, and so called from the peaked form of the mountains, which are the most striking feature of the principal islands of the group. This group consists of West Spitzbergen, forming two portions connected by a narrow isthmus, North-East Land, the name of which indicates its position with respect to the principal island, and Barentz Land and Edge Island on the south-east. Around the coast, but especially on the west and north, are numerous islands and islets. From the South Gat, between Dane's Island and West Spitzbergen, Franklin and Beechey were led to all parts of the coast which could be con-

veniently reached by a boat—by which, however, must be understood a very limited area in the extreme north-west. Here the exploring party found the shores in general very steep; for, with the exception of here and there a narrow flat bordering upon the sea, they speedily rise into mountains of from two thousand feet and upwards in height, increasing to considerably over four thousand feet inland. These hills are for the most part inaccessible, either on account of the abruptness of the ascent, or from the treacherous nature of their surfaces, upon which large stones and fragments of the mountains are so poised, that the smallest additional weight precipitates them to the bottom of the hill. The mountains traverse the main island (West Spitzbergen) in a north and south direction, in an extensive range, and terminate in remarkably sharp peaks. Branching off from this main chain are lateral ridges with less pointed peaks; while on the off-shore islands the elevations are rounded. "At the northern entrance of Magdalena Bay," says Beechey, "the termination of one of these remarkable ridges which branch off from the large chain, traversing the island throughout in a north and south direction, our specimens consisted of granite, with predominant white felspar, mica slate, and gneiss, with black mica. Those of Dane's Island were mica slate and gneiss, passing into perfect granite, with black mica and specimens intermediate between these two, together with some quartz. There were also found here two specimens of coal (probably alluvial), the one glance coal, the other a slaty variety. On the eastern side of South Gat, which separates Dane's Island from the mainland, we found mica slate and gneiss, of the same varieties as at Dane's Island. Upon Amsterdam Island (immediately north of Dane's Island) Vogel Sang afforded specimens of granite with red felspar, gneiss with black mica, common quartz, and a large-grained white felspar, with a little admixed quartz." Owing to the action of the winter frosts upon the water received in abundance in summer, these rocks are constantly subject to disintegration, and at their bases a tolerably good soil is found, several varieties of Alpine plants, grasses and lichens grow and flourish, especially where the aspect is southern.

All the valleys of Spitzbergen which have not a southern aspect are occupied either with glaciers fully formed or with immense beds of snow, which are practically glaciers in the process of formation. These snow-beds afford almost the only feasible mode by which the summits of the mountain ridges can be gained. Even these are very steep, and in descending by them, extreme care is necessary to avoid being precipitated from the top to the bottom, especially where the snow has been hardened by successive thawing and freezing. This process glazes the surface so highly "that," says Beechey, "when the sun shines, they reflect a brilliant lustre, and give to the coast a curious and pleasing aspect, which, though upon an

incomparably more extensive scale, brings to the recollection of those persons who have visited Quebec the singular effect produced by the mass of tinned roofs and steeples which used to crown the heights of that place."

Franklin and his officers had a singular proof of the dangers attending locomotion on the glaciers in the narrow escape of one of the most active of the "Trent's" seamen in an attempt to descend one of these icy plains. The curious and alarming incident is best related in the words of Lieutenant Beechey, an eye-witness: "While some observations were being made upon the beach, a sailor of the name of Spinks had obtained leave to accompany a party in pursuit of a herd of deer that were browsing upon the hills. The ardour of the chase led the party beyond the limits of the prescribed range; and when the signal was made for their return to the boat, some of them were on the top of the mountain. Spinks, an active and zealous fellow, anxious to be first at his post, thought he could outstrip his comrades by descending the snow which was banked against the mountain at an angle of about 40° with the horizon, and rested against a small glacier on the left. The height was about two thousand feet, and, in the event of his foot slipping, there was nothing to impede his progress until he reached the beach, either by the slope or the more terrific descent of the face of the glacier. He began his descent by seating himself and digging his heels into the snow, the surface of which had been glazed and rendered hard by the process before mentioned. He got on very well at first, but presently his foot slipped, or the snow was too hard for his heel to make any impression, and he began to descend at a rapid pace, keeping his balance, however, by means of his hands. His speed becoming accelerated, in a very short time his descent was fearfully quick; the fine snow flew about him like dust, and there seemed to be but little chance of his reaching the bottom in safety, especially as his descent now appeared to take the direction of the iceberg. We ran with all our strength to render him the earliest assistance, and for a moment, having lost sight of him behind a crag of the mountain, we expected nothing less than that his lifeless body would be found at the foot of this icy precipice; but Spinks, with great presence of mind and dexterity, to use his own expression, 'by holding water first with one hand and then the other,' contrived to escape the danger, and, like a skilful pilot, to steer his vessel into a place of refuge, amidst a bed of soft snow which had recently been drifted against the hill. As soon as he could extricate himself from the depth into which he had been plunged by the force he had acquired, he made his way towards us, rubbing his chafed sides, and holding together his tattered garments, and, to our great satisfaction, laughing heartily at the figure he supposed he must cut, for he had worn away two pairs of trousers and something more. The danger being over, we cordially joined in his laugh, yet in

our hearts congratulated ourselves upon his miraculous escape, for he was a great favourite with all his officers, as well as his equals in the ship.

"A clever, self-possessed and courageous sailor like Spinks was inevitably destined to earn distinction in Arctic exploration. He afterwards volunteered his services with Sir John Franklin, and became coxswain of Captain Back's boat in the dangerous navigation which was conducted along the northern coast of America. Captain Back spoke highly of Spinks' conduct on that occasion, and states that, in addition to zeal and perseverance, he possessed an unusual degree of good humour, and was of the utmost use in keeping up the spirits of his fellow boatmen, and in diverting their minds from the difficulties and privations which attended that service, either by giving a cheerful and ludicrous turn to every little incident, or in recounting his own real or supposed adventures. The value of such a character under the distressing circumstances attending Captain Franklin's journey to the Polar Sea can be estimated only by those who were present; and it is a great satisfaction to learn that, on his return to England, he was promoted to the rank of gunner, and appointed to H.M.S. 'Philomel,' where he became no less a favourite. He unfortunately died not long afterwards at Gibraltar; and the respect and esteem of his shipmates, officers as well as seamen, was manifested by the marked attention that was paid to his funeral. As an old shipmate of my own, I am happy of an opportunity of paying this tribute, though indeed small, to his memory." *Vale Spinks!*

In the vicinity of South Gat, the channel between Dane's Island and Spitzbergen in which the "Dorothea" and "Trent" were anchored, while the country around was being surveyed by the officers of the expedition, there are several glaciers, the largest being about ten thousand feet in length, by two or three hundred feet in perpendicular height. These, like the glaciers of Magdalena Bay already noticed, all occur between steep mountains. None of them have a southern aspect, but all occupy such valleys as are either very obliquely inclined to the noonday sun, or are entirely screened from it by the surrounding hills. The heat of the sun acting upon the hills and lofty plains partially melts the snows with which these are covered, and gives rise to streams of water, which in their descent into the deeply-cut and shadowy valleys percolate the snow beneath, and enter a region of perpetual frost, where the whole mass speedily becomes converted into an icy substance more or less opaque, according to the suddenness and prevalence of the thaw of the exposed parts. The streams of water referred to are small in volume, but when it is considered that they are called into existence almost daily from June to October, it is evident that a large accumulation of ice must annually take place. This accumulation goes on from year to year, until, in process of time, the glacier attains such a magnitude that its further increase is only prevented by the breaking away of its own overgrown dimensions.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)

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It has been observed that the vast mass of the glaciers creeps gradually downward into the sea, and it is at its sea-face that the mass breaks up, the detached pieces floating away in the form of bergs or ice-mountains.

As it is impossible to tell when the glacier-faces may break up, boats run great danger in approaching them. On two occasions Beechey witnessed avalanches on the most magnificent scale. The first was occasioned by the discharge of a musket at about half a mile from the glacier. Immediately after the report of the gun, a noise resembling thunder was heard in the direction of the iceberg, and in a few seconds more an immense piece broke away and fell headlong into the sea. The crew of the launch, supposing themselves beyond the reach of its influence, quietly looked upon the scene, when, presently, a sea rose and rolled towards the shore with such rapidity that the crew had not time to take any precautions, and the boat was, in consequence, washed upon the beach and completely filled by the succeeding wave. As soon as their astonishment had subsided they examined the boat, and found her so badly stove that it became necessary to repair her in order to return to the ship. They had also the curiosity to measure the distance the boat had been carried by the wave, and found it ninety-six feet.

On another occasion the surveying party from the "Trent" were viewing the same glacier, and had approached tolerably near, when a similar avalanche occurred; but as the party were well out from shore, and as they immediately attended to the direction of the boat's head, they rode over the wave without accident. "This occurred," says Beechey, "on a remarkably fine day, when the quietness of the bay was first interrupted by the noise of the falling body. Lieutenant Franklin and myself had approached one of these stupendous walls of ice, and were endeavouring to search into the innermost recess of a deep cavern that was near the foot of the glacier, when we heard a report as if of a cannon, and, turning to the quarter whence it proceeded, we perceived an immense piece of the front of the berg sliding down from a height of two hundred feet at least into the sea, and dispersing the water in every direction, accompanied by a loud grinding noise, and followed by a quantity of water, which, being previously lodged in the fissures, now made its escape in numberless small cataracts over the front of the glacier. We kept the boat's head in the direction of the sea, and thus escaped the disaster which had befallen the other boat; for the disturbance occasioned by the plunge of this enormous fragment caused a succession of rollers which swept over the surface of the bay, making its shores resound as they travelled along it, and at a distance of four miles was so considerable, that it became necessary to aright the 'Dorothea,' which was then carreening, by immediately releasing the tackles which confined her. The piece that had been disengaged at first disappeared under water, and nothing was seen but a violent boiling of the sea and a shooting up of clouds of spray, like that

which occurs at the foot of a great cataract. After a short time it reappeared, raising its head full a hundred feet above the surface, with water pouring down from all parts of it; and then, labouring as if doubtful which way it should fall, it rolled over, and after rocking about some minutes, at length became settled. We now approached it, and found it nearly a quarter of a mile in circumference, and sixty feet out of the water. Knowing its specific gravity, and making a fair allowance for its inequalities, we computed its weight at 421,660 tons. A stream of salt water was still pouring down its sides, and there was a continual cracking noise, as loud as that of a cart whip, occasioned, I suppose, by the escape of fixed air."

The gloomy and forbidding aspect of Spitzbergen, especially of its north-western coasts, with their cold granite peaks, their glacier-filled valleys and silent, icy bays, is rendered additionally melancholy from the remains of graves with which they abound. For two hundred and fifty years these shores have been frequented by whalers from Holland, Norway, Denmark, Russia, France, and Britain; and as it was early perceived that it would have been a great convenience to reduce the whale-blubber to oil on the coasts on which the fishery was prosecuted, a number of attempts have been made to form settlements in the region. Early in the seventeenth century, the Russia Company offered large rewards to any persons who would pass one entire year on the island. Being unable to find volunteers, they obtained from the Government the promise of a reprieve to criminals under the extreme sentence of the law who would undertake to perform this office; and a number of such persons actually accepted the condition, and were accordingly carried to Spitzbergen. But when they arrived on the spot and were landed, they were so struck with horror at the desolate appearance of their intended abode, and with the hopeless prospect which it presented, that they begged to be taken back again, declaring they would rather undergo the penalty of their crimes than subject themselves to the lingering death which must inevitably attend their wintering on so wretched a place. They were accordingly taken back, and their reprieves obtained. A party of nine British seamen, who were shortly afterwards left behind in this miserable country by a whaler, were all found dead the following year, with their bodies cruelly disfigured and torn by bears and foxes. Again, in 1630, a party of eight seamen from the same whaler were sent on shore at a place called Black Point to procure a supply of venison, the district near this point being frequented by herds of reindeer. Having taken fourteen deer, and being overcome with fatigue, the party resolved to pass the night on shore, and return to their vessel on the following day. But during the night one of those sudden changes of wind, which in these regions alters the whole aspect of affairs in an hour or two, took place. The party on shore found themselves separated from their ship by an immense quantity of ice, and a thick fog settling down

on the shores, and continuing for several days, return to their vessel within the time at which she was bound to sail was impossible. They then determined to make for Green Harbour, on the west coast of the south part of Spitzbergen, where they expected to find several European vessels at anchor, and where it had been arranged their own ship should call before finally leaving the island. But coasting along the shore in their small boat, these castaways only reached Green Harbour after an interval of seventeen days, by which time every vessel had left the bay. A last hope remained in reaching Bell Sound on the south, but before they reached this inlet the last of the whalers had departed. A full sense of the horror of their situation now arose in their minds. The dark and bitter Arctic winter of ten months' duration was before them, and only the instinct of self-preservation was strong enough to excite them to immediate action. "Arousing ourselves from this lethargy," writes one of these seamen, "and impressed with the hopelessness of our situation if we in any way gave way to despair, we at once set about taking the most effectual measures for preserving our lives during the long and severe winter which was before us." Their first care was to provide a store of provisions, and they were fortunate enough to kill nineteen deer and four bears towards the necessary supply. Their next want was a house; and in Bell Sound they found not only a supply of brick, lime, plank, etc., which had been left at the establishment, but also a spacious shed, built of stout materials, and roofed with tiles, which had been erected for the use of the British Company's artificers. It was too large for them to live in, being fifty feet by forty-eight, but they very wisely built their house within it, the latter structure being formed of two sides of brick and two of stout plank, nailed a foot apart, and filled in with sand, while its ceiling consisted of stout layers of plank. A dim light was admitted through the chimney, to which it found access by the removal of a few tiles from the outer roof. This inner dwelling was divided into four cabins, and the door was fortified against the cold wind by the application of a mattress which had been found.

Had these seamen not been fortunate enough to reach Bell Sound, where during the summer months a British whaling-station was maintained, and where it was natural to expect, the Company would have left at least a quantity of building materials, it is quite improbable that they could have survived the winter. As it was, the shed within which they had reared their hut afforded them protection from the onset and immediate severity of the icy storm, and formed a covered space in which they could take exercise when snowed up, or otherwise prevented from going abroad; and, no doubt, it was owing to their good fortune in discovering the shed not only that their lives were all preserved, but that none of them were afflicted with scurvy.

The early autumn was employed in making beds and winter clothing,

from the skins of the bears and deer they had taken, and which they sewed with bone needles, and thread made from the yarn of rope. On the 12th September all their arrangements were finished, and on the same day a quantity of ice driving into the bay brought in two walrus upon it. These were captured, and their carcasses made a welcome addition to the supply of provisions. On examination this supply was found to be too scanty to last them half through the winter, without having recourse to the refuse of whale-blubber—after the oil had been extracted from it. It had therefore been arranged that they should subsist upon this loathsome food four days a week, and feast upon bears' flesh and venison the remainder of the week. From the 14th October to the 3d February they did not see the sun; and from the 1st to the 20th December (O.S.) there did not appear to be any daylight whatever. "The New Year set in so extremely cold, that if they touched a piece of metal it would stick to their fingers like bird-lime; if they exposed themselves to the air large blisters were raised upon their skin, and when, from necessity, they went to fetch snow or water, they returned sore as if they had been beaten with sticks."

The return of the sun was witnessed on the 3d February, and on the occasion the simple historian of this trying sojourn on Spitzbergen exclaims with pardonable warmth: "Aurora smiled once again upon us, with her golden face, for now the glorious sun, with his glittering beams, began to gild the highest tops of the lofty mountains; the brightness of the sun, and the whiteness of the snow, both together, were such as would have revived a dying spirit." The men were soon able to go out into the open air, and animals began to revisit the bleak shores of Bell's Sound. Two bears were seen upon the ice, and one of them was killed and eaten. Toward the beginning of March their provisions had run very low; but about that time the bears came about in such numbers that they succeeded in killing a sufficient number of them, to relieve all anxiety on the question of scarcity of food for the rest of the season. Sea-fowl now appeared on the shores, and on their arrival the white foxes began to come forth from their holes. The men caught many of these by means of traps and whalebone springs, and found them nutritious eating, and a pleasant change from the flesh of bear or walrus.

On the 24th May the ice broke up, and the men, who had retreated to their hut to find shelter from a gale that was blowing, were seated around their fire wondering when the hour of deliverance should come, when, to their inexpressible delight, they heard themselves hailed in the English tongue, and rushing out, found that a vessel had arrived in the Sound, and that a party of their countrymen were coming up towards them from the shore. Thus after ten months' residence on this desolate island, and after enduring all the severities of winter in a climate of 77° of north latitude,

these seamen were restored to the world in good health, and without the loss of a single individual of their number.

The attempts of the Dutch to colonise Amsterdam Island, on the coast of Spitzbergen, and Jan Mayen's Land, between Greenland and Spitzbergen—both of which attempts proved fatal to all the members of the respective parties—are pathetic and most interesting episodes in the history of Arctic exploration and adventure. In all enterprises of this nature, however, there is but little variety. The nature of the perils encountered and the means by which starvation is averted until, at last, the wretched men are struck down with scurvy, are the same in every case. There is too much to tell and too many important modern expeditions to describe, to permit of our giving in detail the narratives of more of these early undertakings, in which there is necessarily so much repetition of similar incidents.

The survey of the north-west coasts of Spitzbergen having been completed so far as it was possible to do so within the very limited time during which the "*Dorothea*" and "*Trent*" were being repaired in Dane's Gat and refitted for the homeward voyage, the Buchan and Franklin expedition to find a route to the North Pole was practically at an end. On the 30th of August the "*Dorothea*" and "*Trent*" put to sea, arrived in England on the 22d October, and were soon afterwards paid off at Deptford. "Thus," says Beechey, "terminated the third endeavour made under the auspices of the British Government to reach the Pole—an attempt in which was accomplished everything that human skill, zeal, and perseverance, under the circumstances, could have effected, and in which dangers, difficulties, and hardships were endured, such as have rarely been met with in any preceding or subsequent voyage." In thus concluding his narrative Captain Beechey seems to over-estimate the importance of the expedition in which he acted as second officer of the "*Trent*." The enterprise was carried out with courage and skill undoubtedly; but the record of it is interesting not so much for its own intrinsic importance, or for the value of the discoveries in which it resulted, as because it was the first expedition of the present century, and thus forms the natural prelude to the narratives of the far more stirring, and, in their results, vastly more important expeditions of the later heroes of Arctic exploration.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

CAPTAIN J. ROSS'S FIRST ARCTIC VOYAGE—ROSS AND PARRY IN THE "ALEXANDER" AND "ISABELLA"—EARLY LIFE OF ROSS—EARLY LIFE OF PARRY—JOHN SACKHEUSE, AN ESKIMO, JOINS THE EXPEDITION AS INTERPRETER—EXPEDITION STARTS—FIRST NATIVES SEEN—ESKIMO BELLES AT A BALL ON DECK—TRACKING—DISCOVERY OF MELVILLE BAY—A WHALING ADVENTURE—SNIPPED IN THE ICE-FLOE—A NARROW ESCAPE.

It will be remembered that in 1818 when the "Dorothea" and "Trent," under Captain Buchan and Lieutenant Franklin, were commissioned to search for a north passage to the Pole by the Spitzbergen route, the "Alexander" and the "Isabella" were also put in commission to sail as companion exploring vessels up Davis' Strait in search of a north-west passage to the Indies. This expedition was commenced by Captain John Ross, who sailed in the "Isabella," and who was ably seconded by Lieutenant W. E. Parry in the "Alexander." Of the early career of these famous seamen it will be interesting to supply a brief sketch.

Rear-Admiral Sir John Ross was born at Balsaroch, in Wigtonshire, entered the Royal Navy when he was only nine years of age, and served in the Mediterranean until he was twelve, and afterwards in the Channel. He was in the expedition to Holland, and also under Sir James Saumarez. In 1808, though having then only the rank of Lieutenant, he acted as Captain of the Swedish fleet. He rose to be Commander in 1812. During his war services he was wounded thirteen times in three actions. He was the author, among other works, of "Letters to Young Sea Officers," "Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez," a "Treatise on Navigation by Steam," a "Memoir of Admiral de Krusenstern," etc. He was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral in July 1851, and died in November 1856.

Rear-Admiral Sir W. Edward Parry, the son of Dr C. Parry, of Bath, was born there in 1790. He entered the Navy in 1803, joining the "Ville de Paris." Zealous in his profession, intelligent and ambitious, he early

recommended himself to notice, and in January 1810 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and appointed to the "Alexander," employed in protecting the Spitzbergen whale fishery. Here, while scarcely out of his teens, he became familiar in the responsible rank of first officer with the navigation of that frozen ocean amid whose dangers and difficulties he was destined to earn celebrity. Subsequently serving in the "Hogue," he assisted in destroying twenty-seven of the enemy's vessels, three of which were heavy privateers; but this, with a few skirmishes with Danish gun-boats, are the only actions with the enemy in which it was his lot to engage. "On his return to England in 1817," writes his old friend and messmate, Rear-Admiral F. W. Beechey, "the extraordinary changes reported to have taken place in the state of the Polar Sea, determined the Government to equip an expedition for Arctic discovery. Then was the turning point of Parry's life. Like most men of enterprise, he seized the occasion, and determined to devote himself to Arctic adventure. There are but few who have not, at some time, the chance of distinction, and Parry took advantage of his. We accordingly find him in command of the 'Alexander,' and, under the orders of Sir John Ross, leaving England in quest of the North-West Passage, by way of Davis' Strait." After a varied and most interesting career, the most important years of which are chronicled in his own narratives of his voyages, which in value rival those of Cook, he died at Ems, July 8th, 1853, and was buried at Greenwich.

The "Isabella," 385 tons, and the "Alexander," 252 tons, were commissioned on the 15th January 1818, and were docked at Deptford for the purpose of being prepared for the voyage. While the ships were still in dock, Captain Ross received an addition to his complement of men in the person of a very interesting character, who afterwards became well known in London and in Edinburgh—John Sackhouse, an Eskimo, of South East Bay, Greenland. He had secreted himself on board the "Thomas and Ann" of Leith (Captain Newton) in May 1816, when that vessel was on the Greenland coast. On being discovered in the vessel, he entreated to be permitted to remain on board and to be taken to Britain; and accordingly he was brought in the "Thomas and Ann" to Leith. In the same ship he returned to Greenland in the following year; and on his arrival on his native shore, he discovered that his only near relative had died in his absence. This loss was an additional reason why he should not return to dwell with the Eskimos; and continuing in the ship to which, in this strange way, he had attached himself, he again made the homeward voyage with the Leith vessel in the autumn of 1817. During his residence in Leith in the winter of 1817, he had been taken notice of by Mr Nasmyth, the artist, who introduced him to Sir James Hall. The Eskimo, Sackhouse, was very desirous of being appointed on the Arctic expedition which Captain Ross was to command; and

his wishes to this effect having been communicated to the Admiralty by Captain Basil Hall, he was engaged to accompany the expedition as interpreter. Captain Ross had several conversations with Sackheuse. "He informs me," says Ross, "that he had, through the missionaries, been converted to Christianity, and the strong desire he had to see the country these good men came from had induced him to desert his own; but that it was his intention to return when he had learned the Scriptures and the art of drawing. He related several traditions current in his country respecting a race of people who were supposed to inhabit the north; adding, that it was for the purpose of communicating with them, and converting them to Christianity, that he had volunteered for our expedition. His utility to us in communicating with the natives will be apparent in the course of this narrative. He returned, like the rest of the crew, in perfect health during the passage home; often repeating that when he had got more instructions on religion he would return to the *wild people*, and endeavour to convert them to Christianity."

The equipment and inspection of the expedition being completed, the ships dropped down the Thames early in April, and sailed away northward for Lerwick, in Shetland, where they arrived on the 30th of the month. Steadily but slowly making their way westward during the month of May, the vessels passed Cape Farewell, the southmost point of Greenland, and soon after (26th May) saw the first iceberg in lat. $58^{\circ} 36' N.$, long. $51^{\circ} W.$ It was covered with snow, seemed to be eight or nine miles distant, and a thousand feet long, though of inconsiderable height. "Imagination," says Captain Ross, "presented it in many grotesque figures: at one time it looked something like a white lion and horse rampart, which the quick fancy of sailors, in their harmless fondness, naturally enough shaped into the lion and unicorn of the king's arms, and they were delighted, accordingly, with the good luck it seemed to augur. And truly our first introduction to one of these huge masses, with which we were afterwards to grow so familiar, was a sort of epoch in our voyage that might well excuse a sailor's divination, particularly when the aspect with which it was invested tended to inspire confidence, and keep up the energies of the men; a feeling so requisite for an enterprise like ours, where even their curiosity might be chilled for want of excitement. It is hardly possible to imagine anything more exquisite than the variety of tints which these icebergs display; by night as well as by day they glitter with a vividness of colour beyond the power of art to represent. While the white portions have the brilliancy of silver, their colours are as various and splendid as those of the rainbow, their ever-changing disposition producing effects as singular as they were novel and interesting."

The progress of the vessels in their course north up Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay was unmarked by any incident which, to readers of the present day, would be regarded as important from its novelty or scientific value.

Captain Ross found it expedient to give a wide berth to the Middle Pack—the ice-floes, more or less, which occupy the middle of the great inlet known in its different reaches as Davis' Strait and Baffin's Bay—and held his way northward along the comparatively free and open water, which offers a sea-way at most times of the year along the west coast of Greenland. Thus, with land visible on the east, and with the sea-ice on the west, he kept on to the north, at the head of a fleet of forty sail of whalers, until passing Disco Land he arrived on the 29th June off Four Island Point in lat. about $70^{\circ} 54'$, long. $54^{\circ} 10' W$. The following day being Sunday, the crews, as was their custom, attended divine service; and on the Monday, the weather being moderate, Captain Ross ordered John Sackhouse, the Eskimo interpreter, to proceed on shore and communicate with the natives. The prospect from the mast-head was that of interminable ice, weak and decaying, however, in the neighbourhood of the ships. Sackhouse returned with seven natives in their canoes or cayacks, bringing a small supply of birds. The village of the natives stood on the south side of the bay, and appeared to consist of a few huts made of sealskins, sufficient for the residence of about fifty persons. Being desirous of procuring a sledge and dogs, Captain Ross offered them a rifle musket for one completely fitted, which they promised to fetch—with much honest principle, however, refusing to accept the rifle till they had brought the sledge. They soon returned, however, bringing the sledge and dogs in a boat managed by five women, dressed in deerskins. This larger kind of boat is called an oomiack, and is rowed by women standing. Two of these women, who were taller than the rest, were the daughters of a Danish resident and an Eskimo mother. They were all of the colour of mulattoes. "We soon became intimate with our visitors," says Captain Ross, "and invited them into the cabin, where they were treated with coffee and biscuit, and had their portraits taken. After leaving the cabin, they danced Scotch reels on the deck with our sailors to the animating strains of our musician. Sackhouse's mirth and joy exceeded all bounds; and, with a good-humoured officiousness, justified by the important distinction which his superior knowledge now gave him, he performed the office of master of ceremonies. An Eskimo master of ceremonies to a ball on the deck of one of His Majesty's ships in the icy seas of Greenland was an office somewhat new, but Nash himself could not have performed his functions in a manner more appropriate. It did not belong even to Nash to combine in his own person, like Jack Sackhouse, the discordant qualifications of seaman, interpreter, draughtsman, and master of ceremonies to a ball, with those of an active fisher of seals and a hunter of white bears. A daughter of the Danish resident, about eighteen years of age, and by far the best looking of the group, was the object of Jack's particular attentions; which being observed by one of our officers, the latter gave him a lady's shawl, ornamented with spangles, as an offering for her acceptance. He presented it in a most

respectful and not ungraceful manner to the damsel, who bashfully took a pewter ring from her finger and presented it to him in return ; rewarding him, at the same time, with an eloquent smile, which could leave no possible doubt on our Eskimo's mind that he had made an impression on her heart. After the ball, coffee was again served, and at eight o'clock the party left us, well pleased with their entertainment, and promising to come back with a skin boat, an article which I conceived might be useful on the ice. I permitted Sackhense to escort them, chiefly that he might hasten their movements, and search for specimens of natural history."

Sackhense was not so punctual in his return to the vessel as might have been desired. On the following day there were signs of the breaking up of the ice towards the north, and a light breeze having sprung up, Captain Ross was impatient to proceed. A boat was then sent to shore to bring off the interpreter. But it was no want of loyalty to his commander that detained the Eskimo among his countrymen and countrywomen. On the previous day he had overloaded his gun, whether with the idea of making a magnificent display of his prowess as a marksman under the eyes of the belle, whose pewter ring adorned his finger, is not known. "Plenty powder—plenty kill," said Sackhense, in excuse for his imprudence. The recoil of the overloaded weapon was so violent that it broke his collar bone, and he was thus rendered unable to row back in his canoe to the ship. He was brought on board, and put under the care of the surgeon.

On July 3d the "Isabella" and "Alexander" were off Sanderson's Hope, and in sight of the Woman's Islands of Baffin ; and thus, after a lapse of two hundred years, the track of that great discoverer was at last being followed up, and his discoveries, which had been at first doubted, and then denied and expunged from the charts during the eighteenth century, were at last verified by Captain Ross.

For the next fortnight the progress was slow, owing to continuous fogs. On the 18th July the weather cleared, and land could be seen on the east ; but no passage through the ice could be observed. On the same day a large bear was seen making its way towards one of the ships. One of the "Alexander's" men, who was straying at some distance on the ice, first discovered the animal, and went to meet it ; but soon perceiving he was no match for a creature so huge, so powerful, active, and fierce, he prudently halted, till a number of officers and seamen joined him. The bear, noting in his turn that prudence before such a reinforced enemy was the better part of valour, now turned tail, and led his pursuers a tedious hunt after him in vain.

On the 21st the weather cleared, land was again seen, and an open passage through the ice presented a way to the north. Red Head was now passed in lat. $75^{\circ} 12'$ —the highest latitude to which ships employed in the whale-fishing were, up to that time, known positively to have penetrated. The whole of the

23d was employed in tracking through the ice, a process which becomes necessary when the channel is too narrow to allow a vessel to beat or be towed against the wind. In executing this service, the whole ship's company was sent on the ice, and a rope was thrown to them, one end of which was fastened to the end of the foremast. The men having hold of the other end, then pulled the ship a-head, marching to music, the musician always leading the way. As it sometimes happened that a hole covered with snow, or a weak part was found, the men occasionally tumbled in; but as they never let go the rope, they were immediately pulled out. When this accident happened to the fiddler, it afforded the sailors great amusement, and they never failed to exercise their wit on the occasion.

Captain Ross now records one of the chief discoveries made in this notable voyage: "The shore between lat. $75^{\circ} 12'$ and 76° formed a spacious bay, in the midst of which rose a remarkable spiral rock. This I named Melville's Monument, in grateful remembrance of the late Viscount, from whom I received my first commission in His Majesty's Navy. To the bay itself I gave the name of Melville's Bay, from respect to the present first Lord of the Admiralty. It is situated between lat. $75^{\circ} 12'$ and $76^{\circ} 0'$, and abounds with whales, many of which were taken by the ships which were persevering enough to follow us."

Thus it was only in the wake of Captain Ross' expedition of 1818 that the whalers first penetrated so far north as *Melville Bay*, as it is now always named. But for many years subsequently this icy inlet was regarded as a place of terror by the whalers. Protected on the north by the abutting peninsula of Cape York, the ice formed in this bay is not exposed to the general drift down Baffin's Bay, but usually remains in the condition of fixed ice firmly adhering to the coast, and often extending to a distance of thirty to fifty miles from it. In this region the prevailing winds in the early part of the season are from the north, in which case the drifting pack is blown off shore, and leaves a lane of open water along the fixed ice, or *land-floe*, as it is called, of Melville Bay. "When the wind is from the south," says Mr Clements R. Markham, writing in 1873, "the pack drifts into Melville Bay; but in that case the land-floe is a source of protection, for, as the drifting ice presses against it, the land ice, being oldest, almost invariably proves the stronger of the two. A dock can then be cut in the land ice, and a ship may ride in safety until the pressure eases off. Thus, 'by sticking to this land-floe,' as the whalers say, of Melville Bay, a vessel is never at the mercy of the drifting pack, and though there may frequently be long detention, ground is seldom lost, and final success is the reward of perseverance. . . . But Melville Bay used to be a place of dread and anxiety for the whaling fleet; for when a southerly wind brought the drifting pack in violent and irresistible contact with the land-floe, the ships, slowly creeping along its edge,

A BALL WITH THE MEN OF KANE'S SHIPS AND THE GREENLANDERS
AT JULIANASHAAB

From the "Life of Dr. Kane"

Illustrated by J. H. Johnson

were frequently crashed like so many walnuts. In 1819 as many as fourteen ships were smashed to pieces in this way; in 1821, eleven; and in 1822, seven. The year 1830 was the great season of disaster for the whalers, when nineteen ships were entirely destroyed, occasioning a total loss to their owners of £142,600. On June 19th—of that year—a fresh gale from the south-south-west drove masses of ice into Melville Bay, and nipped the whole fleet against the land floe, about forty miles to the southward of Cape York. In the evening the gale increased, and the floes began to overlap each other. A huge floe then came down upon the devoted ships, and a scene of indescribable destruction ensued. In a quarter of an hour several fine ships were converted into shattered fragments; the ice, with a loud grinding noise, tore open their sides, masts were seen falling in all directions, great ships were squeezed flat and thrown broadside on to the ice, and one whaler—the “Rattler”—was literally turned inside out. The men only just had time to jump on the ice. But it must be understood that there is little or no danger of loss of life in Melville Bay. The shipwrecked sailors took refuge on board their more fortunate consorts, for even in 1830 the “Cumbrian” and several other ships escaped by digging deep docks in the land ice. Even if a solitary whaler is destroyed, when no other is in sight, the retreat in boats to the Danish settlements is perfectly safe and easy. When the fearful catastrophe occurred in 1830, there were a thousand men encamped on the ice; the clusters of tents were a scene of joyous dancing and frolic, for Jack had got a holiday; and the season was long remembered as the year of “Baffin’s Fair.” Such is the character of the bay, the discovery of which, on July 24, 1818, by Captain Ross, we have just recorded.

A whaling adventure was the cause of considerable excitement to the expedition in its passage across Melville Bay. The monster was first harpooned by the “Isabella’s” boat, the harpoon striking in the back, behind the left fin, and the wound appearing at first to be mortal. But the creature appears only to have been stunned. He soon recovered himself, and carried the boat to the edge of the ice, where he was lost. He soon after reappeared about a mile and a half distant, with the harpoon in his back. As the “loose fish” remained near the surface, and appeared to suffer from the wound, the young officers of both ships, who each commanded boats, pulled with emulation to the spot where each expected him to rise, waiting for the moment of his appearance with anxiety. Fortune favoured Mr James Ross, midshipman in the “Isabella,” and the commander’s nephew, the animal rising nearest his boat, and receiving in succession three well-planted harpoons. The capture was now certain, and as the whale was much exhausted, and therefore obliged to remain at the surface, and thus expose himself to the lancers, his end was near. As he breathed, the blood rose in a column from the blow-hole. The people in the boats, aware of their danger, retired and

left him to spend his fury on the water. He was soon towed on board, and was found to be forty-six feet in length. Nine tons of blubber, intended to be used as light and fuel, should the vessels be obliged to winter in the ice, were obtained from him.

In the beginning of August there was but little progress made, as every channel was thickly encumbered. On the right (to the east) was the land ice; on the left, out to sea, there was much newly-formed ice of the colour of the water, and which is known as *bay-ice*. The expedients made use of in these comparatively early days of Arctic exploration to open up a way through the frozen water are interesting from their very primitive and simple character, and afford an additional instance of the fact, that before the employment of steam vessels in these seas, the old mariners were obliged to creep where a modern explorer finds it easy to run. On the morning of the 4th August the seamen were sent to track the ship, but the bay or newly formed ice was so strong that it became necessary to break it "by suspending a boat from the jibboom; this being constantly rolled by two seamen, raised a wave ahead of the ship that effected this purpose; thus gradually making way for her advance." After having sailed all day, Captain Ross moored to the ice at midnight, but was obliged to cast off in order to escape from an iceberg which he saw bearing down upon him. The little auks were exceedingly plentiful in the neighbourhood in which the vessels now found themselves—off Cape Melville, at the north extremity of Melville Bay—and many of them were shot for food, as was also a huge gull, two feet five inches in length, and which, when killed, disgorged one of the little auks entire. On the following day not less than two hundred little auks were shot and served out to the ships' companies, among whose victuals they proved an agreeable variety, not having the fishy flavour that might be expected from their food, which consists commonly of small shrimps, found very plentifully in this quarter.

The trials and extraordinary dangers of Arctic navigation are well illustrated in one of the adventures of the following day. After two o'clock, a small opening was seen ahead, and as it gave some hopes of forcing a passage, Captain Ross resolved to attempt it. The ships were accordingly tracked with great labour for about a mile through bay-ice to the narrowest part of a floe, which obstructed the ships' passage, into a pool ahead. Through this intervening strip of floe, or small ice-field, a passage had to be cut with the great saws, working over a block suspended between poles. In this way, and by means of warping, some slight progress was gained. "As it appeared likely," says Captain Ross, "that our people would be at work throughout the night, an extra allowance of provisions was served out. Their labours were incessant till half-past one, when, being almost worn out by exertion, I allowed them to rest till five. At half-past six the ice began to move, and

the wind increasing to a gale, the only chance left for us was to endeavour to force the ship through it to the north, where it partially opened ; but the channel was so much obstructed by heavy pieces that our utmost efforts were ineffectual ; the floes closed in upon us, and at noon we felt their pressure most severely. A floe on one side of the 'Isabella' appeared to be fixed, while another, with a circular motion, was passing rapidly along. The pressure continuing to increase, it became a trial of strength between the ship and the ice ; every support threatened to give way, the beams in the hold began to bend, and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible for the ship to sustain the accumulating pressure much longer, she rose several feet ; while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against her sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon her bow, and, after being again lifted up, she was carried with great violence towards the 'Alexander,' which ship had hitherto been, in a great measure, defended by the 'Isabella.' Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed ; the ice-anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain-plates being broken, and nothing less expected than the loss of the masts. But at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted ; the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the 'Alexander,' with comparatively little damage. The last things that hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which, being torn from the bows, remained suspended in a line between the two ships until that of the 'Alexander' gave way. Neither the masters, the mates, nor those men who had been all their lives in the Greenland service, had ever experienced such imminent peril ; and they declared that a common whaler must have been crushed to atoms. Our safety must, indeed, be attributed to the perfect and admirable manner in which the vessels had been strengthened when fitting for service."

But their troubles were not yet at an end, for, as the gale increased, the ice began to move with greater velocity, while a continued thick fall of snow kept from their sight a further danger that awaited them till it became imminent. A large field of ice was now discovered at a small distance, bearing fast down upon them from the west, and it thus became necessary to saw docks for refuge, in which service all hands were immediately employed. The ice, however, was found too thick for their nine-feet saws, and no progress could be made. This circumstance proved fortunate, for it was soon after perceived that the field in which they attempted to cut the docks was drifting rapidly on a reef of icebergs which lay aground. The topsails were therefore close-reefed, in order that the ships might run, as a last resource, between two bergs, or into any creek that might be found among them, when

suddenly the ice-field acquired a circular motion, so that every exertion was now necessary to warp along the edge, that being the sole chance they had of escaping the danger of being crushed on an iceberg. In a few minutes, that part of the field into which they had attempted to cut docks came into contact with the berg with such rapidity and violence as to be dashed up against the fixed ice-mountain to the height of more than fifty feet, when, breaking, this lofty rampart tumbled back on the lower part of the ice-field with a terrible crash, overwhelming with its ruins the very spot in which they had attempted to find safety. Soon afterwards the vessels succeeded in clearing the reef of bergs, and thus again found themselves secure. Officers and men, who in this moment of incalculable danger and excitement had behaved with the utmost coolness and fortitude, had now a brief rest. Extra allowances of preserved meat and grog were served out, and the spare hands were told off to repair damages. While these were being attended to, Captain Sabine of the Royal Artillery, who was appointed to the expedition in the capacity of astronomer and naturalist, accompanied by Messrs Bushnan and Skene (midshipmen), and Mr Beverley, assistant-surgeon, were sent to examine the nearest shore, which appeared to be about six miles distant. Mr Bushnan discovered that the land was surrounded by water, and the name of Bushnan Island was accordingly given to it. It was found to be utterly desolate, but piles of stone, resembling in appearance and arrangement the Eskimo graves that had been seen in other localities on the Greenland coast, indicated that the island had been recently inhabited; and the stem of a heath bush burned at one end was found, and was recognised by Sackhouse as the instrument with which the natives trim their lamps. Little vegetation beyond a few specimens of the ranunculus and two or three specimens of a short grass were found, and there was nothing in the dead waste and solitude of this sterile island, with its few rude graves, to prepare the expedition for the very curious and interesting intercourse with the previously unknown natives of the west coast of North Greenland, a narrative of which is given in our next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

INTERCOURSE WITH AN UNKNOWN TRIBE OF ESKIMOS—THE ARCTIC HIGHLANDS—
CAPTAIN ROSS'S GREAT DELUSION—CONCLUSION. AND RESULTS OF ROSS AND
PARRY'S VOYAGE.

THE "Isabella" and "Alexander" had not advanced far after their miraculous escape from being crushed between the ice-field and the berg, near the north entrance to Melville Bay, when the explorers were astounded to behold a number of men at some distance on the ice, hallooing, as it appeared, to the ships. Standing in towards the shore, Captain Ross discovered that these men were natives, drawn on rudely-fashioned dog-sledges, in which they continued to drive backwards and forwards on the ice with great rapidity. It was now time to call Sackhouse, the Eskimo interpreter, to the front. This important official shouted out to the natives in his own language; some words were heard in return, to which a reply was again made in Eskimo, but neither party appeared in the least to understand the other. "For some time," says Captain Ross, "they continued to regard us in silence, but, on the ships tacking, they set up a simultaneous shout, accompanied by many strange gesticulations, and went off in their sledges with amazing velocity towards the land. After they had attained the distance of a mile or more, they halted for about two hours. As soon as this was observed, the ship was tacked, and a boat sent to place an observation-stool, of four feet in height, on the ice, on which various presents, consisting of knives and articles of clothing, were left. Either, however, they did not see it, or it did not attract their attention; and a second boat was therefore sent, with directions to leave one of the Eskimo dogs, with some strings of blue beads round his neck, near the same place." After ten hours, the dog was found sleeping on the spot where he had been left; and the presents were still untouched. A single sledge appeared for a short time at a great distance, and afterwards drove rapidly away.

Captain Ross's contrivances for drawing the natives into intercourse with him were exceedingly ingenious. "Being extremely anxious," continues the commander of the expedition, "to communicate with the natives, I caused a pole to be prepared, on which a flag was fixed, with a representation of the sun and moon painted over a hand holding a sprig of heath (the

only shrub seen on the shore). This pole being carried to an iceberg, midway between the ships and the shore, was there erected, and a bag containing presents, with a device of a hand painted on it, was fastened to the pole, within reach, and left there—the ships in the meantime being moored in a convenient situation for observing what might take place. The gale had now entirely subsided, the weather became beautiful, and the water calm; circumstances that necessarily detained us in our present situation, which, notwithstanding the imperious nature of our orders to proceed with all possible despatch, we should have been unwilling to leave, while any chance of a communication with a people, hitherto unknown, remained. About ten o'clock, on the day after the natives were first seen, we were rejoiced to see eight sledges, driven by them, advancing by a circuitous route toward the place where we lay; they halted about a mile from us and the people alighting, ascended a small iceberg, as if to reconnoitre. After remaining, apparently in consultation, for nearly half-an-hour, four of them descended, and came towards the flagstaff, which, however, they did not venture to approach. In the meantime a white flag was hoisted at the main in each ship, and John Sackhouse despatched, bearing a small white flag, with some presents, that he might endeavour, if possible, to bring them to a parley. This was a service which he had most cheerfully volunteered, requesting leave to go unattended and unarmed, a request to which no objection could be made, as the place chosen for the meeting was within half-a-mile of the 'Isabella.' It was equally advantageous to the natives. A canal, or small chasm in the ice, not passable without a plank, separating the parties from each other, and preventing any possibility of an attack from these people except by darts."

"In executing this service, Sackhouse displayed no less address than courage. Having placed his flag at some distance from the canal, he advanced to the edge, and, taking off his hat, made friendly signs to those opposite to approach. This they partly complied with, halting at a distance of three hundred yards, where they got out of their sledges, and set up a loud simultaneous halloo, which Sackhouse answered by imitating it. They ventured to approach a little nearer, having nothing in their hands but the whips with which they guide their dogs; and, after satisfying themselves that the canal was impassable, one of them in particular seemed to acquire confidence. Shouts, words, and gestures were exchanged for some time to no purpose, though each party seemed in some degree to recognise the other's language. Sackhouse, after a time, thought he could discover that they spoke the Humooke dialect, drawling out their words, however, to an unusual length. He immediately adopted that dialect, and holding up the presents, called out to them, *Kahkeite*, 'Come on!' to which they answered, *Naakrie naakreiai-plaite*, 'No no—go away,' and other words, which he

made out to mean that they hoped we were not come to destroy them. The boldest then approached to the edge of the canal, and, drawing from his boot a knife, repeated, 'Go away ; I can kill you.' Sackhouse, not intimidated, told them he was also a man and a friend, and, at the same time, threw across the canal some strings of beads and a checked shirt ; but these they beheld with great distrust and apprehension, still calling, 'Go away ; don't kill us.' Sackhouse now threw them an English knife, saying, 'Take that.' On this they approached with caution, picked up the knife, then shouted and pulled their noses. These actions were imitated by Sackhouse, who, in return, called out, 'Heigh yaw !' pulling his nose with the same gesture. They now pointed to the shirt, demanding what it was, and when told it was an article of clothing, asked of what skin it was made. Sackhouse replied it was made of the hair of an animal which they had never seen ; on which they picked it up with expressions of surprise. They now began to ask many questions ; for, by this time, they found the language spoken by themselves and Sackhouse had sufficient resemblance to enable them to hold some communication.

"They first pointed to the ships, eagerly asking, 'What great creatures are these ? Do they come from the sun or the moon ? Do they give us light by night or by day ?' Sackhouse told them that he was a man, and that he had a father and mother like themselves ; and pointing to the south, said that he came from a distant country in that direction. To this they answered, 'That cannot be, there is nothing but ice there.' They again asked, 'What creatures these were ?' pointing to the ship ; to which Sackhouse replied, that they were houses made of wood. This they seemed still to discredit, answering, 'No, they are alive, we have seen them move their wings.' Sackhouse now enquired of them, what they themselves were ; to which they replied, they were men, and lived in "that" direction, pointing to the north ; and that they had come here to fish for sea-unicorns. It was then agreed that Sackhouse should pass the chasm to them, and he accordingly returned to the ship to make his report and to ask for a plank.

"During the whole of this conversation," writes Captain Ross, giving one of the most interesting accounts of a savage race in the whole range of the narratives of exploration, "I had been employed with a good telescope, in observing their motions ; and beheld the first man approach with every mark of fear and distrust, looking frequently behind to the other two, and beckoning them to come on, as if for support. They occasionally retreated, then advanced again, with cautious steps, in the attitude of listening, generally keeping one hand down by their knees, in readiness to pull out a knife, which they had in their boots ; in the other hand they held their whips, with the lash coiled up ; their sledges remained at a little distance, the fourth man being apparently stationed to keep them in readiness for

escape. Sometimes they drew back the covering they had on their heads, as if wishing to catch the most distant sounds; at which time they discerned their features, displaying extreme terror and amazement, and every limb appeared to tremble as they moved. Sackhouse was directed to entice them to the ship, and two men were now sent with a plank, which was accordingly placed across the chasm. They appeared still much alarmed, and requested that Sackhouse only should come over. He accordingly passed to the opposite side, on which they earnestly besought him not to touch them, as, if he did, they should certainly die. After he had used many arguments to persuade them that he was flesh and blood, the native who had shown most courage, ventured to touch his hand; then pulling himself by the nose, set up a shout, in which he was joined by Sackhouse and the other three. The presents were then distributed, consisting of two or three articles of clothing and a few strings of beads; after which Sackhouse exchanged a knife for one of theirs."

The hope of getting some important information, as well as the interest naturally felt for these poor creatures, made Captain Ross impatient to communicate with them himself, and he therefore desired Lieutenant Parry to accompany him to the place where the party were assembled. The two chief officers, provided with additional presents, consisting of looking-glasses and knives, together with some caps and shirts, proceeded towards the spot where the conference was being held between the interpreter and the savages. "By the time we reached it," says Ross, "the whole were assembled; those who had originally been left at a distance with their sledges, having driven up to join their comrades. The party now therefore consisted of eight natives, with all their sledges, and about fifty dogs, two sailors, Sackhouse, Lieutenant Parry, and myself; forming a group of no small singularity; not a little, also, increased, by the peculiarity of the situation, on a field of ice far from the land. The noise and clamour may easily be conceived; the whole talking and shouting together, and the dogs howling, while the natives were flogging them with their long whip to preserve order. Our arrival produced a visible alarm, causing them to retreat a few steps towards their sledges; on this Sackhouse called to us to pull our noses, as he had discovered this to be the mode of friendly salutation with them. This ceremony was accordingly performed by each of us, the natives during their retreat, making use of the same gesture, the nature of which we had not before understood. In the same way we imitated their shouts as well as we could, using the same interjection, *heigh yaw!* which we afterwards found to be an expression of surprise and pleasure. We then advanced towards them while they halted, and presented the foremost with a looking-glass and a knife, repeating the same presents to the whole as they came up in succession. On seeing their faces in the glasses, their astonishment appeared

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extreme, and they looked round in silence for a moment at each other and at us ; immediately afterwards they set up a general shout succeeded by a loud laugh, expressive of extreme delight, as well as surprise, in which we joined, partly from inability to avoid it, and willing also to show that we were pleased with our new acquaintances.

"The impression made by this ludicrous scene on Sackheuse was so strong, that some time after he made a drawing of it—being the first specimen we had witnessed of his talents for historical composition." His practice in the art of design had hitherto been confined to make copies of such prints of single figures or ships as he could procure. Sackheuse, though an Eskimo, was a man of many talents. His accomplishment in drawing was very considerable. His copies were remarkable for their fidelity, and the grouped drawing of the conference on the ice, that has just been described, is very correct, and is not—especially in the figures of the natives—without humour. In executing this picture, we have Captain Ross's authority for the fact that he received no hint or assistance of any kind. The work is entirely his own, and is, at least, 'a good representation of the objects introduced.'

Having now acquired confidence, the natives advanced, offering their "knives, sea-unicorns' horns, and sea-horse teeth" for the English knives, glasses, and beads, which were taken in exchange. They were then instructed by Sackheuse to uncover their heads, as a mark of goodwill and respect to us ; and with this ceremonial, which they performed immediately, and of which they appeared to comprehend the meaning, the friendship between the parties was established.

Of the subsequent incidents of this interview Captain Ross's account is so curious and so admirable for its simplicity and evident truthfulness, that we may be excused quoting the principal part of it : "As we were anxious to get them to the ship as soon as possible, I desired Sackheuse to persuade them to accompany us ; they accordingly consented, on which their dogs were unharnessed and fastened to the ice, and two of the sledges were drawn along the plank to the other side of the chasm. Three of the natives were left in charge of the dogs and the remaining sledges ; the other five followed us, laughing heartily at seeing Lieutenant Parry and myself drawn towards the ship on the sledges by the seamen. One of them, by keeping close to me, got before his companions, and thus we proceeded together till we arrived within a hundred yards of the ship, where he stopped. I attempted to urge him on, but in vain ; his evident terror preventing him from advancing another step till his companions came up. It was apparent that he still believed the vessel to be a living creature, as he stopped to contemplate her, looking up at the masts, and examining every part with marks of the greatest fear and astonishment ; he then addressed her, crying out in words perfectly intelligible to Sackheuse, and in a loud tone, 'Who are you ? what are you ?

where do you come from? is it from the sun or the moon?' pausing between every question, and pulling his nose with great solemnity. The rest now came up in succession, each showing similar surprise, and making use of the same expressions, accompanied by the same extraordinary ceremony. Sackhense now laboured to assure them that the ship was only a wooden house, and pointed out the boat, which had been hauled on the ice to repair; explaining to them that it was a smaller one of the same kind. This immediately arrested their attention. They advanced to the boat, examined her, as well as the carpenters' tools and the oars, very minutely; each object in its turn exciting the most ludicrous ejaculations of surprise. We then ordered the boat to be launched into the sea, with a man in it, and hauled up again, at the sight of which they set no bounds to their clamour. The ice-anchor, a heavy piece of iron, shaped like the letter S, and the cable, excited much interest. The former they tried in vain to remove, and they eagerly inquired of what skins the latter were made.

"By this time the officers of both ships had surrounded them, while the bow of the 'Isabella,' which was close to the ice, was crowded with the crew; and, certainly, a more ludicrous, yet interesting scene was never beheld, than that which took place whilst they were viewing the ship; nor is it possible to convey to the imagination anything like a just representation of the wild amazement, joy, and fear which successively pervaded the countenances, and governed the gestures of these creatures, who gave full vent to their feelings. I am sure it was a gratifying scene which never can be forgotten by those who witnessed and enjoyed it."

After much persuasion, the natives were taken on board, where their wonder at everything they saw knew no bounds. They showed, by attempting to lift every object they saw, however heavy, that they had no idea of the weight of timber or iron; they heard with utter indifference the music of a violin and a flute, and they could not be persuaded to eat either biscuits or salt meat, both of which they seemed to consider very poor stuff. After being loaded with presents, they took their departure, promising to return "after they had eaten and slept," by which phrase they expressed, as nearly as they could, the idea of "to-morrow."

On the morning of the 11th August the "Isabella" and "Alexander" were able to advance seven miles to the westward, and were fortunate enough to find a station of safety under the lee of an immense iceberg, which lay aground in one hundred and fifty fathoms. The situation of the expedition was now in lat. about $75^{\circ} 55'$ N.; long. about $65^{\circ} 32'$ W. On this day, Captain Ross, conversing with the Eskimo interpreter, learned that the natives, in their alarm at beholding the ships of the strangers, had sent their women and children to the mountains; that their original intention in coming to the ships was to beseech the mysterious visitors to "go away and not destroy them"—this

constant fear of destruction being a suggestive commentary on the life of continual apprehension which these creatures led in this inhospitable region—and that they had watched the ships for some time, expecting to see the great winged creatures fly either to the sun or moon, from one of which they concluded the vessels had flown to their shores.

Some slight progress was made on the 13th, the vessels again finding shelter close to an iceberg. While working towards this station, Parry saw land from the mast-head bearing W.S.W.; the atmosphere was wonderfully clear, and all distant objects seemed strangely raised by refraction. The sun delineated the features of the horizon in a distinct and beautiful manner, and the reflections of light on the icebergs were peculiarly splendid—emerald, sapphire, and orange, being the prevailing colours. Vast numbers of whales were here seen. They came up alongside the ship to respire, and betrayed no sign of alarm; a number of sea-unicorns (narwhals) were also seen, and in the mornings and evenings the open pools in the ice swarmed with little auks, hundreds of which were shot daily. On this and on the following day, intercourse was renewed with the natives, but nothing novel was observed in their habits or manners until two of them were asked to give specimens of their dancing. This request was forthwith complied with; and as a preliminary to the exhibition proper, one of the two performers began immediately to distort his face and turn up his eyes in such a hideous fashion, that Captain Ross, believing him to have been taken suddenly ill, was about to call for the surgeon, when the Eskimo, having concluded this introduction to his performance, proceeded to execute a variety of extraordinary gestures and attitudes, accompanied by the most violent and soul-harrowing distortions of countenance. The gestures and actions were not wanting in that reprehensible element, for which the Nautch of India and the Can-can of the most polished nation in the world are notorious. The body was kept generally in a stooping posture, with the hands resting on the knees. In a short time the performer burst into the song of "Amnah Ayah," which seems to be, in a sense, the national hymn of the Eskimos, and which we shall have occasion, in recording the observations of a later explorer, to describe. Meantime the second performer, who had hitherto been looking on in silence, seemed to catch an inspiration from the notes of the well-loved air, and gave expression to his feelings by, in his turn, making the most hideous faces, and by adding to the monotonous "Amnah Ayah" the chorus of "Hejaw-hejaw." "After this had continued with increasing energy for some minutes, the tune was suddenly changed to a shrill note, in which the words 'Wehee-wehee' were uttered with great rapidity. They then approached each other by slipping their feet forward, grinning, and in great agitation, until their noses touched, when a savage laugh ended this extraordinary performance."

On the evening of the 15th August, the pool in which the ships were lying widened to several miles in extent, and soon the auks were seen flying towards it in immense clouds that covered the whole surface of the water. These sea-fowl came to feed on the same small marine animals which here form the staple food of the whale. Two boats were despatched from each ship to procure a supply of the birds, for the purpose of preserving in ice, and at midnight the boats of the "Isabella" returned with about fifteen hundred. So close packed was the flock of auks that fifteen fell to every shot. The boats sent by Lieutenant Parry from the "Alexander" were equally fortunate, and from this time three birds were served out daily to each man, and were found to make excellent soup, not unlike that made from hare.

At four o'clock on the following day the ice appeared to be comparatively open; and eager to pursue the main object of the expedition as soon as a way should open up before him, Captain Ross gave orders to make sail. With a fine breeze from the north, the ships proceeded westwards along the margin of the ice, which appeared attached to the land, and in about two hours arrived at a barrier of icebergs stretching from the northernmost land in sight towards the west. There were, however, narrow channels among the bergs, and working through among these, Ross discovered and named Cape York, and continued to steer west by north along the land, and at a distance of four miles from it. In the neighbourhood of Cape York the sea was seen washing the shore unencumbered with ice. A very singular phenomenon was also here observed by Ross for the first time. The cliffs along the shore seemed to be covered with crimson snow. On sending a boat ashore to examine this apparent freak of nature, it was found that the snow was penetrated down to the rock—a depth in many places of ten or twelve feet—with a deep crimson colouring matter. On subjecting the snow to examination under a microscope magnifying a hundred and ten times, this colouring matter appeared to consist of very minute round particles, all of the same size, and all of a deep red colour. The general opinion of those who examined the snow was that the crimson colouring matter was vegetable in its nature, probably the seeds of some plant; and this impression was strengthened by the circumstance that the summits of the hills, six hundred feet above the cliffs, were clothed with vegetation of yellowish green and reddish brown colours.

Passing the Cape Dudley Digges of Ballin, a magnificent glacier, filling up a space of four square miles, extending a mile into the sea, and rising inland to the height of a thousand feet, was discovered. Wolstenholme Island was soon in sight to the northward; and as the two vessels were now steering for it with a fine breeze and with an open sea before them, the explorers began to indulge high hope of at last attaining the grand object of their enterprise, and of sailing right on until they should open the sea that was supposed to wash over the North Pole. Wolstenholme Sound, which

was found to be completely blocked up with ice, was passed at two p.m. The entrances to the inlet, and the general trend and outline of the land, were found to agree in all important particulars with the account of these given by their discoverer, Baffin. Two hours later Whale Sound was discovered, or rather rediscovered, for hitherto Ross had been strictly following in the track of Baffin. To the northward of Whale Sound the land appeared to be very mountainous, and to take a westerly direction. At nine p.m. the weather became very clear, and Carey's Islands were discovered. Continuing on the same northward course all night, Ross found himself abreast of the westernmost of the Carey Islands on the morning of the 19th.

We now approach the climax of Captain Ross's enterprise—that stage of his expedition where he reached his furthest, northwards, and where he reluctantly, but with a confidence as full and dogmatic as it was misplaced, came to the conclusion that no northward passage was to be found through Smith's Sound. As every movement of the "Isabella" and "Alexander" became at this point of the greatest interest, it will be necessary to follow Captain Ross's own narrative closely until we find him turning his bows southward on his homeward voyage, in the full conviction that the instructions he had received from the Admiralty could not by possibility be carried out.

Passing the westmost of the Carey Islands on the morning of the 19th, Ross stood to the north-east, to get a better view of Whale Sound and the land near it, and he soon convinced himself, on evidence that we now know to have been insufficient, that there was no navigable passage in that direction. He afterwards resumed a westward course, and saw Hackluit's Island of Baffin "very near to the mainland." At night a fresh breeze sprang up, and the commander "had hopes of being able to examine the great bay which appeared to the north, and through which a passage might possibly be found." From this statement it might be inferred, that when Ross reached these high latitudes he was cherishing the preconceived idea that he would be certain to be stopped by land. In search of the "passage" northward, he bore up under all sail in that direction, advancing sixteen miles, partly through loose ice. At ten he signalled Lieutenant Parry; and having delivered to him some additional sealed instructions, to be opened in the event of the ships parting company, he bore up again to make out the situation of the land. Carey's Islands were now in sight on the south-east. "It continued clear," says Ross, "until near one in the morning; and the sun, passing in azimuth below the Pole, along the tops of the mountains, gave us an excellent view of the bottom of this bay. Smith's Sound, discovered by Baffin, was distinctly seen, and the capes forming each side of it were named after the two ships—'Isabella' and 'Alexander.' I considered the bottom of the Sound to be about eighteen leagues distant; but its entrance was completely blocked up

by ice. A thick fog soon came on, and we again hauled to the westward." Soundings on the night of the 19th gave 192 fathoms. Grey mud, stones, and chocolate-coloured clay, in which worms were found, were brought up; and, says the commander, "the large icebergs, which we passed in great numbers, were also a proof that the water was not shallow"—and a proof also, by inference, that the explorer was not so near what he supposed to be the north shore of the bay as he imagined.

On the morning of August 20th, Ross reckoned himself to be in lat. $76^{\circ} 54' N.$; and "*having determined there was no passage farther to the northward,*" he stood under easy sail for ten miles to the *south-west* under pressure of a gale. The gale abating, he again hauled to the *north-north-east*, advancing upon the threshold of the unknown with the utmost caution—keeping the lead going, and having look-out men posted at the mast-heads, yard-arms, and jib-boom end. He ran in the direction stated from nine in the morning till four, "when it suddenly cleared, and we saw the nearest land at a distance of six leagues, bearing north-west. To the north-eastward there appeared a bay, but the land was distinctly seen beyond it, forming a chain of mountains from Smith's Sound to the westward." It was Ross's intention to have examined this bay, "which was evidently the northernmost," in order to determine more accurately its geographical position; but a firm field of ice, with an outer rampart of icebergs driven upon it by southerly gales, occupied its surface. Approaching the icebergs as near as he could with safety, Ross signalled Parry, and gave him directions to proceed with a party to a convenient iceberg and make observations. As results of these, the dip of the magnetic needle was found to have increased from $85^{\circ} 44' 33''$ to $86^{\circ} 9' 33''$ since the preceding day, and the magnetic force, as ascertained by the oscillations, was found to have increased about one forty-eighth part, evidence which went to prove that an approach was being made toward the Magnetic Pole.

Before recording the great mistake which practically brought Ross's expedition to a comparatively fruitless termination, it is necessary, in justice to this able navigator, to state the circumstances that seemed to afford an apparent basis for the illusion in which the mistake had its origin. In the middle of the month of August peculiar weather prevailed, and the most singular atmospheric effects astonished the explorers with their strangeness, beauty, and novelty. Occasionally the waters were cloaked with fogs which were in general extremely thick, and of a very white appearance, while in the zenith the blue sky was apparent. The thermometer was usually at the freezing point, and as soon as the fog reached the ships it froze upon the ropes and coated them with ice until they attained the thickness of a man's arm. At every evolution of the ships, when the ropes had to be worked to move the sails, the ice cracked off from the ropes and covered the decks

with icy fragments. In the absence of these fogs, which shrouded the distance, and veiled or disguised every object, the atmosphere was beautifully clear. But even then the element of uncertainty did not vanish from the prospects; for in the most lucid air the objects on the horizon were often raised into the strangest, most fantastic shapes, by the power of refraction, while at other times they were as strangely depressed and flattened. Objects all around — mountains, icebergs, ice-floes — were continually varying in shape. The ice on the horizon had sometimes the appearance of an immense wall broken into breaches here and there, as if it had suffered from the assaults of a beleaguering army of giants. At other times the ice-fields were transfigured into the forms of lofty ramparts, from which citadels and glittering spires arose. Fragments of ice assumed the appearance of trees, and so puzzling and unaccountable were the phenomena of the atmosphere, that while the ice-field on the right rose into the resemblance of a snow-clad forest, that on the left was depressed and its features lengthened so as to assume the appearance of long, low islands. "We were often able," says Ross, with unconscious *naïveté*, "to see land at an immense distance, and we have certain proof (!) that the power of vision was extended beyond one hundred and fifty miles. I made many observations with my sextant on the phenomena just described, and often found the same object increase in its altitude, half-a-degree in the course of a few minutes." The high rock of Cape Dudley Digges was observed to increase in altitude from 2° to 5° within an hour; in half-an-hour more it decreased to the appearance of a speck in the water, soon afterwards becoming like a long, low island, remaining so for several hours, and eventually resuming its natural shape. "While the moon was in sight," continues Ross—who, like all great sailors, had a quick eye and apprehensive soul to all the wonders of the sea and sky—"she had the appearance of following the sun round the horizon; and while these bodies were passing along the tops of the mountains, the snow which covered these, and which had naturally a yellow tinge, had then the lustre of gold, and the reflection of them upon the sky produced a rich green tint, so delicately beautiful, as to surpass description. On the other hand, the rays of the sun, darting over the tops of the mountains, came in contact with the icebergs, which appeared like so many edifices of silver, adorned with precious stones of every variety."

In such a changeful region, in which an unexperienced Arctic navigator like Ross was practically surrounded not so much by solid and permanent forms, as by mere illusory phantasms, one could conceive it to be a very risky matter to dogmatise upon any natural feature of the distant scenery, however deep-rooted in the earth it might for the time seem to be. In speculating on the indestructibility of the "cloud-capped towers," one should be conscious of the "baseless fabric of a vision." Yet Captain Ross, an

excellent and accomplished navigator, a man of considerable intellectual power, a Scotchman, and one not given to accept his facts on the endorsement of his imagination, seems at this greatest crisis of his voyage to have thrown national caution overboard, and to have inconsiderately rushed at a conclusion, which was definitely proved to be false and baseless by his own first lieutenant in the following year.

The observations on the dip of the needle, and the strength of the magnetic force, were being made on the 20th August. Lieutenant Robertson and other officers were stationed at the mast-head to look out for the direction of the coast. These officers, we are informed, reported "that they had seen the land completely round this bay at different times; as did also the officers of the 'Alexander,' who were at the mast-head of that ship at the same time." This was evidently the conclusion to which the commander had himself come. It is curious, in the light of facts with which we have now been familiar for the last fifty years, to glance for a moment at the apparently unassailable arguments upon which Captain Ross founded a theory altogether erroneous. "On the 19th August," he says, "at fifty minutes past midnight, the ship being nearly on the seventy-seventh degree of north latitude, ten leagues to the westward of Cape Sanmarcz, which forms the east side and the bottom of this bay, the land was distinctly seen. On the 20th and 21st, when off Cape Clarence, at the distance of six leagues, the land which forms the west side and the bottom of this bay, was also distinctly seen by the above mentioned officers and myself, *and by those two observations the coast is determined to be connected all round.* At each of these periods this immense bay was observed to be covered with field-ice; besides which a vast chain of large icebergs was seen to extend across it. These were apparently aground, and had probably been driven on shore there by southerly gales. It was also observed that the tide rose and fell only four feet, and the stream of it was scarcely perceptible. From these several considerations it appears perfectly certain that the land is here continuous, and that there is no opening at the northernmost parts of Baffin's Bay, from Hakluit's Island to Cape Clarence. Even if it be imagined, by those who are unwilling to concede their opinions while there is yet a single yarn of their hypothesis holding, that some narrow strait may exist through these mountains, it is evident that it must for ever be unnavigable, and that there is not even a chance of ascertaining its existence, since all approach to the bottoms of these bays is prevented by the ice, which fills them to so great a depth, and appears never to have moved from its station."

Of these brave words it is unnecessary to say anything further than that Ross, and those of his officers who were of his opinion, were completely deceived. The air-drawn rampart of mountains which he believed stretched across the mouth of Smith's Sound, and closed all the north-west shores of

Baffin's Bay, was a mere weather-gleam, a line of Alps, built only of water-blink and shadow, an unsubstantial pageant through which, and far beyond, Lieutenant Parry penetrated in the following year.

Having thus to his own satisfaction finished his work in the extreme north of Baffin's Bay, Captain Ross shaped his course to the westward and southward. He caused accurate bearings to be made of the different headlands at the entrance to Smith's Sound; and having named the lofty cape on the west side of "the bay" Cape Clarence, he shaped his course on the morning of the 21st August towards the next opening which appeared in view to the westward. Two days afterwards, he stood in to examine the Jones' Sound of Baffin, and in the evening he made out to his satisfaction the north and south points of the land across the bottom of this bay, or inlet, which answered Baffin's description of Jones' Sound. At midnight, a ridge of very high mountains was seen to extend nearly across the bottom of it, and joining another from the south, which was not quite so high. This "ridge of very high mountains" was afterwards sailed over by various explorers of Jones' Sound. On the 26th, Coburg Island, Cape Leopold, and Princess Charlotte's Monument, at the mouth of Jones's Sound, were discovered and named. On the 30th, Captain Ross found himself in the opening of Lancaster Sound, and sailed some distance westward with the view of exploring it. This part of his voyage was in no sense thorough or satisfactory. He had come to the conclusion, apparently on the most insufficient grounds, that this great Sound was only an "inlet." This inlet he describes as being enclosed on the north, west, and south by the Cunningham, Croker, and Martin Mountains. The Croker Mountains he believed formed an impassable barrier westward, yet we know that Parry, in the following year, sailed over the spot which his predecessor supposed them to occupy. From this point, however, Captain Ross's expedition loses interest for us. Ross continued to sail southward, coasting along Byam Martin's Land, Baffin's Land, and its peninsula Cumberland, giving names to numerous islands, inlets, etc., but making no important discovery, and experiencing no surprising adventure. On the 14th of November he arrived on the coast of England, and cast anchor in Grimsby Roads.

The chief results of Ross's first Arctic voyage are that he vindicated the claims of Baffin as a great discoverer, and removed the suspicion that had continued to cloud the fame of that famous navigator for two hundred years, and that, by penetrating beyond the dreaded Melville Bay into the north water, south of the entrance to Smith Sound, he opened up a new and most productive whale-fishing ground, which British whalers have not failed to frequent every summer from his day to our own.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

IN SEARCH OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE—PARRY'S FIRST EXPEDITION, 1819—
ENTERS LANCASTER SOUND—DISCOVERY OF PRINCE REGENT'S INLET—
STEERING WESTWARD.

Captain Ross's first Arctic voyage was undertaken "for the purpose of exploring Baffin's Bay, and ascertaining the probabilities of a north-west passage to the Pacific;" but this commander having failed to carry out the instructions he had received from the Admiralty, and, instead of ascertaining the probability of a passage by either Smith's, Jones's, or Lancaster Sounds, having merely looked in at the doors of these great openings, the actual "Search for the North-West Passage" during the present century—the search that called into activity the best energies of a score of famous explorers, and demanded the sacrifice of Franklin and the crews of the "Erebus" and "Terror," before it yielded up the secret that had so long lain hid in its gloomy, ice-locked straits—cannot, strictly speaking, be said to have commenced until immediately after the return of the "Isabella" and "Alexander," when a new expedition, with this definite end in view, was organised and despatched to the Polar seas, under the leadership of Captain Ross's first officer, Lieutenant Parry.

In the narrative of his first Arctic voyage, Captain Ross leads readers to infer that when he left the three great sounds leading north and west of the extreme north of Baffin's Bay unexplored, in the full but unwarranted conviction that these openings were not really sounds, but only inlets backed by lofty and continuous ridges of mountainous land, he did so only after consulting all his officers, and obtaining the additional weight of their unanimous opinions in support of his own. But such an inference is not justified by the facts of the case. In the private journal of one of the officers on board the "Alexander," the following suggestive passage occurs in reference to the withdrawal of the vessels of the expedition from the mouth of Lancaster Sound: "Not any ice was to be seen in any direction, and at seven o'clock,

the weather being remarkably fine and clear, land was not to be discerned between N. 27° W., and N. 44° E. At this time our distance from the northern land was estimated at seven or eight leagues; but alas! the sanguine hopes and high expectations excited by this promising appearance of things were but of short duration, for about three o'clock in the afternoon the "Isabella" tacked, very much to our surprise indeed, as we could not see anything like land at the bottom of the inlet, nor was the weather well calculated at the time for seeing any object at a great distance, it being somewhat hazy. When she tacked, the "Isabella" was about three or four miles ahead of us." Several passages in Parry's journal, and in his private letters written soon after his arrival with the vessels in British waters, expresses the same conviction that open water extended before them in Lancaster Sound, and the same regret that a north-west passage had not been sought in that direction. Writing to his friends at home on his arrival at Shetland, he says: "That we have not sailed through the North-West Passage; our return in so short a period is, of course, a sufficient indication; *but I know it is in existence, and not very hard to find.* This opinion of mine, which is not lightly formed, must, on no account, be uttered out of our family; and I am sure it will not, when I assure you that every future prospect of mine depends upon its being kept a secret." Again, writing from London, November 18, 1818, he thus describes an interview which he had had with Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty: "About three o'clock Lord Melville saw us" (Franklin and himself). "He conversed with me upon our expedition, and, what was more interesting to me, upon what yet remained to be done. You must know that, on our late voyage, we entered a magnificent strait, from thirty to sixty miles wide, upon the west coast of Baffin's Bay, and—*came out again*, nobody knows why! You know I was not sanguine, formerly, as to the existence of a north-west passage, or as to the practicability of it, if it did exist. But our voyage to this Lancaster Sound, as Baffin calls it, has left quite a different impression, for it has not only given us every reason to believe that it is a broad passage into some sea to the westward (probably that of Hearne and Mackenzie); but, what is more important still, that it is, at certain seasons, practicable; for, when we were there, there was not a bit of ice to be seen. This truth has been fully communicated to Lord Melville by Mr Barrow" (successor to his father, Sir John Barrow, in the secretaryship to the Admiralty), "who had, with his usual discernment, immediately discovered it, without any information from me on the subject. Lord Melville conversed with me pretty freely on the probability of a passage there." The results of this interview were, that in the following month (December), two vessels were selected to form another Arctic expedition, to start in the approaching spring, and that, on the 16th January, Lieutenant Parry was, to his intense gratification, appointed to its command.

The vessels chosen to form the new expedition, and which had been selected by Parry himself, prior to his appointment to their command, were the "Hecla" and "Griper." The "Hecla" was a bomb of 375 tons, built in a merchant's yard at Hull in the year 1815, of large scantling, and having a capacious hold; the "Griper" was a gun-brig of 180 tons. Both ships were taken into dock about the middle of December, and their thorough repair, and the great strengthening they underwent to fit them for Arctic service, were directly supervised by Lieutenant Parry himself. The total number of individuals forming the expedition, including Parry himself and Lieutenant Liddon, who commanded the "Griper," was ninety-four; and as the Admiralty agreed to grant to every man engaged in the expedition double the current pay of the Navy, the ships were speedily manned with a full complement of excellent seamen, including nearly the whole of those who had served on the former expedition under Ross. Captain Sabine joined the new expedition, to perform the duties he had discharged with so much credit in the previous one—those of astronomer and naturalist—and among the officers were Lieutenants F. W. Beechey and H. P. Hoppner; while among the midshipmen were J. C. Ross and J. Bushnan, of whom we have had occasion already to make mention.

The object of the expedition, as stated in the Admiralty instructions, was to "endeavour to discover a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean." With this end in view, Lieutenant Parry was instructed to make the best of his way to the entrance of Davis's Strait, from which locality, if he should find the ice sufficiently open to permit his approach to the western shores of the strait, and his advance to the northward as far as the opening into Lancaster Sound, he was to proceed to explore the bottom of that sound. If no westward passage was found in this direction, Parry was to proceed to and examine successively Jones's and Smith's Sounds. The ships were fully furnished with provisions and stores for two years; and on the 4th May 1819, the "Hecla" was towed down the Thames to Northfleet, to be followed on the next day by the "Griper." The latter vessel, however, showing bad sailing qualities from the commencement, it was not till the 12th that the "Hecla," taking the slower vessel in tow, ran with her through Yarmouth Roads. Thus was the nineteenth century search for the North-West Passage commenced, under a commander whose good luck it was to achieve the most important results after spending an entire winter in a previously unknown region, and undergoing adventures and making himself familiar with experiences of which the scientific world of that time could not have formed any distinct conception.

The vessels rounded the northern point of the Orkneys on the 20th May. The first "stream" of ice was fallen in with early on the morning of the 18th June, and soon after icebergs were seen. On the 23rd, the ships being then

in lat. $62^{\circ} 43'$, long. $61^{\circ} 38'$, the ice of Davis's Strait, in bergs and loose streams, was seen to the west-north-west; and from this point, to avoid a too early collision with the great enemy of the Arctic explorer, a northern course was steered, and the ice kept well to the westward. Unable to force a passage westward through the ice of Davis's Strait, Parry kept on his course northward along the east fringe of it without meeting with any strikingly novel experience, until, on the 21st July, clear weather having set in, the land called by Davis, Hope Sanderson, and the Woman's Islands on the west coast of Greenland (lat. about $72^{\circ} 40'$ N.), were seen on the east. The vessels now found themselves in the midst of numerous very high icebergs, of which Parry counted, from the crow's-nest, as many as eighty-eight, while the smaller bergs were almost innumerable. Taking advantage of this clear weather, with which he had not been blessed for fourteen days previously, Parry tacked immediately to the westward to examine the ice, and try for a passage westward into the entrance of Lancaster Sound, toward which his hopes of a successful voyage allured him. He accordingly, on the 21st, ran into the middle-ice of Ballin's Bay before a moderate south-east breeze, and found himself soon among floes or ice-fields of considerable extent, and of from six to seven feet in thickness.

Progress was slow. Parry was without the powerful aid of steam. Boring was impossible, and he had occasionally to heave the ships through between the ice-masses with hawsers. As an indication of the average rate of advance through the ice toward the desired sound, it may be stated that on the 25th July, Parry, having made the "Griper" fast astern of the "Hecla," and having manned the capstan of the latter with the crews of both vessels to warp forward the ships by means of winding on the ropes of ice anchors planted in the ice in advance, all the progress that was made after eleven hours' laborious exertion was only four miles. On the 29th there was so much clear water that the ships had a perceptible pitching motion, which was hailed with pleasure as an indication of an open sea. On the following day the open water continued, and the vessels now seemed all at once to have got into the headquarters of the whales, no less than eighty-two of which were seen during the day. At noon the latitude was found to be $74^{\circ} 01'$, the longitude $75^{\circ} 59'$ W. A breeze springing up from the N.N.W. in the afternoon, the "Hecla" made all sail ahead to make the land, and early in the evening the mountainous land about Possession Bay, at the southern entrance to Lancaster Sound, was distinctly seen, and Parry beheld with exultation the gate to the unknown region open before him, and inviting him to enter. "Sir James Lancaster's Sound," writes Parry, "was now open to the westward of us, and the experience of our former voyage had given us reason to believe that the two best months in the year for the navigation of these seas were yet to come."

Making the best use of the time at his command, Lieutenant Parry urged on westward, and found himself in lat. $74^{\circ} 25'$, long. $80^{\circ} 4'$ on the 3d August. A favourable breeze springing up from the east, a crowd of sail was set to carry the ships with all rapidity to the westward, through the hitherto unknown sound. The supposed Croker Mountains, which Ross had believed he had seen closing all passage through the sound to the westward, were nowhere to be seen. Hope and open water were in front—the mirage and the timidity that had closed the voyage of the explorer of the previous year having vanished together. “It is more easy,” says Parry, “to imagine than to describe the almost breathless anxiety which was now visible in every countenance, while, as the breeze increased to a fresh gale, we ran quickly up the sound. The mast-heads were crowded by the officers and men during the whole afternoon; and an unconcerned observer, if any could have been unconcerned on such an occasion, would have been amused by the eagerness with which the various reports from the crow’s-nest were received, all, however, hitherto favourable to our most sanguine hopes.” The course was nearly due west, with a wind continually freshening. Only one drawback was at this time felt—the painfully bad sailing qualities of the consort-ship, the “*Griper*.” The only ice now met with consisted of a few large bergs, very much washed by the sea; and the weather being remarkably clear, so as to allow Parry to run on with perfect safety, he was, by midnight, in a great measure relieved from his anxiety respecting the supposed continuity of land at the bottom of this magnificent inlet, having reached the longitude of $83^{\circ} 12'$, where the two shores were still above thirteen leagues apart, without the slightest appearance of land to the westward for four or five points of the compass.

The advance on the 4th August was in the highest degree exciting. Still bearing up to the westward, with a haze covering and concealing the land on the south, the sea was in the morning as free from ice as any part of the Atlantic, and the explorers began to flatter themselves that they had fairly entered the Polar Sea. This pleasing prospect was rendered the more flattering by the sea, which had been yellowing for some time previously, now assuming the true deep colour of the ocean. In the evening, however, ice was reached extending for miles in a direction nearly parallel to the course of the ships; but as clear water could be seen over it to the southward, Parry still continued to hope that it would prove only a detached stream. Towards midnight, however, the sun then shining with noon-day brightness, the ice was seen joining a compact and impenetrable body of floes, which lay across the whole breadth of the strait, thus forbidding, in the meantime, any further advance westward. The expedition had now arrived in longitude about 90° W.; that westward reach of Lancaster Sound, extending immediately to the south of North Devon Island had been discovered and

named by Parry, Barrow Strait; and two islands, at the western opening of that now historic strait, were also discovered by the gallant navigator, and named Leopold Islands, in honour of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Immediately to the eastward of these islands there was a strong "water-sky"—a certain darkness in the sky which invariably indicates the presence of open water in the direction in which it is seen in these seas—but to the *westward* of the islands a bright ice-blink shone, indicating the certain existence of a great ice-field, and affording little hope, for the present, of finding a passage in the desired direction. A glance at the map will show that the "Hecla" and "Griper" had now reached that part of Lancaster Sound immediately to the north of the mouth of the as yet undiscovered Prince Regent's Inlet.

On the 5th, the weather being calm and foggy, a number of the officers and men amused themselves in the boats endeavouring to kill some of the white whales which were swarming about the vessels; but the creatures were wary enough to avoid danger, and to dive before the boats could approach them within forty yards. Mr Fisher, the assistant-surgeon of the "Hecla," described the whales as being from eighteen to twenty feet in length, and stated that he had several times heard them emit a shrill ringing sound, "not unlike that of musical glasses when badly played." This sound was most distinctly heard when they happened to swim directly beneath the boat, even when they were several feet under water, and ceased altogether on their coming to the surface. A number of narwhals, called by the sailors "sea-unicorns," were also seen here for the first time.

There being in the meantime no hope of a passage to the westward, Parry perceived with interest, during the clear weather which immediately succeeded the fog, that there was *a large open space to the southward*, where no land was visible; and for this opening, over which a dark "water-sky" was looming, he now directed his course. Driven onward by a breeze from the N.N.W., the vessels slowly forged southward, and it was soon discovered that they were entering an inlet not less than ten leagues wide at its mouth, and with no land visible in its mid-channel. At this time (6th August) Parry thus clearly states his position in the entrance of what has since been known as Prince Regent's Inlet: "The western shore of the inlet, which extended as far as we could see to the S.S.W., was so encumbered with ice, that there was no possibility of sailing near it; I therefore ran along the edge of the ice, between which and the eastern shore there was a broad and open channel, with the intention of seeking, in a lower latitude, a clearer passage to the westward than that we had just been obliged to abandon, lying between Prince Leopold's Isles and Maxwell's Bay. The headland which forms the western point of the entrance into this inlet was honoured by the name of Cape Clarence, after His Royal Highness the Duke of

Clarence; and another to the south-eastward of this was named after Sir Robert Seppings, one of the surveyors of His Majesty's Navy." Continuing his southward course along the edge of the land-ice of the western shore, Parry found that he was gradually being forced to near the eastern shore; and by midnight of the 7th, the channel in which he was sailing was narrowed to about five miles. The weather was beautifully serene and clear, and the sun, for the second time this season, just dipped, at midnight, below the northern horizon, and then reappeared in a few minutes. A dark sky to the south-west had given hopes of finding a westerly passage to the south of the ice along which Parry was sailing, more especially as the inlet began to widen considerably as he advanced in that direction, but he was soon to experience disappointment. On the 8th the prospect from the crow's-nest began to assume a very unpromising appearance, the whole of the western horizon, from north round to south by east, being completely covered by ice, consisting of heavy and extensive floes, beyond which no indication of water was visible.

The distance Parry sailed to the southward in this inlet was 120 miles—lat. $71^{\circ} 53'$, long. $90^{\circ} 3' W.$ —and he saw no reason to doubt the practicability of ships penetrating much further to the south, by watching the occasional openings in the ice, if the "determining the geography" of this part of the Arctic regions were considered worth the time. To himself, this result did not appear to be worth the trouble; and on the morning of the 9th he put his helm about, and returned to the north to prosecute his search for a passage westward from Barrow Strait. On the evening of the 11th the boats succeeded in harpooning a narwhal, to the great delight of the Greenland sailors of the expedition, who took so much delight in the sport to which they had been accustomed, that they could with difficulty be restrained from striking at a whale under any circumstances. On the 12th of August, Parry makes the following memorable entry in his journal: "This being the anniversary of the birthday of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, it naturally suggested to us the propriety of honouring the large inlet, which we had been exploring, and in which we still were sailing, with the name of PRINCE REGENT INLET."

On the 13th, the vessels had sailed clear out of the inlet, and were again off Leopold's Islands in Barrow Strait, recommencing their search in the old quarter for an outlet westward. After beating about in the vain endeavour to find such a passage through the ice, the vessels neared the northern shore of the great strait, and there found a comparatively open channel running westward along the edge of the land ice. On the 21st, there was nothing to impede the progress of the ships but the want of wind; the great opening of Lancaster Sound, through which they had proceeded from Baffin's Bay, being now so perfectly clear of ice that it was almost impossible to believe it to

be the same part of the sea, which, but a day or two before, had been completely covered with floes to the utmost extent of view. Very slowly was progress made for some time; for Parry was navigating an unknown sea, in foggy weather, though without the obstruction of ice. He crept on, however, through the strange waters and along the sterile coast, giving names to the more salient features of the shore—among them Radstock Bay and Beechey Island, so called after his own lieutenant. A breeze sprang up on the 22d, and all sail was made to the westward. The coast of North Devon was at length passed, and a magnificent channel, running northward between it and a great island to the westward, was discovered and named by Parry, Wellington Channel. "The arrival off this grand opening," says Parry, "was an event for which we had long been looking with anxiety and impatience; for the continuity of the land to the northward had always been a source of uneasiness to us, principally from the possibility that it might take a turn to the southward and unite with the coast of America. The appearance of this broad opening, free from ice, and of the land on each side of it, more especially that on the west, leaving scarcely a doubt on our minds of the latter being an island, relieved us from all anxiety on that score; and every one felt that we were now finally disentangled from the land which forms the western side of Baffin's Bay, and that, in fact, we had actually entered the Polar Sea. . . . Though two-thirds of the month of August had now elapsed, I had every reason to be satisfied with the progress which we had hitherto made. I calculated upon the sea being still navigable for six weeks to come, and probably more, if the state of the ice would permit us to edge away to the southward in our progress westerly. Our prospects, indeed, were truly exhilarating; the ships had suffered no injury; we had plenty of provisions; crews in health and spirits; a sea, if not open, at least navigable; and a zealous and unanimous determination in both officers and men to accomplish, by all possible means, the grand object on which we had the happiness to be employed."

CHAPTER II.

CORNWALLIS AND BATHURST ISLANDS DISCOVERED—DISCOVERY OF
MELVILLE ISLAND.

On the 23d August the "Hecla" and "Griper" were in full sail westward, through that part of Lancaster Sound which extends immediately to the south of Cornwallis and North Devon Islands. The magnificent inlet of Wellington Channel extended away to the northward, and was as open and navigable as any part of the Atlantic. It lay, however, at right angles to the course which Parry had resolved to pursue, and although its wide and free area was in the highest degree tempting to the explorer, he had sufficient determination to push on due west in search for the passage, the discovery of which was the object of the expedition. If, however, the sea to the westward, which was the direct course, had been obstructed by ice, and the wind had been favourable, such was the inviting appearance of Wellington Channel, in which no impediment whatever was visible, that Parry would have been induced to run through it, as a degree more or less to the northward made little or no difference in the distance he would have to run to Icy Cape, at the western extremity of the supposed passage. But there was no necessity for altering the original plan. The western course was open as well as the northern, and Parry decided to follow out his proper route, and turn neither to the right hand nor the left.

Nothing could have been more animating than the quick and unobstructed run across the entrance to Wellington Channel, from Beechey Island to Cape Hotham. "Most men," says Parry, "have probably, at one time or another, experienced that elevation of spirits which is usually produced by rapid motion of any kind; and it will readily be conceived how much this feeling was heightened in us, in the few instances in which it occurred, by the slow and tedious manner in which the greater part of our navigation had been performed in these seas." At noon of the 23d, the vessels had reached lat. $74^{\circ} 20'$, long. $94^{\circ} 43'$, when Griffith Island was discovered and named. Opposite to this island the shores of Cornwallis Island, which bounded the Sound on the north, rose with a gradual ascent from a sandy beach with one conspicuous headland, which was named Cape Martyr. On the morning, and again in the evening, of this day, much ice

had been met with, but a passage on both occasions was found by "boring," and the ships persevered in their westward course. On the 25th Bathurst Island was discovered and named; and during this day it was remarked, not without some degree of unpleasant feeling, that not a single bird, or any other living creature, made its appearance. Everything was still and quiet in this solitary sea, from which the brown deserted islands reared their heads in silence. For the most part the sea was covered with ice in a compact and undivided body, but a channel of sufficient breadth was still left open between the ice-field and the shore, under the lee of Bathurst Island. The weather was at this time remarkably serene and clear, and, although a line of ice was seen to the southward, lying in a direction nearly east and west, or parallel to the course we were steering, yet the space of open water was still so broad, and the prospect from the mast-head so flattering, that Parry thought the chances of the two ships parting company—a contingency that had always been apprehended, owing to the bad sailing qualities of the "Griper"—were now greater than they had ever been. He accordingly furnished Lieutenant Liddon of the "Griper" with special instructions, fixing upon a place of rendezvous for a certain date in the event of separation, and again stretched away westward. Leaving Bathurst Island behind, Parry now discovered a smaller island farther west, to which he gave the name, Byam Martin Island. On the 28th considerable delay was caused by the closing in of the ice, and there was for the time no passage westward. Advantage was taken of the enforced idleness of the expedition to examine Byam Martin Island—Captain Sabine and Messrs Ross, Edwards, and Fisher being despatched in a boat for this purpose. While this was being done, the vessels continued "to stand off-and-on by the lead, which seems a very safe guide on this coast, firing guns frequently, till five p.m., when we were not sorry to hear our signals answered by muskets from the boat." The officers reported on their return that they had landed on a sandy beach, near the east point of the island, which they found to be more productive, and altogether more interesting, than any other part of the Polar regions they had yet visited. Remains of Eskimo houses were found in four different places. These occupied a small ravine near the sea, and they consisted of rude structures of stones placed upon each other in a circular or rather elliptical form. They were from seven to ten feet in diameter, and attached to each of them was a smaller circle generally four or five feet in diameter, which had probably been the fire-place. The stones were moss-covered, and the huts had the appearance of having been deserted for a number of years.

It had been remarked that during the advance of the ships to these high latitudes, the compasses became more and more untrustworthy for the purposes of navigation. They became too sluggish to traverse, and at last it was resolved to abandon their use in the meantime. On the 29th a dense

fog settled down around the ships, and Parry's hope to find a channel among the ice, by which to pass Byam Martin Island, and push on westward did not seem likely to be realised. Lieutenant Parry's description of his difficulties, under these circumstances, has the advantage of being clear and graphic. "At four A.M. on the 29th the current was tried by mooring a boat to the bottom, but none could be detected. About this time the fog partially cleared away for a little while, when we observed that the ice was more open off Cape Gillman (south coast of Byam Martin Island) than when we had before attempted to pass in that direction. At five o'clock, therefore, we made sail for the point with a light easterly breeze; but at seven, when we had proceeded only two or three miles, the fog came on again as thick as before: fortunately, however, we had previously been enabled to take notice of several pieces of ice, by steering for each of which in succession we came to the edge of a floe, along which our course was to be pursued to the westward. As long as we had this guidance, we advanced with great confidence; but as soon as we came to the end of the floe, which then turned off to the southward, the circumstances under which we were sailing were, perhaps, such as have never occurred since the early days of navigation. To the northward was the land; the ice, as we supposed, to the southward; the compasses useless; and the sun completely obscured by a fog, so thick that the "Griper" could only now and then be seen at a cable's length astern. We had literally, therefore, no mode of regulating our course but by once more trusting to the steadiness of the wind; and it was not a little amusing, as well as novel, to see the quartermaster conning the ship by looking at the dog-vane."

The fog was so dense that at times the slowly advancing vessels, from which land and ice were alike concealed, had no guide whatever to steer by. Under such circumstances the very best use was made of the brief intervals of clear weather which occurred. During one of these intervals, and while Parry was sailing on the course which he knew by the bearings of the land to be the right one, it was observed that the "Griper" was exactly astern of the "Hecla," at the distance of about a quarter of a mile. The weather was not quite so thick as to prevent the officers in the advance ship seeing the "Griper" at that distance, and the quarter-master was directed to stand aft, near the taffrail, and to keep her constantly astern of the "Hecla," by which means the latter contrived to steer a tolerably straight course westward. The "Griper," on the other hand, naturally kept the "Hecla" right ahead, and thus, however ridiculous it may appear, "it is nevertheless true," says Parry, "that we steered one ship entirely by the other for a distance of ten miles out of sixteen and a half, which we sailed between one and eleven P.M."

On the 2d September, when the "Hecla" and "Griper" were off the coast of a new land lying to the west of Byam Martin Island, and to which

Parry afterwards gave the name of Melville Island, in honour of Lord Melville, head of the Admiralty, a star was seen—the first that had been visible for two months. This solitary monitor brought with it a warning that the brief and bright Arctic summer was on the wane, and that if any distinctive success in the navigation of the Polar seas was to be achieved this season, it must be won within the next few days, for winter was coming, and had already sent his *avant-courrière* to give warning of his approach. The navigation continued to be difficult from prevalent fogs, and from the loose ice through which the vessels were to force their way. The main body of the ice was about three miles distant from the shores of Melville Island, and the space between the ice-field and the land was thickly covered with loose ice-blocks. At the distance of half-a-mile from the shore there were many large masses of ice aground; and it was here that the method, so often resorted to in the subsequent part of the voyage, of placing the ships between these masses and the land, in case of the ice closing suddenly upon the vessels, first suggested itself to Parry's mind. An excursion to the shore was not productive of any very valuable results. No traces of inhabitants could be found. Deer were seen, though none were shot, and there were abundant traces of the musk-ox. At the top of a hill a bottle containing papers giving a sketch of the fortunes and successes of the expedition down to date, was buried, and a mound of stones and sand, in the middle of which a boarding-pike was set up to attract attention, raised above it. The visit to the shore being over, the voyage to the westward was resumed. Parry examined the southern coast of Melville Island with intense interest. He knew he was looking on a scene that had never before been seen by civilised man. He knew also that in a few weeks, if he were not fortunate enough to discover a north-west passage, he would have to winter in some creek or inlet of that coast, and that consideration was sufficient to invest the barren shores with a singular and exceptional interest. Throughout his whole career this famous navigator showed that he was naturally a leader of men. He was endeared to his crews alike by the nobleness of his nature and by the wisdom of his conduct. In this voyage he had his usual good fortune in securing the affection to regard of his officers. This regard he knew how to maintain as well as evoke. The more striking features of the coasts he discovered were often named after his own officers, as some little recognition for zeal and loyalty to their captain; and we find that in these days of early September in 1819, he had named Point Ross, Skene Bay, Cape Palmer, and Beverley Inlet after four of the officers of the "Hecla" and "Griper." The sunset of the evening of the 3d September was "extremely beautiful, the weather being clear and frosty, and the sky without a cloud. The moon rising soon after, afforded a spectacle no less pleasing, and far more sublime. Her horizontal diameter appeared to be very much elongated when just

above the horizon, owing to the unequal refraction of the upper and lower limbs."

Continuing to feel his way westward along the southern shore of Melville Island—tacking between the shallows of the low shores on the north and the sea-ice that extended in a broad unbroken field on the south—Parry had the great satisfaction of crossing the meridian of 110° west of Greenwich on the night of Saturday, 4th September, and of earning for himself, his officers, and men, the bounty of five thousand pounds, which Government, by a recent Act of Parliament, and with the view of encouraging the search for a North-West Passage, had voted to be given as a reward to such of his Majesty's subjects as should first penetrate so far to the westward within the Arctic Circle. On the following day (Sunday) after divine service had been performed, the commander, with what feelings of pride may well be imagined, assembled the officers, seamen, and marines of the "*Hecla*," and announced to them officially, that their exertions had so far been crowned with success, as to entitle them to the first prize in the scale of rewards granted by his Majesty's Order in Council, above mentioned. "I took this opportunity," Parry remarks, "of impressing upon the minds of the men the necessity of the most strenuous exertions, during the short remainder of the present season; assuring them that if we could penetrate a few degrees farther to the westward, before the ships were laid up for the winter, I had little doubt of our accomplishing the object of our enterprise before the close of the next season." He addressed a letter to the same effect to Lieutenant Liddon of the "*Griper*," and directed a small addition to be made to the usual allowance of meat, and some beer to be served, as a Sunday's dinner, in celebration of this substantial triumph of the expedition. The success was further commemorated by the men conferring the name of Bounty Cape upon a headland, which had just been passed.

A determined struggle with the ice had already been maintained for a number of days, and now, with a fresh gale blowing from the north, the ice continued to oppose an impenetrable barrier to all progress westward. Under these circumstances Parry resolved to beat up along the shore in search of a tolerable roadstead where he could drop anchor and await one of those changes in the weather and in the condition of the ice, which, at certain seasons of the year are here as frequent as they are unexpected in their occurrence. Such a roadstead was at length found and named the "*Bay of the Hecla and Griper*." Its recommendations were, that its bottom afforded good holding ground, consisting of mud and sand, from which the lead was with difficulty extricated; that it was completely sheltered from every wind round from east-north-east to south-west, and that it was more free from ice than any part of the southern coast of the island yet seen. No sooner had the anchorage been taken up than Captain Sabine, with a staff of assistants,

was sent ashore to examine the country. The locality they visited proved barren and unproductive; flocks of ducks, with gulls and tern, were seen, and tracks of deer and musk-ox were observed. The rocks were found to be composed of sandstone, but granite, flint, and coal were also found. It was not until dropping anchor in this bay that Parry named this island—the largest of the group he had recently discovered—Melville Island, in honour of Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty. It is with justifiable satisfaction that Parry concludes the narrative of this part of his voyage. “The Bay of the Hecla and Griper,” he states, “was the first spot where we had dropped anchor since leaving the coast of Norfolk; a circumstance which was rendered the more striking to us at the moment, as it appeared to mark in a very decided manner the completion of one stage of our voyage. The ensigns and pendants were hoisted as soon as we had anchored, and it created in us no ordinary feeling of pleasure to see the British flag waving for the first time in these regions, which had hitherto been considered beyond the limits of the habitable part of the world.”

CHAPTER III.

LAST ATTEMPTS TO PUSH WESTWARD—LOST IN THE SNOW—RESOLVE TO SEEK A STATION FOR THE WINTER—ENTER WINTER HARBOUR—LIFE ON SHIPBOARD IN WINTER—SHORTEST DAY—CHRISTMAS.

THE exploring vessels had been moored comfortably enough in the "Bay of the Hecla and Griper" on the 5th September, but not to rest there in idleness. The open season was now rapidly wearing to a close, and one last effort must be made to seek a winter station further west. Accordingly the anchors were weighed next morning, and the ships rounding Cape Hearne, at the west extremity of the bay, proceeded westward along the shore until they were stopped by a compact body of ice extending completely in to the shore. The commander then issued orders to make fast to a floe for the night, for the season had now so far advanced as to make it necessary to secure the ships every night from ten till two o'clock, the weather being too dark during that interval to allow them to be under way in this unknown sea, in which navigation, unaided by compasses, was so uncertain and perilous. No clear water could be seen from the crow's-nest or from the hills of the shore next day; and on the 8th, the ice having a threatening appearance, Parry resolved to take them inshore and moor them inside the line of bergs which lined the coast and afforded protection from the encroachment of the sea-ice. In this position the vessels remained till the 13th.

During this time an incident occurred which gave rise to the greatest alarm in both ships, and promised to surround the expedition with gloom. Mr Fife, Greenland master of the "Griper," went ashore early on the morning of the 10th with a party of six men, in the hope of coming upon some reindeer and musk-oxen, whose tracks had been seen in a ravine near where the "Griper" lay. The party were instructed to return on the same day, and the quantity of provisions supplied to them for the day was accordingly small. The day passed, but neither Fife nor any of his men returned. Night came down, wild, stormy, and bitterly cold, but the wanderers did not return. Morning dawned, but the return of light failed to bring back the lost men. The fact of their absence was now for the first time communicated to Parry, who recommended Lieutenant Liddon to send out a search-party for the missing men, and accordingly Messrs Reid, Beverley, and Wake-

ham volunteered for this service, and were sent out on search. They had scarcely got well away, however, when thick snow began to fall, and it became so dark, especially on the hills along which they had to travel, that the search-party themselves lost their way, and would have been unable to return that night had they not fortunately got sight of the signal rockets fired from the ships after dark. These signals guided them back to the "Griper," at which they arrived at ten o'clock, exhausted with cold and fatigue, and without any intelligence of the missing men.

On the morning of the 11th Lieutenant Hoppner was sent ashore with the "Hecla's" fore-royal-mast, rigged as a flag-staff. This he erected on a conspicuous hill four or five miles inland, hoisting upon it a large ensign, which might be seen at a considerable distance in every direction. During the day, however, the snow fell so thick that no advantage could be expected from this contrivance, and another night came without the absent party appearing. On the 13th the excitement and alarm on both ships were unbounded, and Parry ordered four parties, under the command of careful officers, to set out in search of the missing men. These parties were provided with a number of pikes, having small flags attached, which they were directed to plant at regular intervals, and which were intended to answer the double purpose of guiding themselves on their return, and of directing the absent party, should they meet with them, to the ships. To each pike a bottle, containing directions for the guidance of the lost men and acquainting them that provisions would be found at the large flag-staff on the hill, was fixed. When these four parties left the ships the wind was blowing hard from the westward, snow was continuing to fall, and the thermometer was standing at 28°, or 4° below freezing-point. This severe weather continued unchanged throughout the whole day, and the sun was going down for the third time behind the western hills, since Fife and his companions had gone away, when the officers of the "Hecla" beheld with intense satisfaction the signal which betokened the return of the party, or a part of them, being hoisted on the "Griper's" mast. Four men of Fife's party had been found, and the tale they had to tell well illustrates the constant dangers of Arctic exploration. On setting out with Fife three days before, they lost their way, and wandered about aimlessly and hopelessly till ten o'clock the next day, when they desisted the large flag-staff at a great distance. At this time the whole of Fife's party (seven in number) were together; but they were now to separate, for Fife mistook the flag-staff for a smaller one which had been erected some days previously on a spot at some considerable distance eastward from where the ships were stationed. He accordingly commenced to walk away, accompanied by two of his men, in a direction westward from the flag-staff, in the belief that by so doing he would reach the vessels. The other four men resolved to make for the flag-staff. They halted during a

part of the night, made a sort of hut of stones and turf to shelter them from the weather, and kindled a little fire with gunpowder and moss to warm their feet. They had never been in actual want of food, for they had been lucky enough to catch a number of grouse, which they ate raw. In the morning they once more set forward towards the flag-staff, which they reached within three or four hours after Lieutenant Beechey had left some provisions on the spot. These they at once made use of, eating some bread and drinking a little rum and water, which they described as appearing to them in their exhausted condition "perfectly tasteless and clammy." After this refreshment they renewed their journey towards the ships, and had not proceeded far when they came upon footsteps, which directed them to the search-party, by whom they were conducted to the "Griper." Soon after the arrival of the four rescued men, another party came in with the information that Mr Fife and his two companions had been found, and were on their way to the ships. Fresh hands were immediately sent to bring them in, and they arrived on board at ten P.M., after an absence of ninety-one hours, and having been exposed during three nights to the inclemency of the first wintry weather the expedition had experienced. Almost the whole of this party were much exhausted by cold and fatigue, and several of them were severely frost-bitten in their toes and fingers. They were at once taken in hand by the surgeons, and recovered in a few days. "Before midnight," says Parry, "we had still greater reason than ever to be thankful for the opportune recovery of our people, for the wind increased to a hard gale about half-past eleven, at which time the thermometer had fallen to 15° , making altogether so inclement a night as it would have been impossible for them, in their already debilitated state, to have survived. In humble gratitude to God for this signal act of mercy, we distinguished the headland to the westward of the ships by the name of Cape Providence."

On the night of the 15th, a strong current was observed to set towards the westward, and as the ice had opened in that direction, the "Hecla" and "Griper" cast off from shore on the morning of the 16th, and made all sail west. At noon they were abreast of Cape Providence, with another headland, which was named Cape Hay, looming up about ten miles in advance. Considerable progress was afterwards made toward the west. The last observations taken on this part of the coast gave lat. $74^{\circ} 23'$, long. $112^{\circ} 29'$, and although a position several miles westward of this was reached, it could not be held against the ice, which rose in lofty fields in front of the vessels, and pressing inshore, threatened on many occasions to crush them against the ramparts of grounded ice, with which the shore was lined. During the next few days the vessels were engaged in a constant and severe contest with the ice, now advancing in the wished-for direction, and again beaten back. At length the advanced period of the season, the unpromising

appearance of the ice to the westward, which rose in lofty fields, over which a clear view could not be obtained even from the mast-head, and the risk to the ships with which the navigation was continually attended, forced upon Parry the necessary conclusion, that the time had now come when it was absolutely necessary to look for winter quarters. Whenever the wind blew less than a gale, the formation of new, or "young" ice, went on with such astonishing rapidity that had the weather continued calm for four-and-twenty hours together, it seemed extremely probable that the vessels would have been frozen up at sea, and wholly defenceless against the motions and the changes of the ice. From these considerations, Parry considered it his duty to invite the opinions of his senior officers as to the expediency of immediately seeking a harbour in which the ships might lie securely during the ensuing winter. The opinions of the officers concurred with his own, and the commander then determined, whenever the ice and weather would permit, to run back eastward into the "Bay of the Hecla and Griper," in which neighbourhood alone he had any reason to believe that a suitable harbour might be found.

Immense labour and continuous peril for a number of days were incurred in carrying out this programme; but at length, on the 24th September, the vessels sailed into the Bay, and prepared to cut a canal through the ice, four or five inches in thickness, which covered the inlet of the bay in which it was resolved to winter the ships, and to which the name of Winter Harbour was afterwards given. The ice covered this inner harbour in a continuous and level floe, and as soon as the crews had breakfasted, Parry proceeded with a small party of men to sound and mark with boarding-pikes upon the ice the most direct channel to the anchorage. "This operation," says Parry, "was performed by first marking out two parallel lines, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the larger ship. Along each of these lines a cut was then made with an ice-saw, and others again at right angles to them, at intervals of from ten to twenty feet; thus dividing the ice into a number of rectangular pieces, which it was again necessary to subdivide diagonally, in order to give room for their being floated out of the canal. On returning from the upper part of the harbour, where I had marked out what appeared to be the best situation for our winter quarters, I found that considerable progress had been made in cutting the canal, and in floating the pieces out of it. To facilitate the latter part of the process, the seamen, who are always fond of doing things in their own way, took advantage of a fresh northerly breeze by setting some boat's sails upon the pieces of ice, a contrivance which saved both time and labour." In the evening, the anchors were weighed, and the vessels warped up the canal. At night an extra allowance of half a pound of fresh meat per man was issued; and the food of the men continued to be supplemented to this extent till their labours

were ended, and the vessels warped up into their permanent quarters in Winter Harbour. The consummation of their labours, which was achieved at half-past one p.m. on September 26th, was hailed with three loud and hearty cheers from both ships' companies. The ships were anchored in five fathoms, a cable's length from the beach, and after buffeting about among the moving ice for two months, something like a fixed home was thus established for Parry and his companions in the frozen waters of Winter Harbour.

The position in which we now have to regard the crews of the "Hecla" and "Griper," in a region of the earth hitherto unknown to human society; on the eve of a Polar winter, the rigours of which they could not as yet even guess at; cut off from all communication with the civilised world; their very existence itself dependent on their loyalty to their officers and their faithfulness to each other and to the common cause, is singular in itself, and interesting from the circumstance that the trial to which they were now about to subject themselves was the first experiment of the kind attempted in the present century. Their commander at least seems to have been deeply impressed with the responsible and exceptional character of his situation. "Having now," he says, "reached the station where, in all probability, we were destined to remain for at least eight or nine months, during three of which we were not to see the face of the sun, my attention was immediately and imperiously called to various important duties, many of them of a singular nature, such as had, for the first time, devolved on any officer in His Majesty's Navy, and might indeed be considered of rare occurrence in the whole history of navigation. The security of the ships and the preservation of the various stores were objects of immediate concern. A regular system to be adopted for the maintenance of good order and cleanliness, as most conducive to the health of the crews during the long, dark, and dreary winter, equally demanded my attention."

With these objects in view, operations were at once commenced to render the ships tolerably habitable during the winter. All the upper masts were dismantled, and the lower yards were lashed fore and aft amidships, at a sufficient height to support the planks of the housing intended to be erected over the ships, the lower ends of which rested on the gunwale, and the whole of which, forming a framework resembling a high-pitched roof, was covered over with canvas, and afforded a sufficient shelter from snow and wind. The boats, spars, running rigging, and sails, were removed on shore, in order to give as much room as possible on the upper deck to enable the men to take exercise on board when rigour of weather forbade walking on shore. As soon as the ships were secured and housed over, Parry gave his whole attention to arrangements for promoting the health and comfort of the officers and men. The berths and bed-places were kept as warm and dry as possible, although, from the condensation of vapour, and of the steam from the

coppers, upon the beams and planks, perfect dryness could scarcely be attained. Among the means employed to prevent this condensation of vapour on the timbers was a thick screen fixed round the galley, and dropping within eighteen inches of the deck, which served to intercept the steam from the coppers, and prevent it from curling along the beams, and condensing upon them into drops. This screen was especially useful at the time of drawing off the beer which the "Hecla's" men were in the habit of brewing from essence of malt and hops, and which continued to be served for several weeks as a substitute for part of the usual allowance of spirits. The steam arising from the brewing was found so annoying during the cold weather that, though the beer was valuable as an antiscorbutic, it was resolved eventually to shut up the brewery. As everything in the future was so completely uncertain to the explorers, it was deemed advisable to reduce the regular allowance of bread to two-thirds. "A pound of Donkin's preserved meat, together with one pint of vegetable or concentrated soup, per man, was substituted for one pound of salt beef weekly; a proportion of beer and wine was served in lieu of spirits, and a small quantity of sour kraut and pickles, with as much vinegar as could be used, was issued at regular intervals. The daily proportion of lime juice and sugar was mixed together, and, with a proper quantity of water, was drank by each man in presence of an officer appointed to attend to this duty. The latter precaution may appear to have been unnecessary to those who are not aware how much sailors resemble children in all those points in which their own health and comfort are concerned. Whenever any game was procured, it was directed to be served in lieu of, and not in addition to, the established allowance of other meat, except in a few extraordinary cases, when such an indulgence was allowed; and in no one instance, either in quantity or quality, was the slightest preference given to the officers."

The most rigid economy was adopted in the use of fuel; not a pound more of which was expended than barely sufficed for the preservation of the health of the crews. A search was made around the harbour for turf or moss, and a small quantity of the latter was found and used, but it was too wet to effect any saving of coals, and at this season of the year there was no inexpensive means of drying it. A few lumps of coal were picked up on the shores, but no vein of coal, for which a careful examination was made, could be found. Great attention was paid to the clothing of the men, who were regularly mustered morning and evening for inspection by the commander, accompanied by Lieutenant Beechey, and Mr Edwards, the "Hecla's" surgeon. Being now situated in enforced leisure and inactivity, and with a long and dull winter before them, it was necessary to contrive some plans for the amusement of the officers and crews of the expedition. Parry, who was an excellent amateur actor, accordingly proposed to the

officers to get up a play occasionally on board the "Hecla" as the readiest means of preserving among the crews that cheerfulness and good humour which had hitherto subsisted, and which was found to contribute much to the general health. This proposal was taken up with enthusiasm by both ships; and Lieutenant Beechey having been elected stage-manager, the first performance was fixed to come off on the 5th November. In these amusements Parry himself took a part, considering that an example of cheerfulness, by giving direct countenance to everything likely to promote that feeling, was not the least essential part of his duty in the circumstances. A weekly newspaper was also established, called the *North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle*, edited by Captain Sabine, and the articles in which were the original contributions of the officers. Thus every known precaution and preparation for passing the winter with some tolerable degree of comfort had been taken. The arrangements were completed not a day too soon, for on the very night of the arrival of the ships in Winter Harbour, the thermometer fell to 1° below zero; and on the following day the bay was observed from the hills to be quite frozen over, and before the end of October the sea was entirely covered with one uniform surface of solid and motionless ice.

The effect of the keen air of the Polar regions in sharpening the appetite made the sportsmen of the expedition not a little solicitous about occasionally supplementing, or at least, varying the regular allowances, by drawing upon the natural resources of the island. Several deer and a few coveys of grouse were seen; but so destitute is the surface of the country of everything like cover, that only three deer fell to the muskets of the hunters, prior to the whole herd leaving the island, before the close of October. The deer yielded from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and seventy pounds of meat each, and a fawn killed weighed eighty-four pounds. After the migration of the deer, only a few wolves and foxes were left to bear the explorers company during the winter. One solitary specimen of game of another sort was seen on the 1st of October. On that day Captain Sabine's servant, having been at some distance from the ships to examine a fox-trap, was pursued by a large white bear, which followed his footsteps all the way to the ships. The marksmen at once turned out and Bruin was struck by a number of balls, but managed to make his escape after all. "This bear," says Parry, "which was the only one we saw during our stay in Winter Harbour, was observed to be more purely white than any we had before seen, the colour of these animals being generally that of a dirtyish yellow, when contrasted with the whiteness of the ice and snow." A deer-stalking adventure, which occurred early in October, had a serious, and might have had a tragic, termination. Parry had given orders that all hunting, or other parties sent out over the ice should make it an invariable rule to be back on

board before sunset. On the 10th, a number of deer were seen near the ships, and a party sent out after them had so far the good fortune to wound a stag, and being led on by the ardour of pursuit, forgot or neglected to return till very late, when serious apprehension had for some time been felt for their safety. John Pearson, a marine belonging to the "Griper," who was the last to return on board, had gone away without mittens and with a musket in his hand. The result was that, in the exposure to the cold of the evening, his hands were severely frost-bitten. A search party sent out to seek for him, found him at the bottom of a bank of snow, down which he had fallen, in that state of torpor and drowsiness which, after exposure to the severe cold of these regions, is the invariable precursor of death. With difficulty he was conducted on board, and when he was brought in his fingers had stiffened, and were bent and fixed—the form they had taken in carrying the musket. The frost-bite was so severe that three of his fingers had to be amputated a few days after. The effect of exposure to intense frost, in benumbing the mental as well as the physical faculties, "was," says Parry, "very striking in this man, as well as in two of the young gentlemen who returned after dark, and of whom we were anxious to make inquiries respecting Pearson. When I sent for them into my cabin, they looked wild, spoke thick and indistinctly, and it was impossible to draw from them a rational answer to any of our questions. After being on board for a short time, the mental faculties appeared gradually to return with the returning circulation, and it was not till then that a looker-on could easily persuade himself that they had not been drinking too freely. To those who have been much accustomed to cold countries this will be no new remark; but I cannot help thinking (and it is with this view that I speak of it) that many a man may have been punished for intoxication, who was only suffering from the benumbing effects of frost; for I have more than once seen our people in a state so exactly resembling that of the most stupid intoxication, that I should certainly have charged them with that offence, had I not been quite sure that no possible means were afforded them on Melville Island to procure anything stronger than snow-water. In order to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of any similar danger, Lieutenant Parry issued an order to the effect that in the case of any members of the crews being absent from the ships without leave after dark, the expense of all rockets and other signals used in such cases to guide them back, should in future be charged against the wages of the offending party. But, as from fog, snow-drift, and the natural darkness of mid-winter, there would be constant danger of being lost, even at mid-day, Parry caused finger-posts, pointing towards the ships, to be erected on all the hills within two or three miles of the harbour.

From many tokens it was now evident that winter was fast closing in upon this colony of Englishmen, housed in their vessels on the shore of Mel-

ville Island. All the water they used now was obtained from snow, artificially dissolved. The snow for this purpose was dug out of the drifts, which had formed upon the ice round the ships, and dissolved in the coppers, after which it was strained, and found pure and wholesome. The last covey of ptarmigan that were seen this season were observed on the 15th October; and on the same day a herd of fifteen deer were seen to the southward. They were all lying down at first, except one large one, probably a stag, which afterwards seemed to guard the rest in their flight—going frequently round them, and sometimes striking them with his horns to make them go on, which otherwise they did not seem much inclined to do. A northern gale, accompanied by a constant snow-drift, blew during the 16th, and a striking peculiarity of this Arctic weather was that while the air was perfectly clear overhead, the boat-house, at the distance of three or four hundred yards, could scarcely be seen from the ship. Of course, in this dark weather, no one was allowed to leave the vessels. "Indeed," says Parry, "when this snow-drift occurred (as it frequently did during the winter) with a hard gale, and the thermometer very low, I believe that no human being could have remained alive after an hour's exposure to it." In order, therefore, to secure the means of rapid communication between the ships, as well as from the ships to the house on shore, a line was kept stretched between the various points. In the middle of October the cold was intense. On the 18th, a thermometer placed in the sun at noon rose only to -9° (nine degrees below zero); while in the shade the temperature was -16° . The 20th October was one of the finest days which ever occur in this climate, the weather being clear, with little or no wind; and, though the thermometer remained steadily at between -15° and -16° even at noon, it was neither trying nor unpleasant. The ships' sportsmen were out during the whole day, but returned without having seen any living animal—the southern migration of deer and birds having by this time taken place. In the evening the aurora borealis was observed, forming a broad arch of irregular white light extending from N.N.W to S.S.E., the centre of the arch being ten degrees to the eastward of the zenith. It is described as having been brightest near the southern horizon; and frequent but not vivid comets were seen shooting from its upper side towards the zenith. Between two and three p.m. on the following day, the weather being still remarkably fine and clear, a brilliantly-coloured parhelion was seen on each side of the sun near the horizon, at the distance from it of twenty-three degrees, and looking like the legs of a rainbow resting on the land. On the 26th, there was sufficient daylight for reading and writing, from half-past nine till half-past two, in Parry's cabin, the stern windows of which exactly faced the south. About this period, nothing could exceed the beauty of the sky to the south-east and south-west, at sunrise and sunset. "Near the horizon there was gener-

ally a rich bluish-purple, and a bright arch of deep red above, the one mingling imperceptibly with the other." The weather about this time is said to have been remarkably mild; the mercury having stood at or above zero for more than forty-eight hours. On the 29th, however, the thermometer registered 24° below zero, on which occasion it was observed that the smoke from the funnels would not rise, but skimmed horizontally along the housing. So intense had the cold now become that to touch any metallic substance in the open air, with the naked hand, was now found to be a painful experiment, the feeling produced by which exactly resembled that produced by the opposite extreme of intense heat. Whenever the flesh was allowed to touch metal the skin came off. For this reason the greatest caution was required in using the sextants or other instruments, particularly the eye-pieces of the telescopes, which, if allowed to touch the face, occasioned an intense burning pain. The inconvenience was only remedied by covering the parts of the instruments likely to come in contact with the skin, with soft leather.

On the 4th of November, the sun was seen for the last time till the 8th February—an interval of ninety-six days; and it was probably in anticipation of this somewhat depressing event that the commander of the expedition had arranged that the theatre should be opened, for the first time, on the following day. Accordingly, on the following day, the *Royal Arctic Theatre* was opened, and "Miss In Her Teens" was performed, Parry sustaining the part of *Fribble*. The amusement derived from the performance fully justified the anticipations that had been formed of the value of such entertainments in such circumstances. With the play itself the men were delighted; while even the bustle and the novelty of fitting up the theatre, and taking it to pieces again, which occupied the men for a day or two, both before and after each performance, had a salutary effect in engaging the men in a labour amusing in itself, and performed in the most cheerful and willing manner. "I dreaded," writes Parry, "the want of employment as one of the worst evils that was likely to befall us."

During these dark, sunless days of midwinter, the circumstances of the situation of the expedition being such as had never before been experienced by the crews of any ships of the British navy, Parry's account of the routine, which was followed with little variation from day to day, is of the greatest interest; and all the more so from the circumstance, that in these later years, and especially since the improvements made by M'Clintock in sledge-travelling, the conditions under which Arctic life now transacts itself on ship-board, even during the hundred days' darkness of winter, are so materially altered, that a sketch of life on board the "Hecla" in 1819-20 is not without its value as a memorial of a variety of naval life which has now passed away.

"The officers and quarter-masters," says Parry, "were divided into four watches, which were regularly kept, as at sea, while the remainder of the ship's company were allowed to enjoy their night's rest undisturbed. The hands were turned up at a quarter before six, and both decks were well rubbed with stones and warm sand before eight o'clock, at which time, as usual at sea, both officers and men went to breakfast. Three quarters of an hour being allowed after breakfast for the men to prepare themselves for muster, we then beat to divisions punctually at a quarter past nine, when every person on board attended on the quarter-deck, and a strict inspection of the men took place, as to their personal cleanliness, and the good condition, as well as sufficient warmth, of their clothing. The reports of the officers having been made to me, the people were then allowed to walk about, or more usually, to run round the upper deck, while I went down to examine the state of that below. . . . The state of this deck may be said, indeed, to have constituted the chief source of our anxiety, and to have occupied by far the greatest share of our attention at this period. Whenever any dampness appeared, or, what more frequently happened, any accumulation of ice had taken place during the preceding night, the necessary means were immediately adopted for removing it; in the former case, usually by rubbing the wood with cloths, and then directing the warm air pipe towards the place; and in the latter, by scraping off the ice. . . . We returned to the upper deck, where I personally inspected the men; after which they were sent out to walk on shore, when the weather would permit, till noon, when they returned on board to their dinner. When the day was too inclement for them to take this exercise, they were ordered to run round and round the deck, keeping step to a tune on the organ, or not unfrequently, to a song of their own singing. . . . The officers, who dined at two o'clock, were also in the habit of occupying one or two hours in the middle of the day in rambling on shore, even in our darkest period, except when a fresh wind and a heavy snow-drift confined them within the housing of the ships. It may be well imagined, that at this period there was but little to be met with in our walks on shore, which could either amuse or interest us. The necessity of not exceeding the limited distance of one or two miles, lest a snow-drift, which often rises very suddenly, should prevent our return, added considerably to the dull and tedious monotony, which day after day presented itself. To the southward was the sea, covered with one unbroken surface of ice, uniform in its dazzling whiteness, except that, in some parts, a few hummocks were seen thrown up somewhat above the general level. Nor did the land offer much greater variety, being almost entirely covered with snow, except here and there a brown patch of bare ground in some exposed situation, where the wind had not allowed the snow to remain. When viewed from the summit of the neighbouring hills, on one of those calm and clear days

which not unfrequently occurred during the winter, the scene was such as to induce contemplations which had, perhaps, more of melancholy than of any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen on which the eye could long rest with pleasure, unless when directed to the spot where the ships lay, and where our little colony was planted. The smoke which there issued from the several fires, affording a certain indication of the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to this part of the prospect; and the sound of voices, which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around us, a silence far different from that peaceable composure which characterises the landscape of a cultivated country; it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence. Such, indeed, was the want of objects to afford relief to the eye or amusement to the mind, that a stone of more than usual size appearing above the snow, in the direction in which we were going, immediately became a mark, on which our eyes were unconsciously fixed, and towards which we mechanically advanced. . . . We had frequent occasion, in our walks on shore, to remark the deception which takes place in estimating the distance and magnitude of objects, when viewed over an unvaried surface of snow. It was not uncommon for us to direct our steps towards what we took to be a large mass of stone at the distance of half-a-mile from us, but which we were able to take up in our hands after one minute's walk. . . . In the afternoon, the men were usually occupied in drawing and knotting yarns, and in making points and gaskets—a never-failing resource where mere occupation is required, and which it was necessary to perform entirely on the lower deck, the yarns becoming so hard and brittle when exposed on deck to the temperature of the atmosphere, as to be too stiff for working, and very easily broken. . . . At half-past five in the evening, the decks were cleared up, and at six we again beat to divisions, when the same examination of the men and of their berths and bed-places took place as in the morning; the people then went to their supper, and the officers to tea. After this time, the men were permitted to amuse themselves as they pleased, and games of various kinds, as well as dancing and singing occasionally, went on upon the lower deck till nine o'clock, when they went to bed, and the lights were extinguished. In order to guard against accidents by fire, where so many fires and lights were necessarily in use, the quarter-masters visited the lower deck every half-hour during the night, and made their report to the officers of the watches that all was, in this respect, safe below; and to secure a ready supply of water in case of fire, a hole was cut twice a day in the ice, close alongside each ship. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the evening occupations of the officers were of a more rational kind than those which engaged the attention of the men. Of these, reading and writing were the principal employ-

ments, to which were occasionally added a game of chess, or a tune on the flute or violin, till half-past ten, about which time we all retired to rest. Such were the employments which usually occupied us for six days in the week, with such exceptions only as circumstances at the time suggested. On Sundays, divine service was invariably performed, and a sermon read on board both ships; the prayer appointed to be daily used at sea being altered, so as to adapt it to the service in which we were engaged, the success which had hitherto attended our efforts, and the peculiar circumstances under which we were at present placed. The attention paid by the men to the observance of their religious duties, was such as to reflect upon them the highest credit, and tended, in no small degree, to the preservation of that regularity and good conduct, for which, with very few exceptions, they were invariably distinguished."

During the dark days, the theatrical entertainments were arranged to take place regularly every fortnight, and continued to prove a source of genuine amusement to all, whether players, stage carpenters, or merely auditors. There were only one or two volumes of plays on board, so that the stock of available pieces was soon exhausted. But this was no great hardship. The expedition, which was complete in so many departments, was not unfurnished with a poet and playwright, and soon a musical entertainment, which was named the "North-West Passage" was put together, and performed to the great gratification and satisfaction of all concerned. The "North-West Passage" is described by Parry as "expressly adapted to our audience; and having such a reference to the service on which we were engaged, and the success we had so far experienced, as at once to afford a high degree of present recreation, and to stimulate, if possible, the sanguine hopes which were entertained by all on board, of the complete accomplishment of our enterprise." Serious fears were at one time felt that this amusement would have to be stopped by the severity of the weather. Arctic theatricals are often carried on under exceptional disadvantages. Certain of the costumes expose the wearers to the all-searching cold, and we could fancy the sufferings of a young officer doomed to personate a sea-nymph or a shepherdess with the temperature on the stage at several degrees below zero. Captain Lyon, who took the "Hecla" into the Polar seas in 1821-23, played *Dick Dowlas* in the "Heir-at-Law," going through the last act with two of his fingers frost-bitten.

An important epoch came round in the shortest day, the 22d December, for now the hopes of the frost-bound people turned toward the Arctic summer, and the liquid seas it would bring with it. On this day the light was sufficiently clear, and lasted sufficiently long, to allow the officers to walk out very comfortably for two hours. There was usually in clear weather a beautiful arch of bright red light overspreading the southern horizon for an hour or two at this season of the year, the light increasing in strength as the

sun neared the meridian. Although the day was short, and still sunless, the reflection of light from the snow, and the unusual brilliancy of the Arctic moonlight, were at all times sufficient to prevent the explorers experiencing anything like the gloomy night which occurs in more temperate climates. Especial care was taken, during the time the sun was below the horizon, to preserve the strictest regularity in the time of the meals, and in the various occupations which engaged the men during the day; and this, together with the gradual and imperceptible manner in which the darkest season wore on, prevented this night-in-day kind of life, in reality so novel, from causing any actual inconvenience, or even from appearing unnatural or surprising.

The shortest day of the year, with all its crowding reflections and mustering hopes, was scarcely over, when the famous 25th was at hand, and the hundred Englishmen of the "Hecla" and "Griper" found themselves about to celebrate Christmas for the first time in a region completely out of keeping with the jollity, the hospitality, comfort, and plenty with which they had always previously associated the most famous of English holidays. "To mark the occasion in the best manner which circumstances would permit," writes the leader of the expedition, "divine service was performed on board the ships; and I directed a small increase in the men's usual proportion of fresh meat as a Christmas dinner, as well as an additional allowance of grog, to drink the health of their friends in England. The officers also met at a social and friendly dinner, and the day passed with much of the same kind of festivity by which it is usually distinguished at home. A piece of English roast beef which had been on board since the preceding May, and which had been preserved during that time without salt, and merely by the cold of the atmosphere, formed part of the officers' dinner."

On the 30th December the thermometer fell to -43° , or to 75° below the freezing point of Fahrenheit. This was the lowest temperature that had yet been experienced. The weather, however, was fine, calm, and clear, and the colours of the sunless southern sky at noon were observed to be remarkably prismatic. But the Arctic climate is subject to strange variations, and on the following day, the 31st, the wind sprang up, and the thermometer, rising with the wind, registered $+5^{\circ}$ at midnight, or only 27° below freezing point, thus closing the year with milder weather than the explorers had experienced during the eight preceding weeks.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW YEAR—FIRST APPEARANCE OF SCURVY—EXTREME COLD—ESCAPE FROM WINTER HARBOUR—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE, AND RETURN TO ENGLAND.

THE extraordinarily mild weather with which the new year was ushered in on the southern shores of Melville Island was not of long continuance, for as the wind moderated the thermometer fell. On the 1st of January a pale halo was seen around the moon, with three paraselenæ, or false moons, seen above and at each side of the real one. These false moons were very luminous, but were not tinged with the prismatic colours; and the ghostly feeling of their colour and strange figure was intensified on the following day, when the same appearance was again visible in the sky, with the addition of a vertical stripe of white light proceeding from the upper and the lower "limbs," or sides of the real moon, and forming, with part of a horizontal circle passing through the latter, the appearance of a cross. On the same day, the commander of the expedition was alarmed by hearing from the surgeon that the gunner of the "*Hecla*" was suffering from scurvy. The cause that had superinduced the disease was found to be the dampness of the gunner's bed-place. Measures were immediately taken to have all the bed-places and clothes dried periodically, and the whole magazine of anti-scorbutics which the "*Hecla*" carried, consisting of preserved vegetable soups, lemon juice and sugar, pickles, preserved currants and gooseberries, and spruce beer, were brought to bear upon the disease that had thus invaded the ship. Parry began also at this time to raise a small quantity of mustard and cress in his cabin, in small shallow boxes, filled with mould, and placed along the stove-pipe; by which means, even in the severest winter weather, he could generally secure a crop at the end of the sixth or seventh day after sowing the seed, which, by keeping several boxes at work, would give two or three scorbutic patients nearly an ounce of fresh salad each daily. The mustard and cress thus raised were colourless, from being grown in the dark, but they had all their natural aromatic pungency of taste, and salads composed of them were found to be a perfect specific for scurvy. The gunner, taken in hand in this vigorous and business-like manner, soon recovered the use of his legs, and, after the ninth day, declared himself fit to "run a race."

On the 11th, the thermometer sank to 49° below zero, the most intense degree of cold that the explorers had yet experienced; but, as the weather was calm, the crews were able to walk on the shore for an hour without inconvenience, the sensation of cold depending much more on the strength of the wind at the time than on the absolute temperature of the atmosphere as indicated by the thermometer. "In going from the cabins to the open air," says Parry, "we were constantly in the habit for some months of undergoing a change of from 80° to 100° , and in several instances of 120° , of temperature, in less than one minute;" but no distressing sensation or pain in the lungs was felt in passing out into the cold, or returning into the warm atmosphere. "And what is still more extraordinary," continues the commander, "not a single inflammatory complaint, beyond a slight cold, which was cured by common care in a day or two, occurred during this particular period."

The most splendid displays of the aurora borealis were seen during the month of January, and the appearance of the sky became daily more and more interesting till the 3d February, when the sun made his first appearance above the horizon after his long absence during the dreary Arctic night of winter. When first seen from the main-top, a column of pale red light extended from the upper part of the sun's disc to about 3 of altitude. The breadth of this column, which was at times intensely bright, at other times scarcely perceptible, and which was visible for three-quarters of an hour before and after noon, was equal to that of the sun's diameter, and its brightness was much more intense near the sun than at the other extremity.

As the sun continued to rise in his lengthening daily course, the cold became more intense, and frost-bites were common among the men, though no very serious case occurred. The distance at which sounds were heard in the open air, during the continuance of the extreme cold, was often the cause of surprise. "We have, for instance," Parry states, "often heard people distinctly conversing, in a common tone of voice, at the distance of a mile; and to-day (11th February), I heard a man singing to himself, as he walked along the beach, at even a greater distance than this." In this very severe weather, two of the "Heela's" marines were tempted to indulge much too freely in spirits, an offence which it was the commander's duty to prevent under any circumstances, but which, if permitted to pass unnoticed in the present situation of the expedition, might have been attended with the most serious consequences, not only to the health, but to the discipline of the crews. Parry was, therefore, under the necessity of subjecting the offenders to a punishment of thirty-six lashes each. On the 15th, the thermometer registered 55° below zero, the most intense degree of cold felt during the sojourn of the ships in Winter Harbour. Though this temperature was 87° below that at which water freezes, not the slightest inconvenience was suffered from exposure to the open air, as long as the weather was perfectly

calm ; but in walking against a very light air of wind, a smarting sensation was experienced all over the face, accompanied by a pain in the middle of the forehead, which soon became rather severe. On this day the officers amused themselves by freezing some mercury by simply exposing it to the atmosphere, and beating it out on an anvil. When thus frozen, the mercury was not very malleable, but broke under the hammer after two or three blows. On the 16th, the weather continuing about equally severe, the play arranged for performance for the evening was duly acted ; "but it must be confessed that it was almost too cold for either actors or audience to enjoy it, especially for those of the former who undertook to appear in female dresses." As the month wore on, the explorers were cheered by the sun's light for about eight hours daily. On the 22d, the weather was fine and clear ; and though the thermometer stood at $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below zero in the sun, walking along the shore was a great enjoyment. "With our present temperature," writes Parry, "the breath of a person, at a little distance, looked exactly like the smoke of a musket just fired, and that of a party of men employed upon the ice to-day resembled a thick white cloud."

On the 24th, at a quarter-past ten, when the men were running round the decks for exercise, and luckily were, on that account, well clothed, the house on shore, which was used chiefly for making astronomical observations, was discovered to be on fire. All the officers and men of both ships instantly went off to extinguish it ; and having, by great exertion, pulled off the roof with ropes, and knocked down a part of the sides, so as to allow snow to be thrown upon the flames, they succeeded in getting it under after three-quarters of an hour, and, fortunately, before the fire had reached that end of the house where the two clocks, together with the transit and other valuable instruments, were standing in their cases. Having removed these, and covered the ruins with snow, to prevent any further outbreak of fire, the men returned on board till more temperate weather should permit of their digging out the rest of the things, which were subsequently found uninjured. The ships' companies were then mustered, to show that they had put on dry clothes before sitting down to dinner. "The appearance which our faces presented at the fire," says Parry, "was a curious one, almost every nose and cheek having become quite white with frost-bites in five minutes after being exposed to the weather ; so that it was deemed necessary for the medical gentlemen, together with some others appointed to assist them, to go constantly round, while the men were working at the fire, and to rub with snow the parts affected, in order to restore animation. Notwithstanding this precaution, which, however, saved many frost bites, we had an addition of no less than sixteen men to the sick lists of both ships in consequence of this accident. Among these there were four or five cases which kept the patients confined for several weeks ; but John Smith of the artillery, who was Captain

Sabine's servant, and who, together with Sergeant Martin, happened to be in the house at the time the fire broke out, was unfortunate enough to suffer much more severely. In their anxiety to save the dipping-needle, which was standing close to the stove, and of which they knew the value, they immediately ran out with it; and Smith, not having time to put on his gloves, had his fingers in half-an-hour so benumbed, and the animation so completely suspended, that on his being taken on board by Mr Edwards (the surgeon), and having his hands plunged into a basin of cold water, the surface of the water was immediately frozen by the intense cold thus suddenly communicated to it; and, notwithstanding the most humane and unremitting attention paid to them by the medical gentlemen, it was found necessary, some time after, to resort to the amputation of a part of four fingers on one hand and three on the other."

The month of March was memorable to the explorers on account of the surprising and very beautiful atmospheric phenomena then seen. Of these, as forming a distinct and peculiar element of the sky-scenery of the Arctic regions, and as being seen almost daily at this time of the year, it is necessary here to give some brief sketch. Near noon, on the 4th of March, a halo appeared round the sun, at the distance of 22' 17" from it, consisting of a circle, nearly complete, and glowing with prismatic colours. "Three parhelia, or mock suns, were distinctly seen upon this circle; the first being directly over the sun, and one on each side of it, at its own altitude. The prismatic tints were much more brilliant in the parhelia than in any other part of the circle; but red, yellow, and blue, were the only colours which could be traced, the first of these being invariably next the sun in all the phenomena of this kind observed. From the sun itself, several rays of white light, continuous but not very brilliant, extended in various directions beyond the halo, and these rays were more bright after passing through the circle than within it. This singular phenomenon remained visible nearly two hours. On the 8th, a similar halo, with three parhelia, was again visible, and phenomena of this kind continued to be seen almost daily."

On the evening of the 19th March, the officers performed the farces of the "Citizen" and the "Mayor of Garratt," Parry sustaining the parts of *Old Philpot* in the former, and *Mathew Mug* in the latter. This was the last night of the theatrical season; for the severity of the winter weather had, by this time, so far mitigated, that there was now no longer any want of occupation for the men. The ice continued to remain firm, however; and although in April and early in May the snow had melted in certain localities, little could yet be done in preparation for continuing the voyage, or returning to England. On the 1st June, Lieutenant Parry, accompanied by twelve officers and men, and furnished with provisions for three weeks, set out on a travelling tour into the interior of Melville. He returned on the 15th, after a

journey remarkable for nothing except the admirable spirit and courage with which, in the face of constant hardships, it was performed.

During the absence of Parry, the equipment of the ships for sea had been actively carried on by Lieutenants Beechey and Liddon, and by the middle of June both vessels were nearly ready to sail. With the view of occupying the time of the officers and men, Parry directed that a hunting party should be organised in each ship, under Lieutenants Beechey and Hoppner, to remain out on the island for a number of days, at the distance of ten or twelve miles, as it was found that the scanty game that were now observed from day to day were too wild to be approached from the ships; and that especially the deer that were now migrating from the south to the feeding places in the remote north, could, by no means, be got at from the ships. Three deer, each yielding about sixty pounds of fresh meat, together with numerous birds and hares, made up a good bag for the first two or three days; and the leader resolved to continue the hunting parties, the officers of which were instructed not only to supervise the camping out of the parties, etc., but also to keep a careful watch on the condition of the ice, and immediately to report any decided change that might take place. The men were delighted to be sent on these hunting excursions, from which they invariably returned in the best possible health, though often rather thinner than when they went out. The heads and hearts of the deer were considered the lawful perquisites of those who killed them; and no Highland sportsman, that ever stalked over a Scottish forest, was keener in the hunt than were the Jack Tars let loose upon Melville Island from the "Hecla" and "Griper." The deer gradually became wild, however, and stratagem was often required to bring them down. Lieutenant Beechey killed one by lying down quietly and imitating the voice of a fawn, when the deer immediately came up to him within gun-shot. The horns of the deer killed at this early part of the season were covered with a soft skin, having a downy pile or hair upon it; the horns themselves were soft, and at the tips flexible and easily broken.

Meantime the ice was melting all over the district, both in Winter Harbour and on the island, which, for many miles round, had now become so familiar to the explorers. Pools were observed all over the surface of the ice, and large cracks were seen extending from the land for some distance seaward. It was remarked, that when any hard substance, broken down into small pieces, was laid upon the ice, it soon made a deep hole for itself by the heat it absorbed and radiated, and which melted the ice; but it was curious to note how directly contrary was the effect produced upon the ice by a quantity of straw which was put out upon it in the early part of May, and which, "by preventing the access of warmth, had now become raised above the general surface more than two feet; affording a strong practical example of the principle on which straw is made use of in ice-houses, and, what was at that

time of more importance to us, a proof how much the upper surface of the ice had been insensibly wasted by dissolution."

The melting of the ice in the harbour went on so rapidly in the early part of July that Parry was greatly surprised on the 6th, to find that in several of the pools of water around the "Hecla," holes had been wasted quite through to the sea beneath. On examining several of these holes, it was discovered that the average thickness of the ice, in the upper part of the harbour where the ships were lying, was much less than the explorers had yet dared to hope—being only two feet. On the 14th, owing to the breaking up of a number of ice partitions separating holes and pools, a boat passed for the first time between the ships and the shore, and on the following day communication in the same way was established between the ships. The vessels had now been quite ready for sea for some days, and a continuous and anxious look-out was kept from the crow's-nest for any alteration in the ice that might favour escape from Winter Harbour. The Arctic summer was now rapidly advancing, and the whole character of the scenery of bleak Melville Island was about to undergo a wonderful transformation. The snow had now disappeared, except in the hollows and ravines, and the walks which the winter-bound sailors were now able to take, when the weather had become really mild and pleasant, and to them—accustomed to the rigour of a winter severe enough to freeze the liquid and nimble mercury into a bullet that could be fired from a musket through a deal board—was warm as the summer of any temperate climate, were an unfailing source of pleasure. Game were now comparatively plentiful, fresh meat was obtainable every day, and the abundant supply of fresh sorrel from the shore provided the expedition with the most wholesome of vegetables, and so improved their health and spirits, that their condition was now as good and efficient as when they left England.

On the 18th July, there was an open passage all round the shores of Winter Harbour, though the middle of the bay was still filled with ice. On the 20th, the "Hecla," freed at last from the ice, now fairly rode at anchor in open water. The "Griper" had been equally fortunate, and both ships now only waited the widening of the passage leading out to the open sea. Day after day brought new hopes, and also new disappointments, for the ice at the entrance continued to remain firm. At this time it was one of Parry's most anxious cares to conceal from his men, by stratagems of various kinds, the fact that was never absent from his own mind, that if the vessels were detained in the harbour but a few weeks longer, all hope of escape this season must be abandoned. At length, on the last day of July, the wind shifting to the W.S.W. at eleven P.M., the whole body of the ice in the harbour was perceived to be moving slowly out to the south-eastward, breaking away, for the first time, at the points which formed the entrance to the harbour.

At one P.M. on the 1st August, everything being in readiness, the "Hecla" weighed and ran out of Winter Harbour, in which she had been confined for over ten months, and sailed westward along shore towards Cape Hearne, generally at the distance of half-a-mile from the land. On the 3d, Parry arrived off Cape Providence at eleven P.M., and had just got far enough to see that there was a free and open channel beyond the westernmost point of Melville Island, when his progress was almost entirely stopped for want of a breeze to enable him to take advantage of it. The calm continued till the 5th, when a breeze sprang up from the eastward. All sail was made, and the "Hecla" ran before the wind for two hours without obstruction, until ice, in very extensive and heavy floes, was seen to close in with the land in advance, a little to the westward of Cape Hay. Having run the "Hecla" in-shore, under shelter of a projecting point which intervened between the vessel and the threatening ice, Parry here found himself imprisoned by adverse winds and drifting ice for several days. On the 8th he distinctly saw high and bold land towards the south-west, and at the distance of from sixteen to eighteen leagues from the station in which the ships were lying. "This land," says Parry, "which extends beyond the 117th degree of longitude, and is the most western yet discovered in the Polar Sea to the northward of the American Continent, was honoured with the name of Banks' Land, out of respect to the late venerable and worthy President of the Royal Society."

On the 9th a musk ox was killed on the beach near the ships. When first brought on board, the carcass of this animal smelt very strongly of musk, and of the flesh, the heart especially had a musky flavour. It yielded 421 lbs. of beef, which was served to the crews as usual, instead of the customary salt provisions, and was much relished, notwithstanding its peculiar flavour. The meat was fat, and when hung up in quarters, "looked as fine as any beef in an English market." About this time a seal was killed, eaten, and found to be very tender and palatable, by the people in the "Griper."

After being detained for twelve days on this unsheltered shore, with a sea of ice in front, and threatening every moment to close in and crush the vessel, or effectually seal it up on shore for another year, and without the slightest hope of making a westward passage through the solid and wide-spreading floes that lay close around, Lieutenant Parry resolved to run back eastward for a few miles, and then steer southward along the outer edge of the ice, and thus seek a westward passage in a lower latitude. The station in which the vessels were still lying on the 16th August was in lat. $74^{\circ} 26'$, and in long. $113^{\circ} 46'$, with Cape Dundas a few miles to the westward. Casting off from the shore, the "Hecla" left this station, and ran close along the edge of the ice to the eastward. On the 17th, she was obliged to seek

shelter in a little harbour (long. $112^{\circ} 38'$), formed, as usual, by the grounded ice, some of which was fixed to the bottom in ten or twelve fathoms. Here both vessels were hemmed in till the 23d, when they were worked eastward as far as Cape Providence, in the neighbourhood of which, among ice that was at once heavy and loose, the vessels received by far the heaviest shocks they had experienced during the voyage. Parry now finally reviewed the situation in which the expedition was placed. It was now the 23d August, and the 7th September he considered it reasonable to regard as the limit beyond which the navigation of this part of the Polar Sea could not be carried on. The direct distance to Icy Cape, the supposed termination of the North-West Passage, was between eight and nine hundred miles, and during the whole of this open season all the distance he had advanced in this direction was only sixty miles. What, then, were the chances of his completing the passage this year with apparently endless icy seas before him, and with the Arctic winter coming upon him in a fortnight? "We had experienced," he says, "during the first half of the navigable season, such a continued series of vexations, disappointments, and delays, accompanied by such a constant state of danger to the ships that I felt it would no longer be deemed justifiable in me to persevere in a fruitless attempt to get to the westward." Besides this consideration, the stores of provisions and fuel were much reduced, and though the health of officers and men was still as sound as when the expedition left England, yet the stores of lemon-juice, and of the other remedies for scurvy, were nearly exhausted. In these circumstances, Parry resolved to consult the officers of both vessels, who unanimously agreed with him in the opinion that any further attempt to penetrate to the westward, in the latitude in which they now lay, would be fruitless, and that it would be expedient to return to England rather than risk another winter in these seas. This resolution having been arrived at both by commander and officers, no time was lost in carrying it out, for there was yet danger in being overtaken by the fast approaching winter while still in the Polar Sea. Accordingly, all sail was made eastward on the 26th August for Barrow's Strait and Lancaster Sound. Running along the south shores of this great passage, Parry named the large island on the west of Prince Regent's Inlet, North Somerset; while to the great land on the north side of Lancaster Sound he gave the name of North Devon.

On the morning of the 1st September the vessels were abreast of the flag-staff on Possession Bay, at the eastern extremity of Lancaster Sound, and on the evening of the 5th, they had reached River Clyde Inlet, on the east coast of Baffin Land (along which they were coasting), and in lat. $70^{\circ} 20' N$. While standing off in this inlet, they perceived four canoes, containing Eskimos, paddling towards them. The canoes were taken up at the men's desire, intimated by signs, and they themselves came up on board without

hesitation. They consisted of one old and three young men. "As soon as they came on deck," writes Parry, "their vociferations seemed to increase with their astonishment, and, I may add, their pleasure; for the reception they met with seemed to create no less joy than surprise. Whenever they received a present, or were shown anything that excited fresh admiration, they expressed their delight by loud and repeated ejaculations, which they sometimes continued till they were quite hoarse, and out of breath with the exertion. This noisy mode of expressing their satisfaction was accompanied by a jumping which continued for a minute or more, according to the degree of the passion which excited it, and the bodily powers of the person who exercised it—the old man being rather too infirm, but still doing his utmost, to go through the performance."

Having purchased a few skins and ivory knives from the Eskimos, the officers of the "Hecla" took them down to the cabin, where Lieutenant Beechey sketched the portrait of the oldest of the visitors. Here the natives carried on an active barter of their clothes, spears, and whalebone, with great enthusiasm, but with perfect honesty, receiving English knives, etc., in exchange. Next day Parry, with a party of officers and men, landed on one of the islands of the inlet, and was soon visited by the old man and one of the younger natives from the mainland, who came as before to sell their seal-skin dresses, etc. Parry held up a looking-glass to each of the Eskimos, and then gave it into the hands of each. The younger native was quite in raptures, and literally jumped for joy for nearly a quarter of an hour; but the old man, having had one smile at his own queer face, returned the glass, and fixed his attention upon a sailor who was opening a canister of preserved meat, by cutting the case with a hatchet struck by a mallet. He begged hard for the mallet, but could scarcely be persuaded to taste the meat. Neither he nor his younger companion could be prevailed upon to touch any rum, after once smelling it.

The Englishmen now visited the little Eskimo settlement, consisting of two tents, on the mainland. "As soon as we came in sight of the tents," writes Parry, "every living animal there—men, women, children, and dogs—were in motion, the latter to the top of the hill out of our way, and the rest to meet us with loud and continued shouting; the word *pilletay* (give me!) being the only articulate sound we could distinguish amidst the general uproar. Besides the four men whom we had already seen, there were four women, one of whom, being about the same age as the old man, was probably his wife; the others were about thirty, twenty-two, and eighteen years of age." Two of the women had infants slung at their backs, and there were in all nine children, the eldest twelve years of age.

The usual bartering again went on, the natives receiving knives, axes, brass kettles, needles, etc., for their simple commodities. The women

begged hard for presents—there appeared to be a premium upon officers' buttons—but all bargains contracted were faithfully and honestly carried out by the natives. The stature of these people was much below the usual standard; though one of the younger men was about five feet six inches in height. "One of them, we thought," says Parry, "bore a striking resemblance to our poor friend John Sackheuse, well-known as the Eskimo who accompanied the former expedition, the want of whose services we particularly felt on this occasion, and whose premature death had been sincerely lamented by all who knew him, as an intelligent and amiable man, and a valuable member of society."

Parry and his party remained for four or five hours on the mainland, near the natives' settlement. Having completed the observations, which formed part of his purpose in visiting the mainland, he took leave of the Eskimos. "The old man seemed quite fatigued with the day's exertions, but his eyes sparkled with delight, and we thought with gratitude too, on being presented with another brass kettle to add to the stores with which we had enriched him. He seemed to understand us when we shook him by the hand. The whole group watched us in silence, as we went into the boat, and, as soon as we had rowed a few hundred yards from the beach, quietly retired to their tents."

The homeward course was now resumed, and prosecuted without further adventure, and toward the close of October the "Hecla" was in British waters, and on the 29th of that month, Lieutenant Parry, accompanied by Captain Sabine and Mr Hooper, landed in safety at Peterhead, whence they, without delay, proceeded southward toward London.

PART IV.

CHAPTER I.

FRANKLIN'S GREAT JOURNEY, 1819-22—ARRIVAL AT YORK FACTORY—SCENERY
OF STEEL RIVER—SLEDGE JOURNEY TO ATHABASCA LAKE—DEPART FOR
GREAT SLAVE LAKE.

WHILE Parry was, as we have seen, engaged in making the splendid discoveries of Lancaster Sound, Prince Regent's Inlet, Wellington Channel, and the whole range of the most northern islands of the Polar Sea, north of America, his friend, Lieutenant John Franklin, was conducting an expedition, intended to co-operate with his own. This expedition of Franklin's—the famous land journey from the shores of Hudson's Bay to those of the Polar Sea—is in some respects the most extraordinary enterprise of the kind ever undertaken by man. The narrative of this great journey, "adds," says Sir John Barrow, "another to the many splendid records of enterprise, zeal, and energy of our sailors;" and the late Admiral Sherard Osborne, himself a distinguished Arctic explorer, whose achievements it will be our duty to chronicle in their place, has said of it: "It is indeed a tale which should be in the hands of those sailors of England who desire to emulate the deeds and fame of such men as himself and his followers. It is an Iliad in prose, and replete with pictures of rare devotion to the most ennobling of causes, the advancement of human knowledge. A generous and chivalrous spirit breathes through every page, and sheds a lustre not only on every act of the leader, but likewise of those who were his comrades and friends in many a sad hour of need and danger. Those terrible marches; the laborious exploration of the regions around the mouths of the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers; the long, bitter starvation of the winter; the murder of Hood; the destruction of the assassin and the cannibal . . . are all tales which should be household words by every English fireside."

We have already stated that on the 18th November, 1818, both Parry and Franklin had an interview with Lord Melville, then Secretary of the Admiralty. To Parry, the result of this interview, as we have seen, was his

appointment to the command of the "Hecla" and "Griper;" to Franklin, the result was his appointment to the command of an overland expedition to explore the shores of the North American Continent, from the mouth of the Coppermine River to the eastward. The gentlemen nominated to accompany Franklin—the names of all of whom are now famous—were Dr John Richardson, surgeon in the Royal Navy; Mr George Back, who had sailed as mate in the "Trent" with Franklin, in 1818; and Robert Hood, midshipman. The main objects of the expedition were to determine the latitudes and longitudes of all bays, rivers, harbours, headlands, etc., on the northern coast of America, from the mouth of the Coppermine River to the coast on the east side of the Continent; to place conspicuous marks at places where ships might enter, or to which a boat could be sent; and to deposit information as to the nature of the coast, for the use of Lieutenant Parry, in the event of the commander of the "Hecla" and "Griper" being able to find a North-West Passage along the American shore. Franklin was further instructed to register the temperature of the air, at least three times a day, to note the state of the wind and weather, the dip and the variation of the magnetic needle, the intensity of the magnetic force, etc. He received ample credentials and letters of recommendation from the Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of the North-West Company—the rival fur-trading companies of British North America—and he had the gratification of reading the orders sent by these Governors to their agents and servants in North America, instructing these persons to do their utmost, by every means and in every way, to promote the objects of the expedition, and to respond liberally to all its requirements.

The group of explorers forming the expedition, and consisting of Franklin and Richardson, Back and Hood, with one attendant, John Hephurn, an English seaman of the best type, embarked at Gravesend, on board the "Prince of Wales," a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, on the 23d May 1819—though the voyage across the Atlantic cannot be said to have begun until the beginning of July—and arrived at York Flats, Hudson's Bay, on the 30th August. Immediately on the arrival of the "Prince of Wales," Mr Williams, the Governor of York Factory—the "post" or station of the Company, seven miles inland from Hudson's Bay—came on board, and informed the explorers that he had already received information of the equipment of the expedition, and assured them that the instructions that had been sent to him from the committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, were to the effect that every possible assistance was to be given to the expedition, and that he would have the greatest pleasure in carrying out these instructions to the letter. Franklin accompanied Mr Williams to York Factory, and there saw several partners of the North-West Company, to whom he presented his credentials, and from whom he obtained ready

promises of assistance, in compliance with the expressed desire of the Government of that day, and of the London agent of the North-West Company.

Having explained the objects of the expedition to the gentlemen of both Companies, Franklin asked each of them to state his opinion as to the best route to the shores of the Polar Sea, at the mouth of Coppermine River, where the actual work of exploration would commence. The opinions of all the officers of both Companies were so decidedly in favour of the route which ran west-south-west from York Factory to Cumberland House, and thence northward through the chain of the Companies' "posts" to the Great Slave Lake, that Franklin resolved upon taking this line, and communicated his intention to the Governor (Mr Williams), with a request that he would furnish the means of conveyance for the party.

The route by Cumberland House and the chain of lakes to the Great Slave Lake, and thence to the head-waters of the Coppermine River, is really a water-way, though the portages separating the line of streams and lakes are almost numberless. Mr Williams, therefore, presented the expedition with one of the largest of the Company's boats, and on the 9th September 1819, the expedition prepared to start. When the stores were brought down to the beach, however, it was found that the boat could not contain all of them, and consequently the whole of the bacon, and part of the flour, rice, tobacco, and ammunition, were left behind, and returned into the store, the Governor undertaking to forward them in the following season. The explorers embarked at noon, and were honoured with a salute of eight guns and three cheers from the Governor and all the inmates of the fort, who had assembled to witness their departure. Franklin gratefully returned their cheers, and then made sail up the Hayes River, delighted at having at last commenced his voyage into the interior of America. At sunset the voyagers landed, and pitched the tents for the night, having only advanced twelve miles. A fire was soon lighted, supper speedily prepared and more speedily despatched, and the travellers, laying themselves down in their buffalo robes, under their canvas roof, enjoyed a night of sound repose.

The advance up the numberless streams, over the lakes, and across the ever-recurring portages, over which boat and cargo had to be carried with infinite labour, the men having often to make half-a-dozen journeys over the same portage, carrying heavy loads each alternate journey, is somewhat monotonous in incident, and can only be summarised in the briefest form here. Often the current of the stream was too rapid to allow of the use of oar or sail, and progress could only be made by the crew getting out upon the banks and "tracking" or dragging the boat by a line, to which they were harnessed. Had the shores been level and firm, we could conceive how this mode of advance, though in the last degree tedious and laborious,

might have been tolerable to brave and much-enduring men ; but when we read in Franklin's ably-written narrative that the shores were often lofty, rocky, and interrupted with ravines and the channels of tributary streams ; that the ropes by which the boat was dragged often broke ; that the rapids were often so strong that the officers had to leap out of the water to keep the head of the boat to the stream, and so prevent her being swept downward ; that portages, over rough rocks, on which the boat was frequently damaged, had to be crossed almost daily ; and that for these, and other reasons, all the progress made after a long day of the severest toil was sometimes no more than two miles ; the endurance, the patience, and courage of these explorers seems to us beyond calculation.

The actual work of exploration, which was the object of the expedition, did not commence till Franklin arrived at Great Slave Lake ; and the toils, sufferings, and adventures of the explorers on their journey to this inland sea from Hudson's Bay must not detain us. But it would show scant sympathy with noble and self-sacrificing achievement if some few details of the conditions under which progress was made were not here given, once for all, before we transfer the scene to the remoter regions near the Polar Sea, where the main incidents of this remarkable enterprise took place. With this view, we summarise the narrative of the journey up the rivers during the first few days after the expedition started, and when the new and wild life upon which Franklin had launched must still have had for him something, at least, of the fascination of novelty.

On the morning of the 13th September, an attempt was made under sail to stem the current of Steel River, along which the boat was now being tracked, but as the course of the stream was serpentine, the sails were found to afford little assistance, and tracking was resumed. "Steel River," writes Franklin, "presents much beautiful scenery. It winds through a narrow, but well-wooded valley, which at every turn disclosed to us an agreeable variety of prospect, rendered more picturesque by the effect of the season on the foliage, now ready to drop from the trees. The light yellow of the fading poplars formed a fine contrast to the dark evergreen of the spruce, whilst the willows, of an intermediate hue, served to shade the two principal masses of colour into each other. The scene was occasionally enlivened by the bright purple tints of the dog-wood, blended with the browner shades of the dwarf-birch, and frequently intermixed with the gay yellow flowers of the shrubby cinquefoil. With all these charms, the scene appeared desolate from want of the human species. The stillness was so great that even the twittering of the cinereous crow caused us to start. Our voyage to-day was sixteen miles on a south-west course." There was much rain during the night and in the morning, so that the party were kept under canvas longer than usual. Setting out, they reached the head of Steel River, and being joined in the morn-

ing by three of the Company's boats, they entered Hill River in company. The water in this river was so low, and the rapids so bad, that the officers were obliged several times to jump into the water, and assist in lifting the boats over the large stones that impeded the navigation. Length of voyage on this day only six miles and three-quarters. The four boats commenced operations together at five o'clock the following morning, but Franklin's boat being overladen, he found that he was unable to keep pace with the others, and therefore proposed to the gentlemen in charge of the Company's boats that they should relieve him of part of his cargo. "This they declined doing," says Franklin, "notwithstanding that the circular, with which I was furnished by Governor Williams, strictly enjoined all the Company's servants to afford us every assistance. In consequence of this refusal we dropt behind, and our steersman, who was inexperienced, being thus deprived of the advantage of observing the route followed by the guide, who was in the foremost boat, frequently took a wrong channel. The tow-line broke twice, and the boat was only prevented from going broadside down the stream, and breaking to pieces against the stones, by the officers and men leaping into the water, and holding her head to the current until the line could be carried again to the shore. . . . We encamped at sunset, completely jaded with toil. Our distance made good this day was only twelve miles and a quarter." On the following day, only eleven miles were made, and on the 17th, tracking having commenced very early, a ridge of rock extending across the stream was reached. From this place the boat was dragged up several narrow rocky channels until the Rock Portage was reached, where the stream, pent in by a range of small islands, forms several cascades. In ascending the river, the boats and cargoes are carried over one of these islands, and having performed the operations of carrying, launching, and re-stowing the cargo, the oars were plied for a short distance to Rock House, one of the posts or depôts of the Hudson's Bay Company. Here Franklin was informed that he was now about to encounter a series of rapids more difficult and more numerous than those he had just passed, and that unless his boat was lightened the winter would put a stop to his progress before he could reach Cumberland House, or any other "post," at which he could find shelter during mid-winter. He was therefore obliged to leave part of his cargo, consisting of sixteen "pieces," at the depôt of Rock House, to be forwarded to him in the following season by the Athabasca canoes.

Knee Lake was reached on the 25th. Trout River was entered early on the morning of the 27th; and in the course of the day, three portages and several rapids were passed. Still keeping up with the Company's boats, the explorers spent the whole of the 2d October in carrying their cargo over a portage thirteen hundred yards in length; and in launching the empty boat over three several ridges of rock which obstruct the channel, and produce as many

cascades. "I shall long remember," writes Franklin, "the rude and characteristic wildness of the scenery which surrounded these falls; rocks piled on rocks hung in rude and shapeless masses over the agitated torrents which swept their bases; whilst the bright and variegated tints of the mosses and lichens, that covered the face of the cliffs, contrasting with the dark green of the pines which crowned their summit, added both beauty and grandeur to the scene."

Governor Williams, from York Factory, had come up with the expedition, and with the Company's boats, in the beginning of October; and on the 23d of that month the small fleet arrived in front of Cumberland House on Pine Island Lake, one of the principal stations of the Hudson's Bay Company. The margin of the lake was found incrustated with ice; and the boats had to break through a considerable space of it to reach the landing-place. When Franklin considered that this ice was the effect of only a few days' frost at the commencement of winter, he was convinced of the impracticability of advancing further by water till the following season, and he, therefore, resolved to accept Governor Williams' invitation to remain at the station during the winter. Besides Cumberland House, there was also a station of the North-West Company at this place, and Franklin lost no time in seeing its chief officer, and presenting his credentials. He was received with hospitality, and with the kindest offers of assistance, when he should resume the course of his journey. The conversations which Franklin had with the officers of both posts, convinced him of the necessity of proceeding, during the winter, into the Athabasca department, the residents of which are best acquainted with the nature and resources of the country to the north of the Great Slave Lake; and whence only could he procure guides, hunters, and interpreters to accompany him during the actual work of exploration. He had previously written to the partners or agents of the North-West Company in the Athabasca department, requesting their assistance in forwarding the expedition, and stating what he would require. But when he reflected on the accidents likely to occur in delaying these letters, he resolved to go forward himself as soon as he could. He communicated his intention to Governor Williams, and to the officers of the North-West Company at Cumberland House, and requested to be furnished with the means of conveyance for three persons—himself, Mr Back, and Hepburn, the seaman, by the middle of January.

Accordingly, on the 18th January 1820, Franklin, with his two companions, having been furnished with two sledges, the dogs and drivers being provided by the two companies, set out on their overland journey towards the Athabasca country. On the 26th, they had reached the half-way point between Cumberland and Carlton House. The night of the 28th was miserably cold; and as the travellers walked on, they were obliged to keep

constantly rubbing the exposed parts of their faces to prevent their being frost-bitten. When they camped, so intense was the cold that the newly-made tea froze in the tin pots before they could drink it; and even a mixture of spirits and water became quite thick by congelation as soon as made. Yet after they lay down, they slept soundly, and felt no inconvenience, or even uneasiness, on account of the wolves that were howling around them within view. On the 31st, they reached Carlton House (lat. $52^{\circ} 50'$, long. $106^{\circ} 12'$), and were regaled by the Company's agent there with a substantial dish of hot buffalo steaks, which to them was a feast of the gods after the dried meat of the journey.

On February 8th, the journey northward from Carlton House was commenced; and on the 26th March, Fort Chepewyan, on Athabasca Lake, was reached. "Thus terminated," writes Franklin, "a winter's journey of 857 miles, in the progress of which there was a great intermixture of agreeable and disagreeable circumstances. Could the amount of each be balanced, I suspect the latter would much preponderate; and amongst these the initiation into walking in snow-shoes must be considered as prominent. The suffering it occasions can be but faintly imagined by a person who thinks upon the inconvenience of marching with a weight of between two and three pounds constantly attached to galled feet and swelled ankles. Perseverance and practice only will enable the novice to surmount this pain."

On the day after his arrival at Fort Chepewyan, on Athabasca Lake, Franklin called upon Mr Macdonald, the gentleman in charge of the Hudson's Bay establishment there, called Fort Wedderburn, and delivered to him Governor Williams' circular-letter, instructing all agents and servants of the Company to do everything within their power to contribute all necessary supplies to the expedition, and to forward its progress by every possible means. "Our first object," writes Franklin, "was to obtain some certain information respecting our future route; and, accordingly, we received from one of the North-West Company's interpreters, named Beaulieu, a half-breed, who had been brought up amongst the Dog-Ribbed and Copper Indians, some satisfactory information, which we afterwards found tolerably correct, respecting the mode of reaching the Coppermine River—which he had descended a considerable way—as well as of the course of that river to its mouth. The Copper Indians, however, he said, would be able to give us more accurate information as to the latter part of its course, as they occasionally pursue it to the sea. He sketched on the floor a representation of the river, and a line of coast, according to his idea of it. Just as he had finished, an old Chepewyan Indian, named Black Meat, unexpectedly came in, and instantly recognised the plan. He then took the charcoal from Beaulieu, and inserted a track along the sea coast, which he had followed in returning from a war excursion, made by his tribe against the Eskimos. He detailed several par-

ticulars of the coast and the sea, which he represented as studded with well-wooded islands, and free from ice, close to the shore, in the month of July, but not to a great distance. He described two other rivers to the eastward of the Copper-mine River, which also fall into the Northern Ocean—the Anatesy, which issues from Rum Lake, and the Fish River, which rises near the eastern boundary of the Great Slave Lake.”

Here, then, was something like palpable ground for Franklin to go upon in working out his great object. The shores of the Polar Sea, it appeared, were accessible, and these shores were indented by two known rivers flowing from the south, and hitherto unexplored by Europeans. It was clear that, in the light of this intelligence, Franklin should send on in advance to the agents of the two Companies at the depôts on Great Slave Lake, and inform them of the nature of his mission, of the time at which his expedition would be likely to arrive at their stations, and of the nature of the assistance he would require at their hands. He accordingly wrote to Mr Smith, of the North-West Company, and Mr M'Vicar, of the Hudson's Bay Company, the gentlemen in charge of the ports at Great Slave Lake, explaining the object of the expedition, describing the proposed route, and soliciting any information they possessed, or could collect, from the Indians respecting the countries he had to pass through, etc. As the Copper Indians frequented the establishments on the Lake, he particularly requested that these should be made acquainted with the object of his visit, and that some of them should be engaged as guides and hunters to accompany the expedition. The letters were despatched by two Canadian voyagers.

On the 10th May, anemones first appeared in flower at Fort Chipewyan. Leaves were noticed bursting from the trees, and mosquitoes were found in the warm rooms. In the same month, gentlemen belonging to both the trading Companies began to assemble from their different posts in the department, bringing their winter's collections of furs to be forwarded to the main depôts. Every one was now fully occupied at the Fort, and Franklin had some difficulty in interesting the officers in his expedition. He made a requisition on the Companies for eight men each, and whatever useful stores they could supply; but he learned, with regret, that the spare stores were very limited, and that the men, especially those of the Hudson's Bay Company, were unwilling to engage with him, except at an extortionate rate of wages. Difficulties of this sort generally diminish or disappear in time. On the 13th July, Mr Richardson and Mr Hood arrived from Cumberland House, where Franklin had left them in January. These gentlemen had brought all the stores they could procure from the establishments at Cumberland and Isle à la Crosse. At the latter place they had received ten bags of pemmican from the North-West Company, which proved to be mouldy and so totally unfit for use, that it had to be thrown away. They got no pemmican

from the Hudson's Bay Post, as the Canadian voyagers belonging to that Company, being themselves destitute of provisions, had consumed the supplies intended for the explorers. "In consequence of these untoward circumstances," says Franklin, "the canoes arrived with only one day's supply of this most essential article. The prospect of having to commence our journey from hence, almost destitute of provisions, and scantily supplied with stores, was distressing to us, and very discouraging to the men. It was evident, however, that any unnecessary delay here would have been very imprudent, as Fort Chipewyan did not, at the present time, furnish the means of subsistence for so large a party, much less was there a prospect of our receiving any supply to carry us forward. We, therefore, hastened to make the necessary arrangements for our speedy departure."

Besides the four officers, the party consisted of sixteen Canadian voyagers—the crew, so to speak, of the expedition—two interpreters, and the invaluable John Hepburn, the English seaman. On the morning of the 18th July, the stores were distributed to the three canoes with which Franklin had been furnished. The stock of provisions did not amount to more than sufficient for one day's consumption, exclusive of two barrels of flour, three cases of preserved meats, some chocolate, arrow root, and portable soup, which had been brought from England to be kept in reserve for the journey to the coast the following season. Seventy pounds of the flesh of the moose deer, and a little barley, were all that could be obtained from the fort. But the very near prospect of short commons did not seem to depress the spirits of the Canadians, who loaded the canoes cheerfully; and, on the sign being given for starting, paddled away from the shore across the Athabasca Lake to the accompaniment of a lively boat song. Passing on at the north-west extremity of the Lake, the canoes entered Slave River, which connects Lake Athabasca with Great Slave Lake, and descended this magnificent river rapidly. On the 25th, the expedition reached the establishment of the North-West Company on Moose Deer Island in Great Slave Lake. On the same island was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, but both stations were extremely bare of provisions. Sailing northward across the Lake without much delay, Franklin landed at Fort Providence, where it was arranged he was to meet Mr Wentzel, of the North-West Company. This gentleman's duties, in the interests of the Company, were the management of the Indians, the superintendence of the Canadian voyagers, the collection and distribution of provisions and the issue of the other stores. Mr Wentzel had agreed to accompany the expedition in its march of exploration to the Coppermine, and he it was who had engaged a number of Indian hunters, under their chief, to hunt for the expedition, and keep them supplied with moose-meat. These Indians, upon whom the success of the expedition so much depended, were hunting in the neighbourhood of Fort Providence, on the arrival of the

expedition ; and now the time had come when the first interview between the explorers and their dusky allies was to take place.

"As we were informed," says Franklin, "that external appearances made lasting impressions on the Indians, we prepared for the interview by decorating ourselves in uniform, and suspending a medal round each of our necks. Our tents had been previously pitched, and over one of them a silken union flag was hoisted. Soon after noon, on July 30th, several Indian canoes were seen advancing in a regular line ; and on their approach, the chief was discovered in the headmost, which was paddled by two men. On landing at the fort, the chief assumed a very grave aspect, and walked up to Mr Wentzel with a measured and dignified step, looking neither to the right nor to the left at the persons who had assembled on the beach to witness his debarkation ; but preserving the same immovability of countenance until he reached the hall, and was introduced to the officers. When he had smoked his pipe, drank a small portion of spirits and water himself, and issued a glass to each of his companions, who had seated themselves on the floor, he commenced his harangue, by mentioning the circumstances that led to his agreeing to accompany the expedition—an engagement which he was quite prepared to fulfil. He was rejoiced, he said, to see such great chiefs on his lands ; his tribe was poor, but they loved white men, who had been their benefactors ; and he hoped our visit would be productive of much good to them. The report which preceded our arrival, he said, had caused much grief to him. It was at first rumoured that a great medicine chief accompanied us, who was able to restore the dead to life ; at this he rejoiced. The prospect of again seeing his departed relatives had enlivened his spirits ; but his first communication with Mr Wentzel had removed these vain hopes, and he felt as if his friends had a second time been torn from him. He now wished to be informed exactly of the nature of our expedition."

"In reply to this speech, which I understood had been prepared for many days, I endeavoured to explain the objects of our mission in a manner best calculated to insure his exertions in our service. With this view I told him that we were sent out by the greatest chief in the world, who was the sovereign also of the trading companies in the country ; that he was the friend of peace, and had the interest of every nation at heart. Having learned that his children in the north were much in want of articles of merchandise, in consequence of the extreme length and difficulty of the present route, he had sent us to search for a passage by the sea, which, if found, would enable large vessels to transport great quantities of goods more easily to their lands. That we had not come for the purpose of traffic, but solely to make discoveries for their benefit, as well as that of every other people. That we had been directed to inquire into the nature of all the productions of the countries we might pass through, and particularly respecting their inhabi

tants. That we desired the assistance of the Indians in guiding us, and providing us with food. Finally, that we were most positively enjoined by the great chief to recommend that hostilities should cease throughout this country, and especially between the Indians and the Eskimos, whom he considered his children in common with other natives; and by way of enforcing the latter point more strongly, I assured him that a forfeiture of all the advantages that might be anticipated from the expedition would be a certain consequence if any quarrel arose between his party and the Eskimos; I also communicated to him that owing to the distance we had travelled, we had now few stores more than were necessary for the use of our own party. A part of these, however, should forthwith be presented to him, and on his return he and his party should be remunerated with cloth, ammunition, tobacco, and some useful iron materials, besides having their debts to the North-West Company discharged."

The chief, whose name was Akaiteho or Big-Foot, courteously replied, briefly repeating his assurances of friendship and his desire to serve the white chiefs. After he and his guides had communicated all the information they possessed, Franklin placed his medal round the chief's neck, and the officers presented theirs to Akaiteho's brother and to the two guides. These badges of honour and pledges of friendship being bestowed in presence of all the hunters, were highly gratifying to them; but they studiously avoided any great expression of joy, as such an exposure would have been unbecoming the dignity which the senior Indians assume during a conference. Franklin then presented to the chief, the two guides, and the seven hunters who had engaged to accompany the expedition, a quantity of cloth, together with blankets, tobacco, knives, daggers, etc., and a gun each.

The Indians set out on the morning of August 1, intending to wait for the expedition at the mouth of the Yellow Knife River, which flows north from Great Slave Lake, and the explorers waited behind to pack up their stores, an operation not to be transacted with comfort in presence of the Indians, who begged for everything they saw. The stores at this time consisted of two barrels of gunpowder, 140 lbs. of ball and small-shot, four fowling-pieces, a few old trading guns, eight pistols, twenty-four Indian daggers; some packages of knives, chisels, axes, nails, and fastenings for a boat; a few yards of cloth; some blankets, needles, looking-glasses, and beads, and some fishing-nets. The provisions consisted of two casks of flour, 200 dried reindeer tongues, some dried moose-meat, portable soup, and arrowroot—sufficient in all for ten days' consumption. The expedition now included twenty-eight persons, comprising sixteen Canadian voyagers to work the canoes and transport the baggage, the wives of three of these taken along to make shoes and clothes for the men at the winter establishment, three interpreters, Michel Teroahauté, an Iroquois, Mr Wentzel, and

the English explorers. On the afternoon of the 2d August, the expedition moved forward in four canoes from Fort Providence, the most northern post of the North-West Company, heartily glad that the time had at last arrived when their course was to be directed towards the Coppermine River, through a line of country that had not previously been visited by any European. On the 5th August, the canoes still continuing the ascent of Yellow Knife River, it was found that the issue of dried meat for breakfast had exhausted the entire stock, and at the recommendation of Akaitcho, the Indian hunters were furnished with ammunition, and sent on in advance to where the reindeer were expected to be found, to procure a supply of provisions. During the next six days considerable inconvenience was felt from the scarcity of food, but on the 11th, an Indian met the party, and informed them that the hunters had made several fires—which were the appointed signals that reindeer had been killed. A supply of meat was obtained on the 13th; and on August 19th they arrived at the spot where the Indians recommended that the winter establishment should be erected. Of this locality Franklin says: "We soon found that the situation the Indians had chosen possessed all the advantages we could desire. The trees were numerous, and of a far greater size than we had supposed them to be in a distant view, some of the pines being thirty or forty feet high, and two feet in diameter at the root. We determined on placing the house on the summit of the bank, which commands a beautiful prospect of the surrounding country. The view in the front is bounded, at the distance of three miles, by round-backed hills; to the eastward and westward lie the Winter and Round Rock Lakes, which are connected by the Winter River, whose banks are well clothed with pines, and ornamented with a profusion of mosses, lichens, and shrubs. In the afternoon we read divine service, and offered our thanksgiving to the Almighty for His goodness in having brought us thus far on our journey—a duty which we never neglected when stationary on the Sabbath."

The total length of the voyage from Fort Chipewyan to the spot which had been selected for their winter establishment—the spot in which Franklin built his dwelling and store-houses, and which he named Fort Enterprise—was 553 miles.

CHAPTER II.

WINTER SETTLEMENT AT FORT ENTERPRISE — EXCURSIONS TO COPPERMINE RIVER—WANT OF AMMUNITION.

ON the morning of the 20th August, the voyagers were divided into two parties, the one to cut wood for building a store-house at Fort Enterprise, the other to bring in the carcasses of the deer which the Indian hunters should kill. An Indian was despatched to Akaitcho with orders for him to repair to Fort Enterprise at once, and bring whatever provisions he had collected, as Franklin and his officers were eager to set out without delay on an exploring excursion to the Coppermine River. In the evening the carcasses of seven reindeer were brought in, and the women that accompanied the expedition immediately commenced drying the meat in preparation for the projected excursion to the stream that was to conduct the explorers to the shores of the Polar Sea. Meantime the conviction that the open season, during which alone exploration could be carried on, was rapidly drawing to a close, was forced by a hundred circumstances upon Franklin's mind. Fort Enterprise, his new home in this remote wilderness, soon became familiar to him in all its aspects; but to whatever feature of it he now turned his eyes—to the wild uplands that stretched away to the west, to the hills on the north that pointed the way to the Coppermine, to Winter Lake that extended eastward from the foot of the hill of Fort Enterprise on the east, or to Winter River that bounded it on the south—he saw everywhere, in the falling leaf, the browning heath, the darkening moss, the pools with their icy film in the morning, and in the windy sky, with its shifting rain shadows, evidences that the brief summer of the north was waning fast. On the 23d, the rain was so heavy that all operations at the fort were stopped—the sound of axe and hammer ceased at the store-house, and the meat carriers were forced to remain under their tent. The following day was fine, but cold—the thermometer rising only to 42° at noon, and falling to 31° before midnight. On the 25th, the signs of the approach of winter were visible, palpable, and altogether undeniable. There was ice in the hollows underfoot, and overhead flocks of wild-fowl were seen flying away southward from before the benumbing and blood-congealing monarch that was now beginning to wake up and reassert himself in the far north. These tokens

increased the leader's anxiety to be off as soon as possible to the banks of the Coppermine. In due time Akaitcho returned, but he had stored up only fifteen deer during his absence. It appears that he had heard of the death of his brother-in-law, and he and his hunters spent several days in bewailing his loss—thus starving the living to show their respect for the dead. Worse than this, the death of the chief referred to was the cause of the removal, to a great distance, and entirely out of the proposed route to the Coppermine, of another party of Akaitcho's tribe, which had been sent forward to prepare an ample store of provisions on the banks of that river. But worst of all was Akaitcho's point-blank refusal to accompany Franklin in his projected excursion. When the chief heard that this excursion was to be carried out at once, he sought an interview with Franklin, and began a gloomy harangue to the effect that the very attempt to reach the Coppermine that season would be rash and dangerous, as the weather was cold, the leaves were falling, some geese had passed to the southward, and the winter would shortly set in. He considered that the lives of all who went on such a journey would be forfeited, and, therefore, he would neither go himself nor permit the hunters to go. There was no wood to be had, he said, in an eleven days' march, so that there would be no fire to cook with, or to make the camping-places comfortable. Then the explorers might get blocked up with ice in the next moon; and if they survived all these preliminary dangers and hardships it really would not much matter, as they would be quite effectively killed by starvation on the return journey, as all the reindeer had already migrated from the banks of the river. Expostulation had only the effect of reconciling him to the disaster which he so clearly foresaw. "I have," concluded the chief, "said everything I can urge to dissuade you from going on this service, on which it seems you wish to sacrifice your own lives, as well as the Indians who might attend you; however, if, after all I have said, you are determined to go, some of my young men shall join the party, because it shall not be said that we permitted you to die alone, after having brought you hither; but from the moment they embark in the canoes, I and my relatives shall lament them as dead."

Thus encouraged, Franklin had a conference with his officers, who all agreed that the descent to the sea by the Coppermine should not be attempted that season, but that a party should be sent to ascertain the distance of the stream, its general character, volume, etc., and the nature of its banks. Accordingly, Franklin resolved to despatch Messrs Back and Hood in a light canoe on that service as soon as possible. They were ready to start on the 29th, accompanied by St Germain the interpreter, eight Canadian voyagers, and one Indian. They were furnished with blankets, two tents, and a few instruments; and they started in the best of spirits.

Akaitcho and his hunters now went away to their hunting grounds, and

Franklin and Dr Richardson, having not much to do, determined on making a walking tour to the Coppermine, leaving Mr Wentzel in charge of the men, and to superintend the buildings. They started on September 9th, under the guidance of Keskarrah the Indian, and attended by the seaman John Hepburn, and a Canadian. In the course of the afternoon, after they had walked a number of miles in a bee-line, straight from the top of one hill to the top of another, Keskarrah killed a deer, and loaded himself with the head and skin, while the others carried each away a few pounds of the meat. The Indian guide offered the raw marrow from the hind legs of the animal to the others as a great treat. All the party ate of the raw marrow, and thought it very good, except Franklin, who adds, however, "I was also of the same opinion, when I subsequently conquered my then too fastidious taste." He was destined to eat, with gratitude, if not with relish, of dishes much more questionable than raw marrow.

On the morning of the 12th the guide pointed out the Coppermine River in the distance, and the travellers pushed on towards it. "At noon," says Franklin, "we arrived at an arm of Point Lake, an extensive expansion of the (Coppermine) river, and observed the latitude, $65^{\circ} 9' N$. We continued our walk along the south end of this arm for about a mile farther, and then halted to breakfast amidst a cluster of pines. Here the longitude, $112^{\circ} 57'$, was observed. After breakfast we set out and walked along the east side of the arm, towards the main body of the lake, leaving Samandré (the Canadian) to prepare an encampment amongst the pines against our return. We found the main channel deep, its banks high and rocky, and the valleys on its borders interspersed with clusters of spruce-trees. The latter circumstance (as evidence of abundance of firewood) was a source of much gratification to us. The temperature of the surface water was 41° , that of the air being 43° . Having gained all the information we could collect from our guide, and from personal observation, we retraced our steps to the encampment; and on the way back Hepburn and Keskarrah shot several waveys (*Anas hypoborea*), which afforded us a seasonable supply, our stock of provisions being nearly exhausted. These birds were feeding in large flocks on the crowberries, which grew plentifully on the sides of the hills. We reached the encampment after dark, found a comfortable hut prepared for our reception, made an excellent supper, and slept soundly, though it snowed hard the whole night. . . . We did not quit the encampment on the morning of the 13th September until nine o'clock, in consequence of a constant fall of snow; but at that hour we set out on our return to Fort Enterprise, and, taking a somewhat different route from the one by which we came, kept to the eastward of a chain of lakes. Soon after noon the weather became extremely disagreeable; a cold northerly gale came on, attended by snow and sleet; and the temperature fell very soon from 43° to

34. The waveys, alarmed at the sudden change, flew over our heads in great numbers to a milder climate. We walked as quickly as possible to get to a place that would furnish some fuel and shelter; but the fog occasioned us to make frequent halts, from the inability of our guide to trace his way. At length we came to a spot which afforded us plenty of dwarf birches, but they were so much frozen, and the snow fell so thick, that upwards of two hours were wasted in endeavouring to make a fire, during which time our clothes were freezing upon us. At length our efforts were crowned with success, and, after a good supper, we laid, or rather sat, down to sleep, for the nature of the ground obliged us to pass the night in a semi-erect position, with our backs against a bank of earth. The thermometer was at 16° at six p.m."

The travellers started next morning at daybreak, the thermometer then standing at 18° . They moved on very slowly at first, as they had to wait for Franklin, who was suffering from an ankle that had some time previously been sprained, and which had been very painful for some days past, owing, no doubt, to the unusual exertion of the journey. As they proceeded, they had to ford a rivulet, and the effect of the cold water on Franklin's ankle was magical. The pain immediately passed away, and he was able to walk with ease for the remainder of the day. Another night spent camping out in the open, frosty air; and the travellers, starting at sunrise, pushed right on to Fort Enterprise, where they arrived at eight p.m., after a hard walk of twenty-two miles over uneven and slippery ground. Arrived at home, they enjoyed a fragrant supper of hot deer-steaks, which restored their strength. Messrs Back and Hood had already returned from their visit to the Coppermine, after a journey undistinguished by any striking discovery or special adventure.

During the brief expedition of Franklin and Richardson to the Coppermine, Mr Wenzel had made great progress in the erection of the winter-house at Fort Enterprise, which was now being roofed in. By the 30th September it was nearly completed, when a heavy fall of rain washed the greater part of the mud off the roof, which had consequently to be re-covered. Besides the party of men constantly employed at the house, two men were appointed to fish, and others were occasionally employed in bringing home the meat from the hunting grounds. This latter employment, though very laborious, was always eagerly undertaken by the Canadians, who never failed to use their prescriptive right to help themselves to the fattest and most delicate parts of the deer. At the close of September the reindeer, quitting the outlying barren grounds, began to crowd in near the house, on their way to the woods. The success of the hunters was now very gratifying, but the necessity for sending an extra number of hands to bring in the meat interfered with the building operations. In the meantime, the party

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continued to live in canvas tents, which proved very chilly habitations, although fires were kept burning in front of them. "On the 6th of October, the house being completed," writes Franklin, "we struck our tents and removed into it. It was merely a log building, fifty feet long and twenty-four wide, divided into a hall, three bedrooms, and a kitchen. The walls and roof were plastered with clay, the floors laid with planks rudely squared with the hatchet, and the windows closed with parchment of deer skin. The clay, which, from the coldness of the weather, required to be tempered before the fire with hot water, froze as it was daubed on, and afterwards cracked in such a manner as to admit the wind from every quarter; yet, compared with the tents, our new habitation appeared comfortable; and, having filled our capacious clay chimney with fagots, we spent a cheerful evening before the invigorating blaze. The change was peculiarly beneficial to Dr Richardson, who having, in one of his excursions, incautiously lain down on the frozen side of a hill when heated with walking, had caught a severe inflammatory sore throat, which became daily worse whilst we remained in the tents, but began to mend soon after he was enabled to confine himself to the more agreeable warmth of the house. We took up our abode at once on the floor, but our working party, who had shown such skill as house carpenters, soon proved themselves to be, with the same tools (the hatchet and crooked knife), excellent cabinetmakers, and daily added a table, chair, or bedstead, to the comforts of our establishment. The crooked knife, generally made of an old file, bent and tempered by heat, served an Indian or Canadian voyager for plane, chisel, and auger. With it the snow-shoe and canoe timbers are fashioned, the deals of their sledges reduced to the requisite thinness and polish, and their wooden bowls and spoons hollowed out. Indeed, though not quite so requisite for existence as the hatchet, yet without its aid there would be little comfort in these wilds."

By the middle of October the weather had become much colder, and all the lakes in the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise were frozen over. The deer now began to leave the district for better sheltered pastures farther south. But even had they stayed longer near the winter settlement of the explorers, it would have been but of little advantage to them, for their ammunition was now almost completely expended. "We had, however," says Franklin, "already secured in the store-house the carcasses of 100 deer, together with 1000 lbs. of suet, and some dried meat; and had, moreover, 80 deer stowed up at various distances from the house. The necessity of employing the men to build a house for themselves, before the weather became too severe, obliged us to put the latter *en cache*, as the voyagers term it, instead of adopting the more safe plan of bringing them to the house. Putting a deer *en cache* means merely protecting it against the

wolves, and still more destructive wolverines, by heavy loads of wood or stones."

The total want of ammunition would have proved fatal to the expedition as an enterprise, and to Franklin and his companions as well. Had the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company been both able and willing to redeem their promises to forward the stores that had been left behind by Franklin at different stations, and the further supplies of stores with which they had pledged themselves to furnish him, the expedition need not have been at any time in want of a sufficient supply of this, as of other necessities. But that there had been a want either of inclination or ability on the part of the officers at the different posts to forward stores was now sufficiently evident, and Franklin's practical intellect led him at once to the conclusion that some energetic measure should at once be taken to have a supply of necessities sent to Fort Enterprise without delay. "Ammunition," he says, "was essential to our existence, and a considerable supply of tobacco was also requisite, not only for the comfort of the Canadians, who use it largely, and had stipulated for it in their engagements, but also as a means of preserving the friendship of the Indians. Blankets, cloth, and iron-work were scarcely less indispensable to equip our men for the advance next season." Meantime Mr Back had volunteered to go and make the necessary arrangements for transporting the stores that were to have been sent from Cumberland House, and to endeavour to obtain some additional supplies from the establishments on Great Slave Lake. If any accident should have prevented the forwarding of the expedition's stores to Great Slave Lake, and the establishments there were unable to supply deficiency, he was, if he found himself equal to the task, to proceed to Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca. Accordingly, Mr Back and Mr Wentzel, accompanied by two Canadians and two Indians, with their wives, set out for Fort Providence, on Great Slave Lake, on the 18th October. The object of sending Wentzel with Back was that the former might assist the latter in obtaining from the traders, on the score of old friendship, what stores and provisions they might refuse to Franklin's necessities.

On the 26th October Akaitcho and his party arrived at Fort Enterprise, the hunting in the surrounding district being now over for the season, the deer having retired southward to the shelter of the woods. A second house had in the meantime been built for the men, and was thirty-four feet long, eighteen feet wide, and divided into two apartments; so that the buildings now erected at the Fort consisted of three structures—the officers' house, the men's house, and the store-house, the three buildings forming the three sides of a quadrangle. But the arrival of Akaitcho and his hunters was an inconvenience where the accommodation was so limited, though the necessity of issuing them daily rates of provisions was a far more serious considera-

tion. Franklin had no ammunition to give them, and therefore it was in vain to send them out to hunt; and although it was customary for them to subsist themselves during this period of the year by fishing or snaring the deer, without making use of fire-arms, yet on this occasion they did not seem inclined to exert themselves, and were quite content to be indolent so long as the Fort remained well stocked with provisions. Meantime Franklin exerted himself to keep his people profitably employed. In the beginning of October a party had been sent to the westward to search for birch to make snow-shoe frames, and the Indian women were afterwards employed in netting the shoes and preparing leather for winter clothing for the men. Robes of reindeer skin were also obtained from the Indians and issued to the men who were to travel, as they were not only a great deal lighter than blankets, but also much warmer, and altogether better adapted for a winter in this climate. The finest of them were made of the skins of young fawns.

Fishing, which had been carried on until the 5th of October, when the season was too far advanced, and the weather too severe to continue it, had been a profitable employment of one or two of the Canadians. One thousand two hundred white fish, of from two to three pounds each, together with a number of grayling, "round fish," trout, pike, and carp, had been caught. The fish froze as they were taken out of the nets, and became in a very short time like solid masses of ice. They were then readily split open with a blow of a hatchet and cleaned. If the fish, after having been hard frozen, were held before the fire and thawed, they recovered their animation. "This," says Franklin, "was particularly the case with the carp, and we had occasion to observe it repeatedly, as Dr Richardson occupied himself in examining the structure of the different species of fish, and was, always in the winter, under the necessity of thawing them before he could cut them. We had seen a carp recover so far as to leap about with much vigour, after it had been frozen for thirty-six hours." From the 12th to the 16th of the month, the weather was warm for the season, and the deer reappeared in the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise, much to the surprise of the Indians, who accounted for their unusual return, by the unusual mildness of the season. In order to take advantage of this singular occurrence, Franklin caused some of his pewter cups to be melted down into bullets, five of which were given to each of the hunters, none of whom, however, were successful, except Akaitcho, who killed two deer.

Mr Back had now been absent for a considerable time, and the officers at the fort had become anxious to hear of his having arrived at Fort Providence. The uneasiness and solicitude of Franklin on this subject was intensified by the gloomy forebodings of the Indians, who comforted Franklin by continually asserting that Back and his party must either have fallen through

the ice, and perished, or that they had been waylaid and cut off by the Dog-rib Indians. Painful uncertainty on this subject continued till the 23d, when Belanger, one of the Canadians who had accompanied Back, came in to Fort Enterprise. He had walked for the last thirty-six hours, leaving his Indian companions encamped in the last woods—they being unwilling to accompany him across the barren grounds during the storm that had prevailed for several days, and was raging with unusual violence on the morning of his arrival. When Belanger came in out of the tempest his locks were matted with snow, and he was encrusted with ice from head to foot, "so that," says Franklin, "we scarcely recognised him when he burst in upon us. We welcomed him with the usual shake of the hand, but were unable to give him the glass of rum which every voyager receives on his arrival at a trading post. As soon as his packet was thawed, we eagerly opened it to obtain our English letters. The latest were dated on the preceding April. They came by way of Canada, and were brought up in September to Slave Lake by the North-West Company's canoes. We were not so fortunate with our stores. Of ten 'pieces' or bales, of ninety pounds weight, which had been sent from York Factory by Governor Williams, five of the most essential had been left at the Grand Rapid, on the Saskatchewan, owing, as far as we could judge from the accounts that reached us, to the misconduct of the officer to whom they were intrusted, and who was ordered to convey them to Cumberland House. Being overtaken by some of the North-West Company's canoes, he had insisted on their taking half of his charge, as it was intended for the service of Government. The North-West gentlemen objected that their canoes had already got a cargo in, and that they had been requested to convey our stores from Cumberland House only, where they had a canoe waiting for the purpose. The Hudson's Bay officer, upon this, deposited our ammunition and tobacco upon the beach, and departed, without any regard to the serious consequences that might result to us from the want of them."

During the month of December the cold was more intense than the travellers had ever yet felt, 57° below zero being registered by the thermometer on one occasion, while the mean temperature of the month was 29° 7' below zero. But though the weather was intensely cold, the atmosphere was generally calm, and the wood-cutters and others went about their ordinary occupations, without making use of any extraordinary precautions. They wore reindeer shirts, leathern mittens lined with blanket, and furred caps, but none of them used or required any protection for the face. The principal occupation of the officers at this time was writing up their journals, visiting the woodmen at their work, or walking along the river. The diet at this time consisted almost entirely of reindeer meat, varied twice a week by fish, and occasionally by a little flour. There were no vegetables used. On

the Sunday mornings a cup of chocolate was made ; but the greatest luxury their stores afforded was tea, without sugar, which was regularly served out twice a day. Candles, of a rude description, were made out of reindeer tallow, with a strip of cotton shirt for a wick ; and Hepburn became skilful in the manufacture of soap from wood-ashes, fat, and salt.

On the 15th of January 1821, seven of the men belonging to the expedition arrived from Fort Providence with two kegs of rum, one barrel of powder, sixty pounds of lead, two rolls of tobacco, and some clothing. The ammunition and a small present of rum were sent to Akaitcho. On the 27th, Mr Wentzel arrived with two Eskimo interpreters, whose unpronounceable native names had been changed to Augustus and Junius. Only Augustus could speak English. On the 5th of March, the people returned from Slave Lake, bringing with them the remainder of the stores belonging to the expedition, consisting of a cask of flour, thirty-six pounds of sugar, a roll of tobacco, and forty pounds of powder ; and on the 17th, Mr Back arrived from Fort Chipewyan, having performed a journey of more than a thousand miles on foot since he had left the winter quarters of the expedition. In concluding his account of this memorable journey, Mr Back states that he had the pleasure of meeting his friends at Fort Enterprise, after an absence of nearly five months, during which time he had travelled 1104 miles on snow shoes, having no other covering at night in the woods than a blanket and deer skin, with the thermometer frequently at -40° , and once at -57° , and sometimes passing two or three days without tasting food.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTURE FROM FORT ENTERPRISE FOR THE POLAR SEA—DOWN THE COPPER-MINE RIVER—REACH THE SEA—DEPARTURE OF INDIANS—THE ARCTIC VOYAGE—POINT TURNAGAIN—THE RETURN VOYAGE—THE LAND JOURNEY ON THE BARREN GROUNDS—DESTITUTION.

PREPARATIONS for commencing the journey to the Polar Sea, by way of the Coppermine River, kept Franklin and his party anxiously, if not busily, employed during the months of April and May 1821. But the most important of the preparatory measures—the programme of arrangements for supplying the expedition with provision on its outward march from Fort Enterprise to the sea, and also on its return—could not be successfully carried on without the willing and efficient co-operation of the Indian chief, Akaitcho, and his troop of hunters. The arrangement agreed upon from the first was that the Indians should, upon certain specified terms, attend upon the explorers, and supply them and their Canadian boatmen and interpreters with reindeer meat in sufficient quantity. This could only be done by the hunters going on in advance, after having been supplied with ammunition, stores, and presents at Fort Enterprise, and depositing the meat at different points, previously agreed upon, of the projected route. By the terms of this agreement, however, it was evident that the Englishmen and the Canadian voyagers were entirely at the mercy of Akaitcho and his men, and that the success of the expedition, and the lives of the whole party, were in their hands. This view of the situation was fully appreciated by Akaitcho, and the more clearly this sensible chief perceived the fact of Franklin's complete dependence upon him, the more clearly also did he perceive that his claims upon Franklin's stores, etc., were irresistible. In dealing with the noble savage of the prairie, it has been found to be advisable not to concede more in the end than has been promised at the beginning, as such concession usually leads to the loss of everything. And Akaitcho, though a man of much penetration, and having even some dark notion of the obligations of justice and honour, evinced much of the distrust, suspicion, and greed, which are so characteristic of North American Indians generally. Franklin, however, might willingly have yielded to the avarice of the chief those presents,

etc., to which no lawful claim entitled him, had he not been himself disappointed by the agents of the Hudson's Bay and North-West Companies. The explorer gave all he could spare to his Indian ally, and might have given more, had he received all the stores that should by this time have been sent up to him from the posts of Cumberland House, Fort Chipewyan, and Fort Providence. Akaitcho, however, with the distrust of his race, did not believe in the oft-asserted poverty of the "White Chief," and tedious, indeed, is the narrative of their frequent disputes.

With these disputes we shall not burden our pages. It is enough to state that at last Akaitcho, having received notes from Franklin, to be drawn upon the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies as soon as the expedition should have been concluded, declared himself satisfied at last; and, assuring Franklin that he would exert himself to the utmost to keep the expedition supplied with meat, set out in advance of the explorers, apparently resolved to carry out honourably the terms of the agreement. Without having received such an assurance from Akaitcho, it would have been in the last degree foolhardy in Franklin to have commenced his journey.

On the 4th June a party under the command of Dr Richardson, and consisting of twenty-three persons, including fifteen voyagers, a few hunters and Indian women, started from Fort Enterprise, and took their way northward by the land route. On the 14th June a second party, with two canoes laid upon trains, and each dragged by four men, assisted by dogs, set forward to strike the water route at Winter Lake, a short distance from the fort. After the departure of the latter party, Franklin equally distributed the remaining stores, the instruments, and a small stock of dried meat, amounting only to eighty pounds, among Hepburn, three Canadians, and two Eskimos. With this third party, to which two Indian hunters were attached, Franklin "quitted Fort Enterprise, most sincerely rejoicing that the long-wished-for day had arrived, when we were to proceed towards the final object of the expedition." At Martin Lake, immediately to the north of Winter Lake, Franklin came up with the canoe party already mentioned, and was sadly disappointed to learn from his hunters who had gone on in advance, and killed two deer, that the meat they had put *en cache* here beneath a pile of stones, had been destroyed by wolverines, and he was thus obliged at the outset of his journey to break upon his scanty stock of dried meat to provide supper for his party. This circumstance, of no great moment in itself, is stated here as an example of disappointments in finding supplies, to which, for one reason or another, the expedition was henceforth to be subject almost daily. The wind changed from south-east to north-east in the evening, and the weather became extremely cold, the thermometer standing at 43° at nine p.m. The few dwarf birches that could be collected after supper afforded but a poor and comfortless fire, and the travellers

retired, under covering of their blankets, to pass a miserable night. Next day they were glad to start at five in the morning to travel over the ice. By the time they had reached the end of the lake, the wind had increased to a perfect gale; and in trudging on in this wild weather, Franklin, who, like every other member of the party, carried his bundle on his back, dropped through the ice into the lake, but was extricated without much injury. Thus, with the ever present chances of being starved to death from failing to find meat, and of being drowned by falling through the weakening ice, the explorers pushed onwards. They came up with Dr Richardson's party on the 21st, and were deeply disappointed to learn from him that Akaitcho and his party had expended all the ammunition they had received at Fort Enterprise, without having contributed any supply of provision. The Doctor, however, had, by the help of his two hunters, collected and prepared 200 lbs. of dried meat, which was now all the store for the journey.

Pursuing his northward journey, and subjected daily to trials and sufferings of a nature never experienced in civilised communities, Franklin had, by the 12th July, passed through the Coppermine country, travelling down the river and past the mountains of that name, and now found himself on the frontier of the Eskimo district, extending along the Polar Sea, and inhabited by tribes that had for many years been at war with the Coppermine Indians. It was necessary now to conduct the expedition with every precaution, lest such of the Eskimos as might be met with, finding their lands invaded by white strangers accompanied by their enemies the Coppermine Indians—for Akaitcho and his hunters belonged to that tribe—should take fright and retire, without giving Franklin the information and the assistance so valuable for the further progress of his enterprise. Accordingly, on the 12th, when the tents were pitched on the shore of the Coppermine, a strict watch was appointed, consisting of an officer, four Canadians, and an Indian, and directions were given for the rest of the company to sleep with their arms by their side. It was desirable to open up communication with the Eskimos as soon as possible, and Franklin therefore resolved to send forward his Eskimo interpreters, Augustus and Junius, both of whom were glad to undertake the service. These men proposed to set out armed only with pistols concealed in their dress, and furnished with beads, looking-glasses, and other articles, that they might conciliate their countrymen by presents. "We felt great reluctance," writes Franklin, "in exposing our two little interpreters, who had rendered themselves dear to the whole party, to the most distant chance of injury; but this course of proceeding appeared, in their opinion, and in our own, the only chance of gaining an interview." Though not insensible to the danger, they cheerfully prepared for their mission, clothing themselves in Eskimo dresses, made, with the view of being used for this purpose, at Fort Enterprise. Augustus was instructed to dis-

tribute his presents, and to state that the white men had come to make peace between them and all their enemies, and also to discover a sea-way, by which every article they were in need of might be brought to their shores in large ships. He was not to mention that the explorers were accompanied by Indians. Thus instructed, the interpreters set out on their mission. Two days having elapsed without anything having been seen or heard of them, Franklin resolved to proceed on his journey, and search for them, taking care to persuade Akaitcho and his Indians—much against their will—to remain behind until sent for. It may be as well to state here, that though the interpreters spent much time interviewing the Eskimos, numerous bands of whom were seen from the 15th to the 18th July, no advantage resulted to the expedition from the interviews, Lieutenant Franklin receiving from these timorous savages neither information nor assistance.

But during this time Akaitcho's hunters became restless in the land of their enemies, and declared their intention of leaving the expedition forthwith. The appearance of so many Eskimos terrified them so much that they resolved to commence a retreat inland at once, lest they should be surrounded, and their retreat cut off. Franklin in vain offered remuneration to any amount to such of the Indians as might consent to proceed with the expedition, and upon whom he could trust to provide food for his party on the return journey. Indeed, the commander had much difficulty in persuading the Indians to promise to wait at the Copper Mountains for Mr Wentzel and the four men whom he intended to discharge as soon as he reached the sea.

A great dread of the sea voyage now seems to have fallen upon the Canadians. Of these, especially, the Indian interpreters, St Germain and Adam, were reduced to an abject state of terror, and came to Franklin begging their discharge, on the plea that now they were of no use, as the Indians were now on the point of leaving. But as these two were the only individuals of his own party upon whose skill in hunting he could rely, after the departure of the Indians, Franklin refused to listen to their request, contenting himself with reading over to them the agreements, which both had signed, to accompany the expedition wherever it went, and to return with it. On the morning of the 18th July the Indians declared their intention of starting away at once toward the south. Franklin was careful to remind them of their solemn promise to have a deposit of provision stored up at Fort Enterprise in anticipation of his return in September; and he received a renewal of their assurances on this point. After parting with the Indians, the leader embarked with his party, and proceeded at once toward the sea, which was only nine miles distant down the Coppermine. "After passing a few rapids," writes the narrator of this extraordinary journey, "the river became wider, and more navigable for canoes, flowing between banks

of alluvial sand. . . . The river is here about a mile wide, but very shallow, being barred nearly across by sand-banks, which run out from the mainland on each side to a low alluvial island that lies in the centre, and forms two channels. Of these, the westernmost only is navigable, even for canoes, the other being obstructed by a stony bar. The islands to seaward are high and numerous, and fill the horizon in many points of the compass ; the only open space, seen from an eminence near the encampment, being from N. by E. to N.E. by N. Towards the east the land was like a chain of islands, the ice apparently surrounding them in a compact body, leaving a channel between its edge and the main (land) of about three miles. The water in this channel was of a clear green colour, and decidedly salt. Mr Hearne could have tasted it only at the mouth of the river when he pronounced it merely brackish. . . . We felt a considerable change of temperature on reaching the sea-coast, produced by the winds changing from the southward to the north-west. Our Canadian voyagers complained much of the cold, but they were amused by their first view of the sea, and particularly with the sight of the seals that were swimming about near the entrance of the river ; but these sensations gave place to despondency before the evening had elapsed. They were terrified at the idea of a voyage through an icy sea in bark canoes. They speculated on the length of the journey, the roughness of the waves, the uncertainty of provisions, the exposure to cold where we could expect no fuel, and the prospect of having to traverse the barren grounds to get to some establishment. The two interpreters (St Germain and Adam) expressed their apprehensions with the least disguise, and again urgently applied to be discharged ; but only one of the Canadians made a similar request. Judging that the constant occupation of their time, as soon as we were enabled to commence the voyage, would prevent them from conjuring up so many causes of fear, and that familiarity with the scenes on the coast would in a short time enable them to give scope to their natural cheerfulness, the officers endeavoured to ridicule their fears, and happily succeeded for the present. The manner in which our faithful Hepburn viewed the element to which he had been so long accustomed contributed not a little to make them ashamed of their fears."

After discharging Mr Wentzel and four Canadians, Franklin's expedition consisted of twenty persons. Wentzel now received his last instructions and commissions. Franklin informed him of his probable future course, and mentioned to him that if the expedition reached a point far distant from the mouth of the Coppermine, at the time when the advanced season should put a stop to further progress, he should perhaps be unable to return to the river, and would at once strike southward across the barren grounds from the coast, and make his way to some established post. In that case he would certainly make first for Fort Enterprise. Wentzel was therefore to make

certain on his return that the Indians had provided, or should immediately provide, a store of meat at the fort.

After Mr Wentzel's party had been provided with ammunition, about 1060 balls remained for the use of the expedition, with a proportionate quantity of powder. A bag of small-shot was missed, however, and it was afterwards found that the Canadians had secreted and distributed it among themselves, in order that, when a time of scarcity should come, they might be able to bring down ducks and geese, without being under the necessity of sharing these with the officers. This was not the first instance in which the voyagers had shown disloyalty to the common cause—a disloyalty that entailed the most terrible results on the expedition before all was done.

On the 20th of July, the explorers, after having travelled 334 miles from Fort Enterprise to the mouth of the Coppermine River, were ready to launch upon the Polar Sea in their two frail bark canoes. They were delayed for another day by a gale, and, as they had only provisions for fifteen days' consumption, the Englishmen would willingly have gone dinnerless to bed so as to save a meal, had they not been desirous of satisfying the appetites, and keeping up the spirits of the Canadians, upon whom such an act of enforced self-denial at the commencement of such a voyage, would have had a most depressing effect. Among the stores there was neither bread nor vegetables and a little salt was all that could be had to eat with the dried meat. On the morning of the 21st, the canoe voyage of exploration eastward, along the unknown northern coast of America, was begun. "Beren's," "Sir Graham McCre's," and "Lawford's" Islands were successively discovered and named as the explorers proceeded eastward along the coast. "Jameson's Islands" and "Cape Barrow" were discovered and named on the 25th, and on the following day, being driven by drifting ice, which pressed strongly against the feeble sides of one of the canoes, into a harbour, to the south of Cape Barrow, they named the bay, in which they found themselves imprisoned, "Detention Harbour," the entrance to which was found, by observation, to be in lat. $67^{\circ} 53'$, long. $110^{\circ} 41'$. "Hood River," so named in honour of one of Franklin's officers, was discovered at the close of the month, and its entrance found to be in lat. $67^{\circ} 19'$, long. $109^{\circ} 44'$. After coasting Arctic Sound, and the other inlets of Coronation Gulf, into the head of which "Back River" flows, the canoes were turned to the north, and again to the east, in the hope of finding a passage leading to the east coast of the Continent. Cape Croker was discovered and passed on the 12th, and the canoes now entered Melville Sound, proceeded round its shores, and left it, sailing westward by Parry Bay and Beechey Point. Melville Sound was found to be thirty miles long, from east to west, and twenty miles broad; and in coasting it the canoes sailed eighty-seven geographical miles. Mr Back now reported that both canoes had sustained serious injury, from the previous

day's cruise. It was found that fifteen timbers of the first canoe were broken, some of them in two places, and that the second was so loose in the frame that its timbers could not be secured, and there was danger of its bark separating from the gunwales, if exposed to a heavy sea. Distressing as were these circumstances, they gave Franklin less concern than the voyagers, who had hitherto behaved with great spirit and gallantry, but now openly, and in the presence of their officers, began to complain of the hardships and the hopelessness of their voyage. A number of deer and bears had in the earlier part of the voyage been shot by St Germain and Adam, the interpreters; but the good luck of these skilled hunters now mysteriously came to an end, and Franklin could not help suspecting that their recent want of success arose from an intentional cessation of effort on their part, in order that the consequent want of provisions should compel him to abandon his intention of proceeding, and return. The stores now consisted of no more than would subsist the party for three days; every day was increasing the distance which would require to be traversed in returning, and as the season was now too far advanced to permit of the expedition reaching Repulse Bay, Franklin announced that if no remarkable success was achieved in four days he would return. After this assurance the voyagers agreed to persevere for four days more.

Sailing round the eastern shore of Coronation Gulf, Franklin reached his farthest point eastward. Observations were last taken in lat. $68^{\circ} 18' N.$, and long. $110^{\circ} 5' W.$; but the officers went along on shore to a point ten or twelve miles farther east. This point they named Point Turnagain—the headland that marks the extreme limit reached by the expedition. A rapid retreat from this inhospitable locality was now imperative, and Franklin lost no time in commencing it. A start was made on the 22d, the object being to sail across Coronation Gulf, in a southward direction, to Arctic Sound, and, entering Hood's River, which falls into that inlet, paddle up the stream, and thence strike across the barren grounds for Point Lake and Fort Enterprise. On the 25th August, after a fearfully perilous voyage, the canoes reached Hood's River, and ascended it as far as the first rapid. Here the tired explorers pitched their tents, and here terminated their voyage on the Arctic sea, during which they had sailed 650 miles along shores never previously navigated, except by Eskimos. The Canadian voyagers, more familiar with the perils of land and river travel than of an ocean voyage, gave expression to their delight in having at last turned their backs on the sea; and though the most painful and certainly the most hazardous part of the journey was yet before them, they were too happy in reflecting on the dangers they had passed to give much heed to those that were to come.

The great march inland commenced on the following day, 26th August 1821. The earlier details of this extraordinary journey need not detain us.

"Wilberforce Falls," at which Hood's River makes two leaps down a chasm 250 feet in depth, were reached on the 27th, and Franklin, having found that the upper course of the river seemed to be shallow and rapid, resolved to take his canoes asunder and construct two smaller ones out of the materials. The use of the smaller canoes, each of which was to hold three persons, was to enable the party to cross such rivers or lakes as might lie in their way, on the southward march to Fort Enterprise. The canoes were finished on the 31st, and everything was arranged to continue the journey on the following day. The leather, which had been preserved for making shoes, was equally divided among the men; two pairs of flannel socks were given to each person; and such articles of warm clothing as remained were issued to those that most required them. The men were also furnished with one of the officers' tents. "The next morning," writes Franklin, "was warm and fine. Everyone was on the alert at an early hour, being anxious to commence the journey. Our luggage consisted of ammunition, nets, hatchets, ice-chisels, astronomical instruments, clothing, blankets, three ketties, and the two canoes, which were each carried by one man. The officers carried such a portion of their own things as their strength would permit; the weight carried by each man was about ninety pounds, and with this we advanced at the rate of about a mile an hour, including rests." There was still some little comfort to be enjoyed in the early part of the journey; for the alluvial soil near the mouth of the river yielded brushwood, with which a comfortable meal might be cooked. As the travellers proceeded, however, they entered the sterile region which bears—and it is about the only thing it does bear—the name of the Barren Grounds. In this gravelly wilderness shrubs were exceedingly scarce, and as the weather now became rapidly colder, the want of good fires at night began to be severely felt. Progress was necessarily very slow, for the small stones with which the ground was covered occasioned great pain to men carrying heavy burdens, and whose feet were protected only by soft moose-skin shoes.

On the 3d September Franklin left the valley of Hood River, which curves westward, and preserving a course directly south-south-west, led the party into a level but very barren country, marked only by small lakes and marshes, and covered with stones. On the 4th, after a walk of only twelve miles, the travellers encamped at seven p.m., and the leader distributed the last piece of pemmican, which, with a little arrowroot in addition, made only a scanty meal. Heavy rains commenced at midnight, and continued without intermission till five next morning, when the wind, changing to the north-west, and soon increasing to a violent gale, brought down a heavy fall of snow. "As we had nothing to eat," says Franklin, "and were destitute of the means of making a fire, we remained in our beds all the day; but the covering of our blankets was insufficient to prevent us from feeling the

severity of the frost, and suffering inconvenience from the drifting of the snow into our tents. There was no abatement of the storm next day. Our tents were completely frozen, and the snow had drifted around them to a depth of three feet, and even in the inside there was a covering of several inches on our blankets. Our suffering from cold, in a comfortless canvas tent, in such weather, with the temperature at 20°, and without fire, will be easily imagined; it was, however, less than that which we felt from hunger."

As a voyage of discovery, Franklin's expedition of 1819-22 was now practically at an end, and there remains little to add, except the narrative of hardships, probably unparalleled in any other record of travel, which he and his companions endured on the return march to Fort Enterprise, and during his residence there, until the time of his rescue. Indeed, only a small portion of Franklin's narrative concerns itself with purely geographical discovery; for, essentially, it is a narrative of travel and adventure. Yet it must be remembered that, after reaching the Polar Sea at the mouth of the Coppermine River, he traced the hitherto unknown shores of that sea a distance of 540 miles, and thus added much to the geographical knowledge of his time. Had it been possible for man to do more, under the circumstances, he would have done it; for, as he modestly puts it, he "prosecuted the enterprise as far as it was prudent, and abandoned it only under a well-founded conviction that a farther advance would endanger the lives of the whole party, and prevent the knowledge of what had been done from reaching England."

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE BARREN GROUNDS—A CANOE LOST—SIX DAYS WITHOUT FOOD—GENEROUS
SELF-DENIAL OF PERRAULT—THE LAST CANOE LOST—CROSSING THE COPPER-
MINE—THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

THE terrible fear now fell upon the travellers, that the winter had set in, in all its rigour, at an unusually early period of the year, and that they were already within its grip. It was on the night of the 4th September that they encamped under pelting rain on the Barren Grounds. Snow and frost, severe enough to convert their tents into a species of ice-house, and to cover every man's sleeping-blanket to the depth of several inches with snow, and make it have the appearance of a newly-mounded grave on a wintry moor, had prevailed since that date till the morning of the 7th, and during the whole of that time they had remained within their "beds," if the living graves in which they had shivered for two days and two nights can be called by such a name, and had not eaten a single morsel. But the last dreadful moment seemed now to have come, and if any effort, however desperate, was to be of any avail to extricate them from this state of death in life, it must be made now or never. On the morning of the 7th, though the wind was still howling around them, and the cold was intense, the explorers resolved to make another attempt to push onward, as it was certain no fate that could befall them could be more awful than that which awaited them in their frozen tents. They therefore arose and prepared for their journey, though they were weak almost as infants from the effects of fasting; and their clothes were frozen stiff as boards. No fire could be made to dry their clothes, for the moss, which was at all times difficult to kindle, was now covered with ice and snow, and was entirely useless for such a purpose. They took longer this morning to pack up the frozen tents and bed-gear than they had ever done before, not only from the difficulty of getting these stiffened articles to bend and fold up, but also because, in the extremely cold and keen gale that blew, it was impossible for any one to keep his hands any length of time uncovered; while, so long as the mittens were on them, little could be done. Just as the dismal procession was about to commence its march, Franklin was seized with a fainting fit, in consequence of exhaustion and sudden exposure to the wind, and only recovered after a morsel of port-

able soup had been dissolved in his mouth, and swallowed. He was unwilling at first to take this soup, as it was diminishing the small and the only meat left for the party, but a number of his men kindly and generously urged him to take it.

On the march into this barren, snow-covered waste, destitute of every sign of animal life, and vocal only with the wintry wind, the ground was covered a foot deep with snow, the margins of the lakes were encrusted with ice, and the swamps over which the explorers had to travel were frozen,—the ice, however, not being sufficiently strong to bear their weight, so that they frequently broke through, and sank knee-deep in the marshes. The Canadians, who took turns in carrying the canoes, were frequently blown down by the wind with their burdens on their backs, and as often fell from the insecure footing of the slippery stones. On one of these occasions, the largest canoe was so completely smashed as to be damaged beyond repair. This was indeed a serious misfortune, as it was feared the remaining canoe was too small to be of much use in transporting the party across the rivers. There was much reason to fear that Benoit, the Canadian who had been carrying the now ruined canoe, had broken it on purpose to be rid of the burden; and indeed this man had been heard to threaten that when it came to his turn to carry it, he would break it, and be done with it. He was closely examined on this point by Franklin, but as he stoutly denied all intention to damage it, and vowed that his fall was accidental, Franklin, who saw that no good could come of the inquiry, allowed the matter to drop. The accident could not be remedied; and it was not without a gay disregard and defiance of misfortune that Franklin called a halt and ordered a fire to be made of the bark and timbers of the damaged vessel, to cook the remainder of the portable soup and arrowroot. "This," says Franklin, "was a scanty meal after three days' fasting, but it served to allay the pangs of hunger, and enabled us to proceed at a quicker pace than before." Owing to the depth of the snow, it was found advantageous for the party to advance in Indian, or single, file, each man treading in the steps of the man in front of him, and the column always headed by one of the Canadian voyagers. It was the custom to point out a distant object to the voyager who led the column, and the man walked right on towards it, followed first by Mr Hood, who undertook to keep the leader from deviating from the true course, and afterwards by the others—all of them keeping to the one track. In the afternoon the travellers got into a more hilly country, where the ground was strewn with large stones. The surface of these stones or boulders was covered with a species of edible lichen (of the genus *Gyrophora*). Of this lichen, called by the Canadians *Tripe de Roche* (rock-tripe), a considerable quantity was gathered, and, a few partridges having been shot during the course of the day, half a one was given to each man, which, when cooked with the lichen, the material for the

fire being supplied by a few willows dug up from beneath the snow, furnished a slender supper.

After passing a comfortless night in their damp clothes, the travellers resumed their march at five on the following morning, and after walking about two miles, came to Cracroft River, flowing to the westward over a rocky channel in the latitude (nearly) of the Arctic circle, and in long about $111^{\circ} 30' W$. This river was crossed with difficulty, the canoe having been found to be of no use. Many of the party were drenched from head to foot in fording the stream, and falling among the rocks of its bed; and their wet clothes stiffening with the frost, gave them much pain in walking. One or two hunters had been sent on in advance, and the march this day was prolonged to a late hour, in order to come up with them. This, however, was not accomplished, and the travellers encamped and cooked the only meal they had that day—a partridge each, with some *tripe de roche*. There is much simple manliness in the few words with which Franklin concludes his account of this evening: "This repast," he says, "although scanty for men with appetites such as our daily fatigue created, proved a cheerful one, and was received with thankfulness. Most of the men had to sleep in the open air, in consequence of the absence of Crdit (one of the Canadians), who carried their tent; but we fortunately found an unusual quantity of roots to make a fire, which prevented their suffering much from the cold, though the thermometer was at $17^{\circ}!$ "

Junius, one of the Eskimo interpreters, who had been absent from the camp for a whole day, seeking an easier ford over Cracroft River than that which Franklin had crossed, rejoined his companions on the afternoon of the 9th, bringing with him about four pounds of meat, the remains of a deer upon which a number of wolves had been preying. Another river was now crossed, the small canoe being managed with great dexterity by St Germain, Adam, and Peltier, who ferried over one passenger at a time, causing him to lie down flat along the bottom, and among the water that flowed in through its numerous leaks. The transport of the whole party was effected by five o'clock, and the march was resumed. The whole distance traversed on the 9th, however, was only five miles and three-quarters on a south-west course. The tents were then pitched, and, with the piece of meat brought in by Junius and two small Alpine hares shot by St Germain, supper was made. On the morning of the 10th September, the thermometer stood at 18° , and the ground, which was strewn with great boulders, was thickly covered with snow. Walking along, the men were in constant danger of breaking their legs by falling, as they often did, into the interstices between the stones. "If any one had broken a limb here," says Franklin, "his fate would have been melancholy indeed; we could neither have remained with him, nor carried him on." A thick fog had prevailed throughout the morn-

ing ; but about noon the weather cleared, and, to the great joy of the whole party, a herd of musk oxen were seen grazing in a valley near. "The party instantly halted, and the best hunters were sent out ; they approached the animals with the utmost caution, no less than two hours being consumed before they got within gun-shot. In the meantime we beheld their proceedings with extreme anxiety, and many secret prayers were doubtless offered up for their success. At length they opened their fire, and we had the satisfaction of seeing one of the largest cows fall. This success infused spirit into our starving party. To skin and cut up the animal was the work of a few minutes. The contents of its stomach were devoured upon the spot, and the raw intestines, which were next attacked, were pronounced, by the most delicate amongst us, to be excellent. A few willows, whose tops were seen peeping through the snow in the bottom of the valley, were quickly grubbed up, the tents pitched, and supper cooked and devoured with avidity. *This was the sixth day since we had had a good meal*; the *tripe de roche*, even where we got enough of it, only serving to allay the pangs of hunger for a short time. . . . I do not think that we witnessed through the course of our journey a more striking proof of the wise dispensation of the Almighty, and of the weakness of our own judgment, than on this day. We had considered the dense fog which prevailed throughout the morning, as almost the greatest inconvenience that could have befallen us, since it rendered the air extremely cold, and prevented us from distinguishing any distant object towards which our course could be directed. Yet this very darkness enabled the party to get to the top of the hill, which bounded the valley wherein the musk oxen were grazing, without being perceived. Had the herd discovered us and taken alarm, our hunters, in their present state of debility, would in all probability have failed in approaching them." On the 12th, the snow was two feet deep, and the ground was much broken, which rendered the march extremely painful and laborious. The travellers now experienced a greater degree of faintness and weakness than they had ever done before—their strength impaired by the sudden and, for the moment, ample supply of animal food. The last of the meat was consumed that night for supper. On the following day, after a march of only six miles, the advance of the expedition was stopped by a large lake, on the borders of which the camp was made. *Tripe de roche* and a single partridge formed the supper. But the edible lichen had now become nauseous to the whole party, and in many of them its consumption caused severe pains and diarrhetic complaints. Mr Hood was the greatest sufferer from this cause. Franklin now discovered with dismay that his Canadians, in their desire to diminish their burdens, at whatever expense, had thrown away three of the fishing-nets, and burnt the floats. These careless and selfish men knew that the expedition had brought on the nets to procure subsistence for the whole party, when the animals

should fail; and the officers could scarcely believe the fact of their having voluntarily deprived themselves of this resource, especially when each man among them had passed the greater part of his service, as voyager for the Companies, in situations in which he had to depend on fishing alone for a subsistence. The travellers were now getting weaker every day from insufficiency of food, and as they were unable to fish and so increase their store of provisions, it became necessary to reduce their burdens, and leave everything behind except ammunition, clothing, and the few instruments required to enable them to keep a straight route. Franklin therefore issued directions to deposit the dipping needle, azimuth, compass, magnet, a large thermometer, and the few books they had carried, by the side of the lake. He also incited his men to activity in hunting, by promising rewards to such of them as would kill any animals. On this occasion also, Mr Hood lent his gun to Michel, the Iroquois, who was an eager, and often successful hunter. We shall see how the savage requited the kindness of his officer.

On the morning of the 14th, the officers being assembled round a small fire, Perrault, one of the most faithful of the Canadians, approached and presented each of them with a small piece of meat, which he had saved from his allowance. "It was received," says Franklin, "with great thankfulness; and such an act of self-denial and kindness, being totally unexpected in a Canadian voyager, filled our eyes with tears." Crdit, another of the voyagers, who had been absent from the party for some time, now came rushing into the camp with the joyful intelligence that he had killed two deer in the morning. Marching at once to the place where the nearest deer lay, the party instantly halted, and sharing the carcass, prepared breakfast. The other carcass being afterwards sent for, Franklin gave orders to cross the lake, at a part where the water seemed the most smooth. The crossing of the lake was perhaps the most perilous and difficult exploit hitherto undertaken by the expedition. The frail canoe was time after time upset and whirled away by the current of its mid-channel and the rapid on the farther side. Franklin, accompanied by St Germain and a voyager named Belanger, were the first to attempt the passage, but the whole of the party were only got across on the morning of the following day. On the 17th, some deer were seen in the morning; but the hunters failed to kill any. In consequence of this failure, the travellers had no breakfast, and but a scanty supper; "but," says Franklin, "we allayed the pangs of hunger by eating pieces of singed hide." A little *tripe de roche* was also obtained. These would have satisfied them in ordinary times, but they were now almost exhausted by slender fare and travel, and their appetites had become ravenous. On the 19th, having nothing to eat for the two preceding days but a little of the rock-lichen, they were faint with hunger, and marched on with the utmost difficulty, wading through snow, two feet deep, in the teeth of a fresh breeze.

The tents were pitched at four o'clock, after a march of only four miles, and as no *tripe de roche* was to be found, the men, clearing away the snow, came upon a quantity of Iceland moss, which, on being boiled for supper, proved so bitter, that few of the party could eat more than a few spoonfuls of it. On this night the blankets were insufficient to keep them in tolerable warmth, and the slightest breeze seemed to pierce through their famished frames. "The reader," says Franklin, "will probably be desirous to know how we passed our time in such a comfortless situation: The first operation, after encamping, was to thaw our frozen shoes, if a sufficient fire could be made, and to put on dry ones. Each person then wrote his notes of the daily occurrences, and evening prayers were read. As soon as supper was prepared it was eaten, generally in the dark, and we went to bed and kept up a cheerful conversation until our blankets were thawed with the heat of our bodies, and we had gathered sufficient warmth to enable us to sleep." On the 20th, Mr Hood was so weak that he was obliged to give up his post of second man in the travelling line, and his place was taken up by Dr Richardson. The men, who on this night had nothing but a small quantity of *tripe de roche* for supper—they had been obliged to do without breakfast—now threatened to throw away their bundles and leave the expedition.

On the 23d, the starving procession, in whom the spark of life was barely kept alive by one meal a-day of the "rock-tripe," moved along very slowly, and with extreme difficulty. At this time the small canoe was being carried by a voyager named Peltier, but, as a fresh breeze was blowing, this man, with the canoe on his shoulders, was often blown down, and received several severe falls. At last he became impatient, placed his burden—already much damaged by repeated tumbles—on the ground, and refused to take it up again. It was taken up by Vaillant, another voyager. On this day it happened that both Franklin and Richardson got in advance of the voyagers, and travelled on until they found themselves alone, the men having evidently dropped behind. They retraced their steps, and found that the Canadians had halted among some willows, where they had picked up some pieces of skin, and a few bones of deer that had been devoured by wolves in the preceding spring. The famished men had made the bones brittle by burning them, and had eaten them, as well as the scraps of skin. That they had agreed upon a mutiny against the officers, whom they had contracted to accompany back to Fort Enterprise, seemed evident from the circumstance that several of them had also supplemented their desperate repast by eating their old shoes. Peltier, the former bearer of the canoe, and Vaillant, in whose charge it had been left, were among the party. Franklin questioned them about the canoe, and they answered that it had been so completely broken by another fall as to be incapable of repair, and entirely useless, and that for that reason they had thrown it away. "The anguish this intelligence occa-

sioned," exclaims Franklin, "may be conceived, but it is beyond my power to describe. Impressed, however, with the necessity of taking the canoe forward, even in the state in which these men represented it to be, we urgently desired them to fetch it, but they declined going, and the strength of the officers was inadequate to the task. To their infatuated obstinacy on this occasion, a great portion of the melancholy circumstances which attended our subsequent progress may, perhaps, be attributed. The men now seemed to have lost all hope of being preserved; and all the arguments we could use failed in stimulating them to the least exertion." The march, however, was resumed after the remains of the bones and horns of the deer had been eaten; and in the evening a narrow part of the lake was discovered and forded, and an encampment of the whole party made on the opposite side. On the following day the men became furious at the suspicion of having been deserted by the hunters, who had gone on in advance; and some of the strongest of them, throwing down their bundles, prepared to set out by themselves. The officers succeeded, however, in appeasing them, and, "after halting an hour, during which," says Franklin, "we refreshed ourselves with eating our old shoes and a few scraps of leather," the party encamped, supped upon *tripe de roche*, and enjoyed a comfortable pine-wood fire. Next morning the travellers had the great good fortune to kill five small deer out of a herd that came in sight as they were on the point of starting for the day's march, and this most seasonable and unexpected supply reanimated the despairing spirits of the men, and filled every heart with gratitude.

After a day of rest, and, on the part of the voyagers, of inconsiderate and improvident feasting, the march was resumed, and a river was reached, which was recognised from its size, to be the Coppermine. The men now deplored their folly and impatience in breaking the canoe, for its destruction was afterwards discovered to have been a voluntary act. After wandering about in the vain search for a ford, or for wood to construct a raft, during which time the voyagers—who had previously consumed their own share of the deer that had last been killed—robbed the officers of a part of their provisions, the party were again reduced to starvation, and were obliged to subsist for a time on the putrid carcass of a deer discovered in the cleft of a rock into which it had fallen in the previous spring. The lives of the party now depended on their being able to cross the Coppermine, and Franklin promised a reward of three hundred francs to the first person who should convey a line across the river, by which a raft could be managed in transporting the party. Days were spent in constructing rafts and attempting the passage; but, between the strength of opposing breezes, the want of oars, etc., every attempt was futile. At length Dr Richardson volunteered to swim across with a line round his middle, but he had got only a short distance from the bank when his arms became benumbed with cold, and he lost the power of

moving them. He still persevered, however, and turning upon his back, had nearly reached the farther side, when, to the great alarm of the officers, he was seen to sink. He was pulled ashore by the line in an almost lifeless state, and so far restored as to be able to give directions for his own treatment. He had lost all feeling in his left side, nor did he recover the full power of his left limbs till the succeeding summer. On being brought to the bank, he had been stripped, rolled in blankets, and placed in front of a fire of willows. The appearance he presented when naked was that of a living skeleton, so much was his frame wasted from want of food. "I cannot describe," writes Franklin, "what every one felt at beholding the skeleton which the doctor's debilitated frame exhibited. When he stripped, the Canadians simultaneously exclaimed, '*Ah! que nous sommes maigres!*'" One circumstance in connection with this attempt to swim the Coppermine, and thus save the whole party, must be mentioned. When Richardson was about to step into the water, he accidentally put his foot on a naked dagger, which cut him to the bone. But this most painful accident could not deter him from attempting to carry out his generous and humane undertaking.

It was only after making repeated attempts on willow rafts, and after suffering the direst pangs of hunger, that the whole party were enabled to cross the Coppermine by means of a small canoe constructed of the pieces of painted canvas in which the travellers wrapped their bedding, and which could only support one person at a time. Having now passed over the last great stream that separated the party from the known lands in the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise, Franklin, in order that no time might be lost in procuring relief, sent forward Mr Back, accompanied by St Germain, Belanger, and Beuparlant, to search for the Indians. Back was directed to go to Fort Enterprise, and, in the event of his hunters killing any deer, part of the meat was to be placed *en cache* for the use of the main body.

On the morning of the 5th, Franklin roused every member of his party by daybreak. The weather was cold and clear, but as the tents and bed-clothes were frozen, it was eight o'clock before a start could be made. The time had now come when the sufferings and the prolonged starvation to which the travellers had been subjected had so worn down their vital forces that it was evident some fatal crisis must immediately supervene, unless a place of refuge, affording food and shelter, should be reached. Mr Hood, who had long been suffering from illness, was now so feeble that he could scarcely crawl along; and Mr Richardson, still suffering from the wound he had received on the north bank of the Coppermine, was equally weak. These two gentlemen kept together, and walked slowly in the rear of the party. The track followed was that of the advance party under Mr Back. In the afternoon, when the camping-place had been selected, Crdit, the Canadian, whose turn it was that day to carry the voyagers' tent, came

staggering into camp so exhausted that he was unable to stand. The *tripe de roche* disagreed with this man, and also with Vaillant; they were, consequently, the first whose strength totally failed. Previously to setting out on the following morning, the whole party ate the remains of their old shoes, and whatever other scraps of leather they possessed, in order to strengthen them for the fatigue of the day's journey. In the course of the morning, while the straggling and feeble procession struggled on, the gale became piercingly cold, and the drift made it difficult for those in the rear to follow the track over the heights. Those in advance made frequent halts to allow the weaker men to come up, but as the cold was so extreme, the advance men were unable to remain standing still, and were obliged to tramp on before the rear could come up with them. About noon, one of the Canadians came to the front and informed Franklin that two of the voyagers, Crdit and Vaillant, were unable to come on any farther. Franklin immediately called a halt, ordered a fire to be kindled, and sent Dr Richardson back a mile and a half to visit the two Canadians. He found Vaillant much exhausted with cold and fatigue, and, encouraging him to try to struggle onward toward the fire, he left him, and went farther back to find Crdit. He observed, however, no traces of the latter, and, returning to Vaillant, whom he had left staggering and falling among the deep snow at every step, he found the unfortunate voyager lying down, unable to rise, and scarcely able to answer questions. The doctor then hurried to the front to inform Franklin of Vaillant's condition. Belanger then went back to assist his comrade. He found Vaillant lying on his back, benumbed with cold, and incapable of being roused. The stoutest of the men were now entreated by Franklin to go back and bring the dying man to the fire, but they declared themselves unequal to the task, "and, on the contrary," writes the commander, "urged me to allow them to throw down their loads and proceed to Fort Enterprise with the utmost speed." Compliance with this entreaty would have led to the loss of the whole party, for the men were totally ignorant of the route to be followed, and neither of the remaining officers who could have directed the march was strong enough to keep up with them at the pace they would have then walked. It was necessary, however, to do something to relieve the men of their burdens, and a consultation being held with Mr Hood and Dr Richardson, these gentlemen proposed to remain behind at the first spot where sufficient wood and *tripe de roche* could be obtained for ten days' consumption, that they should have one attendant, and that the remainder of the stores should be left with them, while Franklin and the voyagers should push on to Fort Enterprise, and send immediate relief to them. "I was distressed beyond description," writes Franklin, "at the thought of leaving them in such a dangerous situation, and for a long time combated their proposal; but they strenuously urged that this

step afforded the only chance of safety for the party, and I reluctantly acceded to it." The men's tent, a barrel of gunpowder, and several other articles, were accordingly left behind, and Franklin and his party then moved on.

They marched till dusk without finding any animals, any edible lichen, or any suitable place to encamp, and at night were compelled to take shelter under the lee of a hill amongst some willows, with which, after many attempts, they at last succeeded in lighting a feeble fire. But this poor comforter was too weak to warm the whole party, much less to thaw their frozen shoes; and the weather not permitting them to gather any *tripe de roche*, they had nothing to eat. The situation of the expedition was now deperate indeed. Reviewing the melancholy events of this terrible day, Franklin found it impossible to sleep, and he shuddered when he contemplated what might be the effects of this bitterly cold night upon the two Canadians, Vaillant and Crdit, that had been left behind. How miserable the situation of the party was at this time may be conceived from the statement of Franklin, that "some faint hopes were entertained of Crdit's surviving the storm, *as he was provided with a good blanket, and had some leather to eat.*"

On the following morning, the camp was broken up at nine, and the travellers moved forward, arriving before noon at a thicket of small willows, near which, on the rocks, a quantity of the edible lichen was found. Here Richardson and Hood determined to remain—Hepburn, their faithful attendant, volunteering to stay with them. The tent was accordingly pitched, a few willows collected, and all other articles deposited, except the tent, the clothing, and a small amount of ammunition, which were to be carried forward by Franklin and his party. The commander then addressed the men, and placed before them the alternative of remaining with Richardson and Hood, or going forward under his own leadership at once. All of them decided to go on with their leader. The moment of parting was a solemn one. Upon the breasts of how many of these "co-nates and brothers in exile" might not the shroud of snow be already rising! Who can realise what must have been the emotions with which the captain of this band, doomed never again to be reunited, conducted this last interview, and spoke the last words of farewell! But here, as in other trying moments, the courage and noble simplicity and trustfulness of the man bore him up. "After we had united in thanksgiving and prayers to Almighty God," writes this man, at once childlike and heroic, "I separated from my companions, deeply afflicted that a train of melancholy circumstances should have demanded of me the severe trial of parting, in such a condition, from friends who had become endeared to me by their constant kindness and co-operation, and a participation in numerous sufferings. This trial I could not have been induced to undergo, but for the reasons they had so strongly urged the day before, to which my own judgment assented, and for the sanguine hope I

felt of either finding a supply of provisions at Fort Enterprise, or meeting the Indians in the immediate vicinity of that place, according to my arrangements with Mr Wentzel and Akaiteho."

When the moment for starting came, Franklin and the Canadians, refusing to touch any of the *tripe de roche* growing in the neighbourhood of the tent of the comrades they were leaving behind, and who so much required for themselves all the nutriment within their reach, marched briskly forward, and arrived at a fine group of pines about a mile and a quarter from the tent. The leader now regretted that Richardson and Hood had not known of this sheltered spot, as they could have been well supplied with fuel here, as well as with the lichen on which they now wholly depended for subsistence. Pushing onward, Franklin found the snow very deep, and the labour of wading through it was so fatiguing for the whole party, that a halt had to be called, and an encampment made, after a march of only four miles and a half. What must have been the difficulties of that march through the snow, when a body of brave men, made desperate by hunger, and with the hope of succour in advance, were content to bring the labours of the day to close after a march of only four miles! But even in this short journey, so desperate had been the battle with the chilling, unyielding, and engulfing snow, that Belanger, the Canadian, and Michel, the Iroquois, were left far behind, and only arrived in camp at a late hour, and in a condition of complete exhaustion. Belanger, bursting into tears, declared himself unable to proceed and begged to be allowed to go back next morning to the tent, and shortly afterwards the Iroquois made the same request. The sudden collapse of these hardy and bold voyagers cast a gloom over the entire party, which their leader tried in vain to remove by assuring them that the distance to Fort Enterprise was only a four days' journey. Night closed in on these cheerless wanderers; and as there was no *tripe de roche* to be seen around the encampment, they drank an infusion of the Labrador tea-plant (*Ledum palustre*), and ate a few morsels of burnt leather for supper. They were unable to raise their tent; and as they found its weight too much for them to carry in their weak state, they this night "cut it up, and took a part of the canvas for a cover." The night was bitterly cold; and though they lay as close to each other as possible, they found it too cold, from the want of shelter, to obtain any sleep. In the morning, Franklin, having been constrained to assent to the pitiful appeal of Belanger and Michel, wrote a note to Richardson and Hood, describing the group of pines they had passed, and advising their removal thither. The note was scarcely written, when two of the voyagers, Perrault and Fontano (the latter an Italian), were seized with a fit of dizziness, but afterwards recovered a little, and joined Franklin and his now gradually thinning party, in setting out. Before he had gone 200 yards, Perrault again staggered. A third attempt was made to

advance, when he again stopped, and shedding tears with the greatest emotion, declared himself totally exhausted, and unable to go on. He decided to return in company with Belanger and Michel, who had not yet left the last encampment. He took a friendly leave of each of the travellers, and went slowly and feebly back. Soon after, Fontano was again seized with faintness and dizziness; falling often as he made a last attempt to struggle on through the deep snow. The poor man, who had that morning been speaking to Franklin about his father, and the old times of his childhood in Italy, and had begged that if he survived, the commander would take him to England, and enable him to get home to his own country, was overwhelmed with grief, and wished to lie down and die on the spot. He was encouraged, however, to return, and rejoined Perrault and the others. He bade Franklin and the others farewell in the tenderest manner, and commenced to retrace the dismal snowy track to the last encampment.

Franklin's party was now reduced to four men besides himself—Adam, Peltier, Benoit, and Samandrè. Pushing on for about five miles, they encamped, supped on "a few morsels of leather," and, having a fire, were able to sleep. Next morning they were able to collect some *tripe de roche*, and to enjoy the only meal they had had for four days. "We derived great benefit from it," says the simple explorer; "and walked with considerably more ease than yesterday." After walking about five miles, they arrived at Marten Lake, and were delighted to find it frozen, as they were thus enabled to continue their course straight for Fort Enterprise. A few days more of almost heroic struggle against unheard of difficulties, walking in garments frozen hard and stiff, eating their spare pairs of shoes, and drinking "tea" made from the acrid Labrador weed; but cheering each other with hopeful talk and with mutual congratulations that they were now near their old winter establishment, and that shelter, food, and rest were now almost within their grasp, the weary and starving wanderers at last reached Fort Enterprise.

That they did not at once drop down on its threshold and die must remain an unaccountable mystery to every one who has traced the record of their wanderings, sufferings, and hopes. This house, which had been the centre around which their thoughts and desires clung, during a long struggle with death from cold and hunger, and which they looked forward to as to a home warm with fires, and comfortable with the materials that succour and nourish the distressed, was found to be a mere shell, bare, desolate, empty—unfurnished in every respect. "There was no deposit of provision; no trace of the Indians; no letter from Mr Wentzel to point out where the Indians might be found." Would it not have been better to have died at once out on the Barren Grounds, than to suffer such a cruel blow! We can imagine with what emotions Franklin and his four comrades, after one swift

survey of this house of emptiness, turned and looked at each other. Blank misery and despair, and the hope for a speedy and a tranquil ending to this long fight for life, in which all the victories seemed to be with the enemy, must have been the feelings—might one not say the passions?—of the moment. "It would be impossible," says Franklin, "to describe our sensations, after entering this miserable abode, and discovering how we had been neglected! The whole party shed tears, not so much for our own fate, as for that of our friends in the rear, whose lives depended on our sending immediate relief from this place."

A note had been left in the house by Mr Back, who, readers may remember, had been sent on in advance from the banks of the Coppermine in the middle of September, to search for the Indians, and to hasten them in bringing relief to the main party of the expedition. Mr Back, who had reached Fort Enterprise only two days before Franklin, stated in his note that he was going in search of the Indians, at a part where St Germain (his hunter) considered it likely they might be found, and that, if unsuccessful in finding them, he purposed to walk to Fort Providence, and send succour from that post. His only misgiving in connection with this programme arose from a doubt whether he or his party could perform the journey to the Great Slave Lake station, in the weakened condition to which they had been reduced. In reflecting over Back's letter, it appeared evident to Franklin that any supply that could be sent up to him from Fort Providence, would be long in reaching him, and that it would not arrive in sufficient quantity to enable him to send assistance to Hood and Richardson and their party. It was vain, then, to depend on efficient help arriving from Fort Providence, and he was driven back to the alternative of seeking and finding succour from the Indians, who had agreed to be in this neighbourhood at about this time of the year. He resolved, therefore, to institute a search for Akaitcho and his hunters. But although he vainly considered himself strong enough to commence this search at once, his starving companions were absolutely incapable of proceeding, or, indeed, of undertaking any labour whatever. He decided, then, to rest two or three days at the fort, that he and his comrades might gather a little strength.

The wretched men then began to look about for some means of subsistence, and they were gratified to find several deer-skins, which had been thrown away as offal during their former residence here. Bones were gathered from the ash-heap; and "these," says Franklin—not without a certain pathetic humour—"with the skins, and the addition of *tripe de roche*, we considered would support us tolerably well for a time." An examination of the house itself was not reassuring. The parchment which had been used to serve the purpose of glass, had been torn from the windows, and the apartment which they selected as their special dwelling-place was exposed to all

the rigour of the season. They now boarded up the openings in the futile hope of excluding the wintry wind, and making a room comfortable, the temperature of which ranged from 15° to 20° below zero. Fuel was procured by tearing up the flooring of the other rooms, and water for cooking was obtained by melting the snow. While they were seated round the fire they were astonished and delighted by the arrival of their Eskimo interpreter Augustus, who had left the main party of the expedition many days previously on a hunting excursion, had lost his companions, and had pursued his own route to the fort.

When Franklin rose on the following morning, his body and limbs were so swollen that he was unable to walk farther than a few yards. Adam, the Indian interpreter, was in a still worse condition, for he was quite unable to rise without assistance. The other Canadians were able to go out and collect bones and *tripe de roche* enough for two meals. The bones were acrid and rotten, and the soup extracted from them excoriated the mouth when taken alone; but boiling the edible lichen with it made it somewhat milder to the palate. Franklin, who seems to have been curious in his cookery, though his materials were scarcely of the most choice description, says that he "even thought the mixture palatable, with the addition of salt, of which a cask had been fortunately left here in the spring." On this day, Augustus set two fishing-lines in the open water below the rapid of Winter River, in the neighbourhood of the house.

On the afternoon of the 14th October, two days after Franklin's arrival at Fort Enterprise, the Canadian, Belanger—there were two voyagers of this name belonging to the expedition—arrived at the fort with a note from Mr Back, stating that he had seen no trace of the Indians, and desiring further instructions as to the course he should pursue. There was scarce time to glance at the letter, for the condition of Belanger, this messenger from the snowy wilderness, required immediate care. On his arrival he was almost speechless, and he was covered with ice, having fallen into a rapid and narrowly escaped drowning. "He did not recover sufficiently to answer our questions until we had rubbed him for some time, changed his dress, and given him some warm soup. My companions nursed him with the greatest kindness, and the desire of restoring him to health seemed to absorb all regard for their own situation. I witnessed, with peculiar pleasure, this conduct, so different from that which they had recently pursued, when every tender feeling was suspended by the desire of self-preservation. They now no longer betrayed impatience or despondency, but were composed and cheerful, and had entirely given up the practice of swearing, to which the Canadian voyagers are so lamentably addicted." The conversation naturally turned upon the prospect and upon the means best adapted for obtaining it. The absence of all traces of the Indians on Winter River convinced Frank-

lin that they were by this time on the way to Fort Providence, and that by proceeding towards that post he could overtake them, as they move slowly when they have their families with them. The route from Fort Enterprise to Fort Providence also afforded the prospect of killing deer on Reindeer Lake, in which neighbourhood they had been always found in numerous herds by Back and his party, in his journeys of the preceding winter. Upon these grounds Franklin determined to take the route as soon as he was able to Fort Providence, and he prepared a letter for Mr Back desiring the latter to join him at Reindeer Lake. With this letter Belanger departed on the 18th October, carrying with him, by way of provision for the journey, a bit of deer-hide.

Franklin was now resolved upon immediate action, and intended at first to set out with his five companions to Fort Providence. It was found, however, that Adam was afflicted with swellings in the legs—an ailment which he had hitherto concealed—and that he could not be moved. It was therefore necessary to divide the party. Peltier and Samandrè volunteered to remain with and attend Adam; Benoit and the little Eskimo, Augustus, agreed to accompany Franklin. The few simple, but necessary, preparations were soon made. Among other things the commander's wardrobe had to be seen to. "My clothes," he says, "were so much torn as to be quite inadequate to screen me from the wind, and Peltier and Samandrè, fearing that I might suffer on the journey in consequence, kindly exchanged with me parts of their dress, desiring me to send them skins in return, by the Indians. Having patched up three pair of snow-shoes, and singed a quantity of skin for the journey, we started on the morning of the 20th. . . . I thought it necessary to admonish Peltier, Samandrè, and Adam to eat two meals every day, in order to keep up their strength, which they promised me they would do. No language that I can use could adequately describe the parting scene. I shall only say there was far more calmness and resignation to the Divine will evinced by every one than could have been expected. We were all cheered by the hope that the Indians would be found by the one party, and relief sent to the other."

At first setting out, Franklin, Augustus, and Benoit were so feeble that they were scarcely able to move forwards, and the descent of the bank of the river was a severe labour to men who had not tasted wholesome food for weeks. When they came upon the ice, where the snow was not so deep, they advanced with less fatigue; but after walking six hours, and having only gained four miles, they were obliged to encamp on the borders of Round Rock Lake. Augustus tried for fish here, but without success, so that the fare for supper was singed hide and weed tea. Then composing themselves to rest, the travellers lay down close to each other for warmth. But even with this precaution they felt the night bitterly cold—the wind

piercing through their famished and fleshless frames. Next day, Franklin had the ill-luck to break his snow-shoes in a fall between two rocks. This misfortune put an end, so far as he was concerned, to the excursion; and after giving his companions instructions to go on and seek for Mr Back, and, failing to find him, to push on for Fort Providence, he returned to the Fort.

The condition of the Canadians at Fort Enterprise, and their manner of life at this time, will be best understood from Franklin's own sketch: "On my return to the house, I found Samandrè very dispirited, and too weak, as he said, to render any assistance to Peltier, upon whom the whole labour of getting wood and collecting the means of subsistence would have devolved. Conscious, too, that his strength would have been unequal to these tasks, they had determined upon taking only one meal each day; so that I felt my going back particularly fortunate, as I hoped to stimulate Samandrè to exertion, and at any rate could contribute some help to Peltier. I undertook the office of cooking; and insisted they should eat twice a day, whenever food could be procured; but as I was too weak to pound the bones, Peltier agreed to do that in addition to his more fatiguing task of getting wood. We had a violent snow-storm all the next day, and this gloomy weather increased the depression of spirits under which Adam and Samandrè were labouring. Neither of them would quit their beds, and they scarcely ceased from shedding tears all day. In vain did Peltier and myself endeavour to cheer them. We had even to use much entreaty before they would take the meals we had prepared for them. Our situation was indeed distressing, but, in comparison with that of our friends in the rear, we thought it happy. Their condition gave us unceasing solicitude, and was the principal subject of our conversation. Though the weather was stormy on the 26th, Samandrè assisted me to gather *tripe de roche*. Adam, who was very ill, and could not now be prevailed upon to eat this weed, subsisted principally on bones, though he also partook of the soup. The *tripe de roche* had hitherto afforded us our chief support, and we naturally felt great uneasiness at the prospect of being deprived of it, by its being so frozen as to render it impossible for us to gather it. We perceived our strength decline every day, and every exertion began to be irksome. When we were once seated the greatest effort was necessary in order to rise, and we had frequently to lift each other from our seats; but even in this pitiable situation we conversed cheerfully, being sanguine as to the speedy arrival of the Indians. We calculated, indeed, that, if they should be near the situation where they had remained last winter, our men would have reached them by this day (26th October). Having expended all the wood which we could procure from our present dwelling, without danger of its fall, Peltier began this day to pull down the partitions of the adjoining houses. Though these were only distant about

twenty yards, yet the increase of labour in carrying the wood fatigued him so much, that by the evening he was exhausted. On the next day, his weakness was such, especially in the arms, of which he chiefly complained, that he with difficulty lifted the hatchet. Still he persevered, while Samandrè and I assisted him in bringing in the wood; though our united strength could only collect sufficient to replenish the fire four times in the course of the day. As the insides of our mouths had become sore from eating the bone-soup, we relinquished the use of it, and now boiled the skin, which mode of dressing we found more palatable than frying it, as we had hitherto done. On the 29th, Peltier felt his pains more severe, and could only cut a few pieces of wood. Samandrè, who was still almost as weak, relieved him a little time, and I aided them in carrying in the wood. We endeavoured to pick some *tripe de roche*, but in vain, as it was entirely frozen. In turning up the snow in searching for bones, I found several pieces of bark, which proved a valuable acquisition, as we were almost destitute of dry wood proper for kindling the fire. We saw a herd of reindeer sporting on the river about half-a-mile from the house. They remained there a long time, but none of the party felt themselves strong enough to go after them, nor was there one of us who could have fired a gun without resting it. Whilst we were seated round the fire this evening, discoursing about the anticipated relief, the conversation was suddenly interrupted by Peltier's exclaiming, with joy, 'Ah! le monde!' imagining that he heard the Indians in the other room. Immediately afterwards, to his bitter disappointment. Dr Richardson and Hepburn entered, each carrying his bundle."

Peltier's disappointment, however, soon gave way to a more humane feeling, and he immediately recovered himself sufficiently to express his delight at their safe arrival. With Franklin it was different. The sudden appearance of these two comrades, recovered from the grave, and standing before him in the bare room, sent a chill to his heart. What of Hood, of Crèdit, of Vaillant, Perrault, and Fontano? Had the Italian "gone home" at last? Had Hood received the step of promotion that no Admiralty or any earthly court could confer?

CHAPTER V.

DR RICHARDSON'S NARRATIVE—MICHEL, THE IROQUOIS—MURDER OF MR HOOD—
SHOOTING THE ASSASSIN—THE MARCH TO THE FORT—ARRIVAL.

WHEN Dr Richardson, with the invaluable Hepburn, entered the dwelling-room of Fort Enterprise, and came face to face with Franklin and the Canadians, a mutual thrill of surprise, horror, and pity seems to have ran through each, for the evident sufferings of the other party. "We were all shocked," says Franklin, "at beholding the emaciated countenances of the doctor and Hepburn," which hunger had stripped of all the roundness and colour of health, leaving only staring bones and sickly hollows. On the other hand, the doctor, scientific to the last fibre of him, yet combining the rapid perception of the trained practitioner with the ample affection and ready sympathy of a faithful friend and officer, observed, at once with curiosity and with great distress, that the wretched inhabitants of this famished abode were reduced absolutely to skin and bone. "Speak a little more cheerfully if you can, and not in such sepulchral tones," said the doctor, who had been shocked with the deep and hollow sound of the commander's voice; "but he was unconscious," adds Franklin, "that his own voice partook of the same key." But there was no time to be lost. There was death in the house, and, if possible, the "shadow feared of man" must be driven hence; and the doctor, eminently practical under whatever degree of illness he might himself be suffering, never failed to follow his instincts in setting to work at once in relieving the distresses of others. Near the house Hepburn had shot a partridge. Richardson now tore out the feathers of it, and having held it to the fire a few minutes, divided it into six portions. "I and my three companions," says Franklin, "ravenously devoured our shares, as it was the first morsel of flesh any of us had tasted for thirty-one days. Our spirits were revived by this small supply, and the doctor endeavoured to raise them still higher by the prospect of Hepburn's being able to kill a deer next day, as they had seen and even fired at several near the house." Richardson then turned his attention to the arrangements of the room, and, after having made things a little more comfortable, he brought out his prayer-

book and Testament, which in all these wanderings he had not failed to carry with him; and some prayers and psalms, together with portions of Scripture, appropriate to the condition of men who were walking in the valley and the shadow of death, having been read, all crept under their blankets by the hearth.

The doctor and Hepburn went out in search of deer next morning; but they were too weak to hold their guns steadily, and consequently killed nothing. It was Franklin's business this day to search for skins under the snow, but he had not strength to drag in more than two of those which were within twenty yards of the house, until the doctor came and assisted him. They made up their stock to twenty-six, "but several of them," says Franklin, "were putrid, and scarcely eatable, even by men suffering the extremity of famine." Peltier and Samandrè became too weak to attend to their duty in providing wood for fuel, and Hepburn, who had remained out all day, had this laborious piece of work to do after his return. It was not till after the usual supper of singed skin and bone-soup that Richardson entered upon the narrative of the sufferings of his party, since Franklin left them many days ago in their tent, after the crossing of the Coppermine.

On the morning of the 9th October, two days after the tent was pitched for Dr Richardson and Mr Hood, Michel, the Iroquois, arrived with a note from Franklin, stating that this man and Jean Baptiste Belanger, being unable to proceed, were about to return to their tent, and that, a mile beyond their present encampment, there was a clump of pines to which he recommended them to remove. Michel stated that he had left Franklin's party on the previous day; but that, having missed his way, he had passed the night on the snow, a mile or two to the northward of the tent. Belanger, he said, was impatient, and had left the fire about two hours earlier. As the Canadian had not arrived, Michel supposed he had gone astray. This was a somewhat extraordinary story. That two castaways on the snow-ocean of an Arctic wilderness in winter, should, from any mere feeling of childish impatience, part company when both were going to the same spot, and that only a mile distant, seemed curious and unusual, and the doctor suspected that Michel, the Iroquois, was lying, and doing so, probably, to conceal a greater crime. In the meantime, however, there was no proof of the Indian's treachery; and as he now produced a hare and a partridge, which he had killed in the morning, Richardson and Hood received this unexpected supply of provision "with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty for His goodness," and they looked upon Michel, for the moment, "as the instrument Heaven had chosen to preserve all their lives." The Indian complained of cold, and such was the gratitude of the three men to whom he had brought this opportune supply of good food, that Mr Hood offered to share his buffalo-robe with him at night, Dr Richardson gave him one of two

shirts which he wore, and Hepburn, the attendant, exclaimed in the warmth of his heart, "How shall I love this man—if I find that he does not tell lies like the others!"

Next day, acting upon the advice of Franklin, the party moved forward to the clump of pines. The doctor, Hepburn, and Michel, carried the ammunition, and most of the other heavy articles, to the new encampment. "Michel was our guide," says Richardson, "but it did not occur to us at the time that his *conducting us* perfectly straight was incompatible with his story of having mistaken his road in *coming to us*. He now informed us that he had, on his way to the tent, left on the hill above the pines a gun and forty-eight balls, which Perrault had given to him when, with the rest of Mr Franklin's party, he took leave of him. It will be seen, on a reference to Mr Franklin's journal, that Perrault carried his gun and ammunition along with him when they parted from Michel and Belanger. After we had made a fire, and drank a little of the country tea, Hepburn and I returned to the tent, where we arrived in the evening, much exhausted with our journey. Michel preferred sleeping where he was, and requested us to leave him the hatchet, which we did, after he had promised to come early in the morning to assist us in carrying the tent and bedding. Mr Hood remained in bed all day. Seeing nothing of Belanger to-day, we gave him up for lost."

On the following morning, the 11th October, finding that Michel did not come, the doctor and Hepburn loaded themselves with the bedding, and, accompanied by Mr Hood, who was giddy, and nearly blind from weakness, set out for the pines. The Iroquois was not to be seen. Hepburn now went back for the tent, returning with it after dark, completely exhausted with the fatigue of the day. About nightfall, also, the Iroquois came into camp. He reported that he had been in chase of some deer that had passed near his sleeping-place in the morning, and although he did not come up with them, he had found a wolf which had been killed by the stroke of a deer's horn, and had brought a part of its carcass for supper. "We implicitly believed this story *then*," says Richardson, "but afterwards became convinced from circumstances, the details of which may be spared, that it (the piece of flesh brought in by Michel) must have been a portion of the body of Belanger or Perrault. A question of moment," continues the doctor, "here presents itself, namely, whether he actually murdered these men, or either of them, or whether he found the bodies in the snow. Captain Franklin, who is the best able to judge of this matter, from knowing their situation when he parted from them, suggested the former idea, and that both Belanger and Perrault had been sacrificed. When Perrault turned back, Captain Franklin watched him until he reached a small group of willows, which was immediately adjoining the fire, and concealed it from

view, and at this time the smoke of fresh fuel was distinctly visible. Captain Franklin conjectures that Michel, having already destroyed Belanger, completed his crime by Perrault's death, in order to screen himself from detection. Although this opinion is founded only on circumstances, and is unsupported by direct evidence, it has been judged proper to mention it, especially as the subsequent conduct of the man showed that he was capable of committing such a deed. The circumstances are very strong. It is not easy to assign any other adequate motive for his concealing from us that Perrault turned back; while his request overnight that we should leave him the hatchet, and his cumbering himself with it when he went out in the morning (unlike a hunter, who makes use only of his knife when he kills a deer), seems to indicate that he took it *for the purpose of cutting up something that he knew to be frozen.*"

From this point the conduct of Michel was singular, and it became more peculiar and ominous every day. On the morning of the 12th, he went out early, refusing the doctor's offer to accompany him. He remained out the whole day, and at night refused to sleep in the tent, but lay down by the fireside. On the 13th there was a heavy gale of wind, and the party passed the day by the fire; but on the following day, the gale having blown over, Michel went out to hunt, but returned in a short time, and was contradictory and evasive in his answers. On the 15th, the temper of the Iroquois, from being contradictory, darkened down into surliness and moroseness. He regretted that he had not gone on with Franklin's party; he refused to go out to hunt, and, after having been at last persuaded to go, he returned with nothing, though flocks of partridges were flying about. Hepburn and the doctor also went after the partridges, but were too weak to approach them with sufficient caution. On the 16th Michel refused either to hunt or to cut wood, and threatened to leave the party, his only difficulty being that he did not know the route to Fort Enterprise. Mr Hood and the doctor promised that if he would only hunt diligently for four days they would send Hepburn with him to Franklin, giving them a compass, with full directions as to route. The party had now been living on *tripe de roche* alone for several days, and Hood, who never partook of this weed without being made ill, was now so weak as to be scarcely able to sit up at the fireside. He complained that the least breeze of wind seemed to blow through his frame. He also suffered much from cold during the night. "We lay close to each other," says Richardson, "but the heat of his body was no longer sufficient to thaw the frozen rime formed by our breaths on the blankets that covered him."

At this period the doctor observed that with the decay of their physical strength the minds of the party also decayed, and they were no longer able to bear the contemplation of the horrors that surrounded them. Their con-

versation at this time turned chiefly upon trifles, or vain speculations upon their "future prospects in life." Their "chief prospect in life," was the prospect of ending it! But this subject they avoided speaking about. "Each of us, if I may be allowed to judge from my own case," says the doctor, "excused himself from doing so (speaking of the approach of death) by a desire not to shock the feelings of others, for we were sensible of one another's weakness of intellect, though blind to our own." On the 19th, Michel, by far the strongest of the party, refused to hunt, or to bring in wood; and when Mr Hood pointed out to him the necessity and duty of exertion, the expostulation had only the effect of rousing his evil nature, and provoking him to give expression to ideas over which he had evidently been long brooding. "It is no use hunting," said the Iroquois; "there are no animals; *you had better kill and eat me!*"

On Sunday morning, October 20th, the Englishmen urged Michel to go out and hunt, that he might, if possible, leave them some provision, as the next day had been appointed for his leaving them. But the Indian showed great unwillingness to go, and lingered about the fire, pretending to clean his gun. "After we had read the morning service," the doctor writes, "I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr Hood sitting before the tent, at the fireside, arguing with Michel. Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of firewood before he left us (to go in company with Michel to Fort Enterprise). A short time after I went out, I heard the report of a gun, and about ten minutes afterwards, Hepburn called to me, in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fireside, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea that, in a fit of despondency, he had hurried himself into the presence of the Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions, which were confirmed when, upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person." On being examined by the doctor, Michel stated that he had been sent, by Mr Hood, into the tent for the short gun, and that, while he was fetching it, the long gun had gone off, whether by accident or otherwise, he could not say. Hepburn stated to Richardson that previous to the report of the gun, Mr Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in a loud and angry tone; that Mr Hood, being seated at the fireside, was hid from him by a clump of willows; but that on hearing the report he looked up and saw

Michel rising up from behind the tent-door, or just behind where Mr Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, Hepburn did not at once go up to the fire; and a considerable time had elapsed before Michel called to him that Mr Hood was dead.

Richardson did not dare to betray any suspicion of the evident guilt of Michel, though neither he nor Hepburn had the slightest doubt after examining the wound, that the Iroquois had murdered their companion. Bickersteith's "Scripture Help," was lying open beside the body of Hood, as if it had fallen from his hand, and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant the cowardly shot was fired. The body was removed into a clump of willows behind the tent, and there, in the evening, Dr Richardson read the funeral-service over the remains of this young and distinguished officer.

The relations that now subsisted between the doctor and Hepburn on the one hand, and Michel on the other, were of the most peculiar kind. The Englishmen knew the Indian to be the murderer, and the latter, apparently fascinated with the atrocity of his own act, was continually alluding to the death of Mr Hood, and protesting that he was incapable of any act of treachery, or violence towards him. At the same time Michel always kept himself watchful and on his guard, and always went about fully armed, and thus carrying, so to speak, the lives of his companions in his hand. He never allowed the two Englishmen to be together in his absence, and whenever Hepburn spoke, he turned upon the seaman, and asked him, if he accused him of murder. He understood English very imperfectly, yet he was sufficiently well acquainted with the language, to render it unsafe for the Englishmen to allude to the murder. The three men passed the night of this sad day in the tent together, but without sleep—each of them being on his guard. Next day, having determined to set out for the fort, they began to patch their clothes, and make other preparations for the journey. They singed the hair off a part of the buffalo-robe that belonged to Mr Hood, and boiled and ate it. In the afternoon several pigeons were killed, and shared among the three. On the morning of the 23d they set out on their journey, carrying with them the remainder of the singed robe. Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and Richardson carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for him. "In the course of the march," says Richardson, "Michel alarmed us much by his gestures and conduct—was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to the fort, and tried to persuade me to go to the southward, to the woods, where he said he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour I requested him to leave us, and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature; he threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and I overheard him mutter-

ing threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories against him. He also," continues the doctor, "for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me, as evinced that he considered us to be completely in his power; and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or, as he termed us in the idiom of the voyagers, 'the French,' some of whom, he said, had killed and eaten his uncle, and two of his relations. In short, taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion that he would destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of his way to the fort, but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him." In the course of the day, Michel, whose sagacity in making out routes was not inferior to that of the average Indian, took occasion several times to remark that the doctor was following the same direction that Franklin was pursuing, when he left him. He added that if he kept on walking in the direction of the setting sun, he could find his way himself. Neither Hepburn nor the doctor were in a condition to resist even an open attack, and about this time the Iroquois, who now felt confident that he could reach the fort by himself, was evidently on the point of attacking them. Their united strength was far inferior to his, and, beside his gun, he was armed with a brace of pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. In the afternoon the party came to a rock on which there was a quantity of *tripe de roche*. Here Michel halted, saying that he would gather the lichen while the others went on, and that he would soon overtake them. Hepburn and the doctor were now left together for the first time since Hood's murder. A few rapid sentences passed between them. Hepburn drew Richardson's attention to a number of striking circumstances in Michel's behaviour, which the former had not himself noticed, but which confirmed his own impression that there was no safety for them except in shooting the murderer of Hood. This necessary act Hepburn would willingly have performed himself; but Richardson resolved to take the whole responsibility of the deed; "and, immediately upon Michel's coming up," says the practical doctor, "I put an end to his life, by shooting him through the head with a pistol." This operation being satisfactorily performed, the Englishmen spent one last moment in regarding the dead murderer and cannibal. "He had gathered no *tripe de roche*," says Richardson; "and it was evident to us that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps, whilst we were in the act of encamping."

Onward then toward Fort Enterprise went the two friends, through the thick snowy weather, keeping themselves alive with scanty pickings of lichen and morsels of singed buffalo hide, and having on one occasion a lucky windfall, in the spine of a deer that had been picked clean by a wolverine

some months previously. They broke the spine and extracted the decayed marrow, "which, even in its frozen state, was so acrid as to excoriate the lips." The courage and faithfulness of Hepburn were never displayed more conspicuously than on this dreadful journey. On one occasion he went in pursuit of a herd of deer seen on the route. He fired, but his hand was unsteady from weakness, and he missed. He was so exhausted by this fruitless attempt that he and the doctor had to make their camp upon the spot. The night of the 27th was spent without a fire, and on the 28th, the last few hundred yards of the day's march was over large stones, "among which," says Richardson, "I fell down upwards of twenty times, and became at length so exhausted that I was unable to stand. If Hepburn had not exerted himself far beyond his strength, and speedily made the encampment, and kindled a fire, I must have perished on the spot." By the evening of the 29th, they had arrived in the near vicinity of the fort. In passing through a small clump of pines a flock of partridges was seen, and one of them killed, after several shots, by Hepburn. "We came in sight of the fort at dusk," concludes the doctor, "and it is impossible to describe our sensations when, on attaining the eminence that overlooks it, we beheld the smoke issuing from one of the chimneys. From not having met with any footsteps in the snow as we drew nigh our once cheerful residence, we had been agitated by many melancholy forebodings. Upon entering the now desolate building we had the satisfaction of embracing Captain Franklin; but no words can convey an idea of the filth and wretchedness that met our eyes on looking round. Our own misery had stolen upon us by degrees, and we were accustomed to the contemplation of each other's emaciated figures; but the ghastly countenances, dilated eye-balls, and sepulchral voices of Captain Franklin and those with him, were more than we could at first bear."

CHAPTER VI.

TWO CANADIANS STARVED TO DEATH—ARRIVAL OF RELIEVING PARTY—FRANKLIN
AGAIN DESERTED—RESCUE AT LAST—ARRIVAL AT GREAT SLAVE LAKE—
MR BACK'S NARRATIVE—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE.

It was on the 29th October, that Richardson and Hepburn, the sole survivors of the party of eight that had been left behind by Franklin, arrived at Fort Enterprise, and it was not till the evening of the following day that the doctor, who had been reduced almost to the point of death by exhaustion and excitement, found himself strong enough to recount to the leader of the expedition the events sketched in the last chapter. On the morning of the 31st, the dull routine of life, to which Franklin and the Canadians were partly inured before the arrival of their old comrades, was resumed. Attempts were made daily to kill deer; but so weak had even the strongest become that the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting within range of the game; while the ability to hold the gun steady and take sure aim was now altogether denied them. On this last day of October, the Canadians, Peltier and Samandrè, were much weaker, though Adam was a little easier, and was able to leave his bed. From this day the doctor and Hepburn took upon themselves the labour of cutting the wood, and bringing it to the house. Franklin himself was too weak to cut or carry fuel, and was obliged to content himself with the minor offices of searching for bones, cooking, and attending upon the sick Canadians. During the night the Englishmen were surprised to see Peltier and Samandrè, who had not been able to rise during the day, crossing the floor, carrying logs to replenish the fire. It was the last service they ever performed, and seems to have been an instance of that sudden access of apparent strength, which sometimes comes when death is very near. Next day there was nothing to eat but a little *tripe de roche*. Peltier could scarcely taste it, and in the afternoon, being too weak to sit, he fell off his seat upon the bed, and lay there, apparently asleep, for two hours. At the end of this time, a rattling in his throat alarmed this miserable household, and now all knew that Peltier's hour was come, and

that death, whom they had so gallantly and so long endeavoured to shut out from their famine-struck circle, had entered at last, and taken up his place by their hearth. For weeks Peltier had been repeating, at intervals, that if the Indians did not come to the rescue before the 1st of November, he would cease from that date to look for relief, and he was sure he would not survive the day when he should cease to hope. He was a true prophet, for he died starved to death, during the night that preceded the 1st November. Samandrè, Peltier's companion in suffering, who had sat up during the greater part of the 31st October, and even assisted in pounding some bones, seemed to lose all spirit, when he witnessed the death of his comrade. He became very low, and began to complain of cold and stiffness of the joints. His companions spread their blankets upon him, in the attempt to keep him warm. But all was in vain, Samandrè died in the early dawn of the 1st November.

The comparatively sudden death of these two men, due immediately to losing heart and hope, was a severe shock to Franklin and his companions. Peltier had endeared himself to each of them by his cheerfulness, his unceasing activity, and affectionate care and attentions, ever since the arrival of the party at Fort Enterprise. Community of suffering had softened the rude nature of the Canadian, and developed all that was generous and humane in his character. He had nursed Adam, the interpreter, with the tenderness of a woman. The effect of his death, and that of Samandrè, told most unfavourably upon the health of Adam, who became very low and despondent, and on that of Franklin, who from this date became too ill to be of any assistance to the doctor and Hepburn, in their work of cutting and collecting fuel. From this point, the daily record of the experiences of these wretched men becomes brief and obscure. The darkness of death seems to have been gathering above them; their intellects seem to have become clouded; and it was evident that when the last moment should come, they would have nothing more to suffer. Their death would have been literally "a falling asleep;" for the period of anguish and suffering was well-nigh past. On November 4th, they read prayers, and a portion of the New Testament, in the morning and evening, as had been their practice since Richardson's arrival; and "the performance of these duties," writes Franklin, "always afforded us the greatest consolation, serving to re-animate our hope in the mercy of the Omnipotent, who alone could save and deliver us." On the 5th, Richardson and Hepburn, who alone were now able to move about, became very weak. They came into the house frequently in the course of the day to rest themselves, and, when once seated, were unable to rise without each other's help. On this day also, Adam surprised and terrified his companions by occasionally getting up and walking about the room, with wild and ghastly looks and rambling, incoherent talk about far dis-

tant times and scenes, and matters which his comrades knew nothing about. Next day, he got up in the morning, talked of cleaning his gun, and promised his companions that, if there were any birds about, he would soon bring them something good to eat. But his tone suddenly changed, his unnatural spirits left him, and he sank down dejected, and could scarce be prevailed on to taste the vile soup of bruised bones and singed hide. "I may here remark," writes Franklin, "that owing to our loss of flesh, the hardness of the floor, from which we were only protected by a blanket, produced soreness over the body, and especially those parts on which the weight rested in lying; yet to turn ourselves for relief was a matter of toil and difficulty. However, during this period, and, indeed, all along, after the acute pains of hunger (which lasted but three or four days) had subsided, we generally enjoyed the comfort of a few hours' sleep. The dreams which, for the most part but not always, accompanied it, were usually (though not invariably) of a pleasant character, being very often about the enjoyments of feasting. In the day-time we fell into the practice of conversing on common and light subjects, although we sometimes discussed, with seriousness and earnestness, topics connected with religion. We generally avoided speaking directly of our present sufferings, or even of the prospect of relief. I observed that in proportion as our strength decayed, our minds exhibited symptoms of weakness, evinced by a kind of unreasonable pettishness with each other. Each of us thought the other weaker in intellect than himself, and more in need of advice and assistance. So trifling a circumstance as a change of place, recommended by one as being more warm and comfortable, and refused by the other, from a dread of motion, frequently called forth fretful expressions, which were no sooner uttered than atoned for, to be repeated, perhaps, in the course of a few minutes. The same thing often occurred, when we endeavoured to assist each other in carrying wood to the fire; none of us were willing to receive assistance, although our task was disproportioned to our strength. On one of these occasions, Hepburn was so convinced of this waywardness, that he exclaimed: 'Dear me, if we are spared to return to England, I wonder if we shall recover our understandings?'"

The morning of the 7th November arose in gloom above the starving hovel of Fort Enterprise, with its bewildered inmates chattering in the insanity produced by prolonged want. Adam had passed a restless night; for the image of approaching death was before him throughout the long hours of the night, nor did it leave him in the morning, although the Englishmen did their utmost to cheer him, and dispel his gloomy anticipations. He was so low in the morning that he could scarcely speak. Franklin remained in bed, by his side, to cheer him as much as possible. The doctor and Hepburn had commenced to cut wood for the day; but had little more than gone out to set about this labour when they were suddenly amazed, and, for

the moment confounded, by hearing the report of a musket. "They could scarcely believe," says Franklin, "that there was really any one near, until they heard a shout, and immediately espied three Indians close to the house. Adam and I," continues the commander, "heard the latter noise, and I was fearful that a part of the house had fallen upon one of my companions—a disaster which had, in fact, been thought not unlikely. My alarm was only momentary; Dr Richardson came in to communicate the joyful intelligence that relief had arrived. He and myself immediately addressed thanksgivings to the throne of mercy for this deliverance; but poor Adam was in so low a state he could scarcely comprehend the information. When the Indians entered, he attempted to rise, but sank down again. But for this seasonable interposition of Providence, his existence must have terminated in a few hours, and that of the rest probably in a few days. The Indians had left Akaitcho's encampment on the 5th November, having been sent by Mr Back with all possible expedition, after he had arrived at their tents. They brought but a small supply of provision, that they might travel quickly. It consisted of dried deer's meat, some fat, and a few tongues."

The kindly Indians imprudently presented the food to the starving men in injudiciously liberal quantities, and Franklin, Richardson, and Hepburn fell upon it ravenously, although they were perfectly aware of the danger of eating freely, after such a long period of want. "Be moderate!" cried the doctor, as he beheld, with alarm, the avidity with which his comrades attacked the meat; but he was quite unable himself to abide by the rule which he prescribed for the others, and, like them, he devoured the food with the eagerness of a famished wild animal. So reduced were they all from want, that their strength of mind, resolution, and self-control had died within them, and they were unable in any degree to curb their animal instinct. The almost immediate consequence of their voracity was that they suffered dreadfully from indigestion, and had no rest during the whole of the following night. Adam being unable to feed himself, was judiciously treated by the Indians, and began to revive rapidly.

The youngest of the Indians, after resting an hour, set out on a return journey to Akaitcho's camp with a letter from Franklin to Mr Back, urging that officer to forward a further supply of provisions with the least possible delay; the two others remained at the Fort to take care of the invalids there, and nurse them into a condition of strength before they should attempt to move forward towards the hunting-grounds. The condition of the Fort now demanded the kindly offices of the relieving party. The room was covered with an accumulation of dirty fragments of pounded bones, etc., and in a corner were lying the ghastly dead bodies of Peltier and Samandrè. The superstition of the Indians forbade them to remain in the same room with a dead body, and Dr Richardson and Hepburn perceiving this, dragged

the corpses to a short distance outside, and covered them with snow. The Indians then set about clearing the room with an activity that seemed amazing to the sickly men. Contrasted with their own emaciated and nerveless figures, the frames of the visitors, as they moved about in the light of the blazing fire that now crackled on the hearth, seemed gigantic to Franklin and his companions, and their strength impressed them as being supernatural. The beards of the Englishmen, unshorn since they had left the shores of the Polar Sea, had grown to an enormous length, and were hideous in the eyes of the Indians, who persuaded their allies to shave and wash themselves. This agreeable duty performed, Franklin's party experienced, from the cleanness of the room and of their persons, from the nourishing food and the blazing fires, high-heaped with the wood which the Indians lost no time to collect, a degree of comfort to which for many months they had been strangers. On the 9th four large trout were caught by Crooked-Foot—by which graphic appellation one of the Indians was known—and formed a highly-prized delicacy, especially to Franklin and Richardson, who, after their first ravenous feed of meat, suffered dreadfully from indigestion and distention, and who, naturally enough, took a dislike to meat for a short time. The improved condition of affairs at the Fort may best be understood from Franklin's statement, that "though the night (of the 9th) was stormy, and our apartment freely admitted the wind, we felt no inconvenience, the Indians were so very careful in covering us up, and in keeping a good fire; and our plentiful cheer gave such power of resisting cold that we could scarcely believe otherwise than that the season had become milder."

On the 13th November the weather was stormy, and snow constantly fell. It was now six days since the Indians had arrived, and since the youngest of them had returned to Akaitcho's camp to urge the chief to forward another supply of provisions. No supply had as yet arrived, and the Indians beginning already to despond, became spiritless and morose, and refused to go out either to hunt or to fish. With their usual readiness to forbode evil, they now expressed their conviction that some mishap had befallen their companion, that he had never reached Akaitcho, and that consequently the best thing they could do was to return at once themselves, and hurry up the provisions to the Fort. Accordingly, on the evening of the 13th, having first given a handful of pounded meat to each of the men at the Fort, they stole away suddenly and secretly. Franklin and his companions were once more left in their weakness and illness without food, and there was every prospect of their having again to undergo the sufferings from which the opportune arrival of the Indians had relieved them. On the following morning, however, Hepburn, who had been out gathering wood, came in with the stirring intelligence that a party were in sight on the river

at the foot of the Fort Enterprise hill. This intelligence created the greatest excitement in the house, and each man set about cleaning the apartment, and removing the scraps of hide upon which the party had been feeding, for the Indians believed that burning deer skin was unlucky, and made them unsuccessful in hunting. The party turned out to be Crooked-Foot, with two more men and two women, who were dragging provisions. Adam, who, during the whole day, had been sunk in despondency, wonderfully recovered his spirits on the arrival of the relief party, and rising from his bed, walked about the room with an appearance of strength and activity which surprised everyone. "As it was of consequence," writes Franklin, "to get amongst the reindeer before our present supply should fail, we made preparation for quitting Fort Enterprise the next day; and accordingly, at an early hour on the 16th, having united in thanksgiving and prayer, the whole party left the house after breakfast. Our feelings in quitting the Fort, where we had formerly enjoyed much comfort, if not happiness, and latterly experienced a degree of misery scarcely to be paralleled, may be more easily conceived than described. The Indians treated us with the utmost tenderness, gave us their snow-shoes, and walked without these aids themselves, keeping by our sides, that they might lift us when we fell." The rescuing party, with the four starved men, descended Winter River, and crossed Round Rock Lake, distant about three miles from the house, and here the first halt had to be made, for Dr Richardson suffered so much in his limbs that he was unable to proceed. The Indians prepared the encampment, and cooked for the Englishmen, and fed them as if they had been children, displaying a degree of humanity and sympathy that would have done credit to the most civilised people. Pursuing their way by short marches, and slowly improving in health from day to day, the party arrived on the 26th November at the abode of the Indian chief Akaitcho. They were received in the leader's tent by the assembled Indians, who, by their looks of compassion and the profound silence they maintained, expressed their sympathy for the woeful sufferings to which they had been subjected. Not a word was said until the rescued men had tasted food. The chief showed them the most friendly hospitality, and lavished upon them the most considerate personal attentions, even cooking for them with his own hands, an office which he never performed for himself. In the course of the day the Englishmen were visited by every person in the tribe, not merely from curiosity, but from a desire to evince sympathy for their late distress. On the 1st December they set out to the southward with the Indians, and, travelling slowly in this direction, were met by Belanger, who had left them early in the season with Mr Back. The Canadian had been sent up to them by Mr Weeks, from Fort Providence, with two trains of dogs, some spirits and tobacco for the Indians, a change of dress for the Englishmen, and a little tea and sugar. He also brought letters from England, and

from Mr Back. By the former, Franklin learned the gratifying news of the successful termination of Parry's voyage up Lancaster Sound, and of his own promotion, together with that of Mr Back and the unfortunate Hood, now lying stark in his rude grave on the Barren Grounds.

On the 8th December the Englishmen set out with two sledges heavily laden with provision and bedding, drawn by two dogs, and conducted by Belanger and another Canadian. On the 11th they arrived at Fort Providence, and had the indescribable satisfaction of knowing that once more they were within the pale of civilisation. Franklin expected to have found sufficient stores at Fort Providence wherewith to reward the Indians for their kindness to his party. Only a part of the stores, however, had in the meantime arrived, and Akaitcho and his hunters had to be content for the time with what they could obtain. The philosophical Indian took his disappointment in the best possible spirit. He made an oration to Franklin, which was remarkable for its good sense. "The world goes badly," he said; "all are poor, you are poor, the traders appear to be poor, I and my party are poor likewise; and since the goods have not come in, we cannot have them. I do not regret having supplied you with provisions, for a Copper Indian can never permit a white man to suffer from want of food on his lands without flying to his aid. I trust, however, that I shall, as you say, receive what is due next autumn; and at all events," he added, in a tone of good humour, "it is the first time that the white people have been indebted to the Copper Indians." On the 15th Franklin and Richardson set out on sledges to Moose Deer Island, the station of the trading companies on Great Slave Lake, where they arrived on the 18th, and had the great pleasure of again joining Mr Back.

The narrative given by this officer of his adventures from the time that (leaving Franklin, Richardson, and the others, after the crossing of the Coppermine) he set out with Beuparlant, St Germain, and one of the Belangers—for, it will be remembered, there were two Canadians of this name—to push on in advance to Fort Enterprise, and thence to send back provisions to the main body of the expedition, was one of extreme trial and hardship. We can only glance at its principal incidents. Mr Back, with his companions, set out on the morning of the 5th October, and travelled on amidst extremely deep snow, sinking in it frequently up to the thighs—a labour which nothing but the hope of reaching the fort, and thence sending back relief to their friends, could have enabled them to support. On the night of the 6th the frost was hard and the cold intense, and though they lay close together, they remained trembling the whole night. In marching over Marten Lake, Belanger fell through the ice, and was only saved by his companions forming a rope by fastening their worsted belts together, and, by means of it, pulling him out. The night of the 7th was stormy. Starting

next morning, the party were too feeble to oppose the wind and drift, and finding it impossible to go on, encamped under the shelter of a small clump of pines. There was no rock tripe to be found, and they were obliged to allay the pangs of hunger by eating a gun cover and a pair of old shoes. At this time Back had scarcely strength to get on his legs. He rose next morning with difficulty, and commenced to stagger on, "but," writes this indomitable officer, "had it not been for the hope of reaching the house, I am certain, from the faintness which overpowered me, that I must have remained where I was. We passed the Slave Rock," continues Back, "and, making frequent halts, arrived within a short distance of Fort Enterprise. But as we perceived neither any marks of Indians, nor even of animals, the men began absolutely to despair. On a nearer approach, however, the tracks of large herds of deer, which had only passed a few hours, tended a little to revive their spirits; and shortly after, we crossed the ruinous threshold of the long-sought spot. But what was our surprise, what our sensations, at beholding everything in the most desolate and neglected state! The doors and windows of that room in which we expected to find provisions had been thrown down, and the wild animals of the woods had resorted there as to a place of shelter and retreat! . . . For the moment, however, hunger prevailed, and each began to gnaw the scraps of putrid and frozen meat that were lying about, without waiting to prepare them. A fire was afterwards made, and the neck and bones of a deer found in the house were boiled and devoured." On the 11th Back was again on his journey, for he knew his leader and the main body of the expedition were starving in the rear, and it was his duty to succour them by either finding the Indians or travelling to the nearest trading establishment, which was distant 130 miles. On the 12th the only food the travellers had consisted of scraps of deer skin and swamp tea; on the 13th they were entirely without food. On the 14th Belanger was despatched back to the fort with a note to Franklin, asking for instructions, and this day, also, the wretched men had nothing to eat. On the 16th the Canadian, Beuparlant, complained of increasing weakness, and said that he should never get beyond the next encampment, as his strength had quite failed him. He asked where the next halting place was to be, and St Germain pointed to a clump of pines near, as the only place that offered fuel. "Well, take your axe, Mr Back," said Beuparlant, "and I shall follow at my leisure; I shall join you by the time the encampment is made." The others moved on, reached the pines, and saw a number of crows perched on their higher branches. St Germain immediately knew that there must be some dead animal near. Back and he now looked about and discovered several heads of deer half buried in the snow and ice and without eyes or tongues—the previous severity of the weather having obliged the wolves and other animals to abandon them. "An expression of 'O merci-

ful God, we are saved !' broke from us both," exclaims Back, and he and St Germain "shook hands, not knowing what to say for joy." The next twenty-four hours would have terminated the existence of both had they not discovered the deer heads. A thick fog now came on, and the two became anxious for Beauparlant, who failed to come up when the encampment was made. It was impossible to see any distance in the fog, and to all intents and purposes their companion was lost to them. They fired guns, however, to which he answered; they then called out to him, and, listening, heard faint responses borne on to them out of the darkness. Back had not strength to go in search of the Canadian, and St Germain reminded him that if they left the camp in the darkness, they would themselves be lost. Next morning St Germain was sent to bring in the missing man. He returned, bringing with him a small bundle, which Beauparlant was accustomed to carry, and with tears in his eyes, told Back that their comrade was dead. He had found him stretched on his back on a sand-bank, frozen to death, his limbs all extended, and swelled enormously, and as hard as the ice that rose around him in iron mounds and ridges. "His bundle was behind him," said St Germain, "as if it had rolled away when he fell, and the blanket which he wore around his neck and shoulders, thrown on one side. Seeing there was no longer life in him, I threw your covering over him, and placed his snow-shoes on the top of it."

This melancholy incident weighed heavily on the mind of the English officer; and, weak with privation and exhaustion, he broke down altogether for a while, and gave way to grief. "Left," he says, "with one person, and both of us weak; no appearance of Belanger; a likelihood that great calamity had taken place amongst our other companions; still upwards of seventeen days' march from the nearest establishment, and myself unable to carry a burden—all these things pressed heavily on me. How to get to the Indians or to the fort I did not know; but, that I might not depress St Germain's spirits, I suppressed the feelings to which these thoughts gave rise, and made some arrangements for the journey to Fort Providence."

On the 18th, Belanger returned from his visit to Fort Enterprise with Franklin's letter to Back, and the three remained at the camp, where the deers' heads had been found, till the 25th. By that time the men, who had been on the brink of death, began to recover a little. Back himself was the weakest of the three. The soles of his feet were cracked all over, and the other parts were as hard as horn from constant walking. The remains of a deer were discovered on the 27th, and, having made up two small packets of dried meat, or rather sinews, enough to last men accustomed to fast for eight days, at the rate of one indifferent meal a day, the three men prepared to start on the 30th, the object being to rejoin Franklin. After a most painful march of three days, on the 3d November, Belanger suddenly

stopped and shouted, "Footsteps of Indians!" He had that moment discovered a recent track in the snow. The lost men, for at this time they hardly seemed to know where they were going, now knew that relief must be at hand. St Germain examined the trail, and announced that, on the day before, three persons had passed, and that he knew the remainder of the tribe must be advancing to the southward. Back now ordered an encampment to be formed, and sent St Germain forward on the newly-discovered track, with instructions to the chief Akaitcho to send immediate assistance to Franklin and his party at Fort Enterprise, and also to himself and his companion. "I was now," writes Back, "so exhausted, that had we not seen the tracks this day, I must have remained at the next encampment, until the men could have sent aid from Fort Providence. We had finished our small portion of sinews, and were preparing for rest, when an Indian boy made his appearance with meat. St Germain had arrived before sunset at the tents of Akaitcho, whom he found at the spot where he had wintered last year; but, imagine my surprise, when he gave me a note from the commander, and said that Benoit and Augustus, two of the men, had just joined them. The note was so confused, by the pencil marks being partly rubbed out, that I could not decipher it clearly; but it informed me that he had attempted to come with the two men, but finding his strength inadequate to the task, he relinquished his design, and returned to Fort Enterprise, to await relief with the others." Back, who suspected that Franklin was suffering much more acutely than the note seemed to indicate, communicated his fears to Akaitcho, who at once showed a humane and generous nature, by despatching three Indians to Fort Enterprise, loaded with meat, skins, shoes, and a blanket. With the arrival of this relieving party at the fort we are already acquainted. On the 9th, one of these Indians returned with a letter from Franklin, detailing all the fatal occurrences that had taken place, both on the Barren Grounds and at the house. Back now proposed that Akaitcho should immediately send three sledges, loaded with meat, to Fort Enterprise. By noon of the same day, two large trains, laden with meat, were despatched to the fort. Of their arrival there, and the rescue of Franklin, Richardson, Hepburn, and Adam, the story has been told.

Franklin's great journey of 1819-22 was now practically at an end. His comrade, Mr Back, after a long absence was now restored to him, and both, with the few survivors of the expedition, were now comfortably housed at the trading-station at Moose Deer Island, Great Slave Lake, where the unremitting care and attentions of the agents of the Company (for the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Company were now united), contributed much to their restoration to health. By the end of February, the swellings in their limbs subsided, and they were able to walk to any part of the island.

Their ravenous appetites gradually moderated, and they had almost regained their ordinary condition of body before the spring. In May a canoe arrived from Fort Chipewyan, bringing the whole of the stores which Franklin required for the payment of Akaitcho and his hunters. "It was extremely gratifying to us," says Franklin, "to be thus enabled, previous to our departure, to make arrangements respecting the requital of our late Indian companions. . . . It was an additional pleasure to find our stock of ammunition more than sufficient to pay them what was due, and that we could make a considerable present of this most essential article, to every individual that had been attached to the expedition." On the 26th May, they set out for Fort Chipewyan, where they arrived on the 2d June. Starting again on the 5th, they arrived at Norway House on the 4th July. On the 14th July, they arrived at York Factory, whence they took passage to England. "And," concludes Franklin, "thus terminated our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America, having journeyed by water, and by land (including our navigation of the Polar Sea), 5550 miles."

The conclusion of Franklin's disastrous expedition may be said to mark an era in Arctic exploration. In this expedition, the terrible privations and the loss of life suffered were due to the imperfect character of the arrangements made by Government for the proper maintenance of the explorers. It is true that Government instructed both the North and the Hudson's Bay Company to supply the travellers with every necessity, and that partly owing to the rivalry of these Companies preventing them from acting in concert in anything, and partly owing to the want of sufficient food supplies for their own men, they were unwilling or unable to carry out the instructions of Government. In one sense, therefore, the responsibility for Franklin's misfortunes does not rest with Government, as they commuted the office of providing for the expedition to the Canadian trading companies. On the other hand, Government should not have commuted such a grave responsibility to any company, however trustworthy, but should have made the matter of Franklin's supplies a certainty by attending to it themselves. Franklin's great journey was the last Arctic expedition in which Government failed to make the supplies of the explorers their own especial care.

PART V.

EXPEDITIONS OF PARRY AND FRANKLIN, 1821-27.

CHAPTER I.

PARRY'S SECOND EXPEDITION, 1821-23—THE OFFICERS AND CREWS—REPULSE BAY EXPLORED.

CAPTAIN PARRY'S extraordinary success, in 1819-20, in penetrating Lancaster Sound, and the channels that open up westward from it, and in actually forcing a north-west passage over a distance extending to upwards of thirty degrees of longitude, from the mouth of Lancaster Sound to Winter Harbour, on the south shore of Melville Island, was regarded by the Admiralty, and by the country, as encouragement sufficient to justify the immediate appointment of a new expedition for Arctic exploration. Reference to our narrative of "Parry's First Expedition" will show that this successful navigator, after carrying his flag far into hitherto unknown regions, was stopped by solid ice to the westward of his winter quarters in 1819-20. It was reasonable to suppose that, should the new expedition pursue the same route, it would be stopped by the same obstacle. It was therefore resolved that another route should be sought in a *lower* and, presumably, a *more temperate* latitude; and to discover and penetrate such a route was the motive and the object of the new expedition.

It was on the 30th October that Parry landed at Peterhead, after his first expedition; on the 21st December the "Hecla" and "Griper" were paid off, and, the new expedition having in the meantime been determined on, Parry received his commission for the "Fury" on the 30th December. In the previous expedition the "Griper's" bad sailing qualities had often been the cause of annoyance and delay, and for this reason she was not commissioned for the new venture; but as the "Hecla" had been found well adapted for this peculiar service, she was again selected to sail under Parry's orders,

and was recommissioned by Captain George Francis Lyon on the 4th January 1821.

So great a favourite was Parry with all who had ever sailed with him, that when he received his appointment to the command of the new expedition he had only again to hoist his pendant, and the first of the eager crowd of volunteers who offered to join were the old officers and seamen of the "Hecla" and "Griper." An interesting letter, written by Parry two days after his appointment to the command, and which is quoted from the excellent "Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Sir W. E. Parry," by his son, will serve at once as an indication of the gratification with which he accepted his new commission, and as a valuable description of the officers who were to be his companions on the voyage. Writing to his nearest relatives on the 2d January 1821, he says, "I commissioned the 'gallant Fury bomb' yesterday, and have already been overwhelmed with offers of persons to accompany me in all kinds of capacities. Two lieutenants are by my desire appointed to "Fury," Nias and Reid, who were both on the last expedition, and accompanied me on our journey across Melville Island. Lieutenant Lyon, who has lately been travelling a good deal in Africa, has been induced to accept the command of the "Hecla," with the promise of instant promotion to the rank of commander. He is spoken of by all who know him as an exceedingly clever fellow, and his drawings are the most beautiful I ever saw. Hooper (purser in the previous expedition), of course, goes with me. I hope Edwards, the surgeon, will go, but I fear he has had enough of it. I would give £100 to have him, and I know, if he would go with any one, he would go with me. [Mr Edwards did go, and showed that he had *not* 'had enough of it.'] My number of daily visitors is now about doubled, half of them coming to talk about the last, and the other half about the next, expedition. . . . 'Fury' came into dock to-day, and our men are beginning to find their way back again, being very desirous of trying a third trip." Of the officers, it is only necessary further to state that the Rev. G. Fisher sailed in the "Fury" as astronomer, but also officiated as chaplain; and that Lieutenant H. P. Hoppner again joined Parry, sailing in the "Hecla;" and Mr John Bushman, whom we have also heard of before, sailed in the "Fury" as assistant-surveyor. Among Parry's midshipmen were James Clark Ross, who sailed with his uncle in the "Isabella" (see Ross's First Expedition), and with Parry in the previous expedition, and who was destined to be the discoverer of the Magnetic Pole, together with the gallant, but unfortunate, Francis Rawden M. Crozier, who performed his first Arctic voyage under Parry in the "Fury," and his last as captain of the ill-fated "Terror," under Franklin. There sailed, in all, sixty officers and men in the "Fury," and fifty-eight in the "Hecla." The two vessels were of exactly the same size, both were barque-rigged, and in order to increase the resources in stores, the

plan of "equalised" fore-masts and main-masts was adopted. Not only were the masts equalised in each ship, but all the dimensions of the masts in the ships, and of everything belonging to them were precisely alike in both, so that any article belonging to these four masts might be transferred from ship to ship, and at once applied to its proper use without selection, trial, or alteration of any kind. The resources of the expedition in fittings might be said, by this arrangement, to have been practicably doubled. The ships were strengthened in Deptford Docks, in the most approved manner; and, as the scientific results of the previous expedition were valuable—the observations in magnetism were the first made so near the Magnetic Pole—both vessels were furnished with the best astronomical and other instruments then known.

The ships were ready for sea on the 27th April, though the start was not made for a few days afterwards; and, while they are bowling along over the Atlantic to the scene of their first labours in Hudson Strait, we shall take occasion to glance at the official instructions which their commander had received from the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The principal object of the expedition being to find a route westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific in some latitude lower than that of Lancaster Sound, and therefore more likely to be practicable, Captain Parry was directed to take his ships into Hudson Strait, and to sail westward until he should reach, either in Repulse Bay or elsewhere, some part of the coast which he should convince himself was part of the *continent* of North America. After having struck the coast, he was directed to keep along the line of this coast to the northward, always examining every bend or inlet which might appear to him likely to afford a practicable passage to the westward. Practically, these were the essence of the Admiralty instructions, and it was now Captain Parry's business to carry them out. He had as a preliminary, however, to inquire to what point northward the examination of the eastern coast of North America had been carried. Captain Middleton, in 1742, had reached Wager Inlet, and had described it as a river, which subsequent investigation proved it to be. Wager River or Inlet runs westward into the mainland from Rowe's Welcome—the northern outlet of Hudson's Bay running north between the mainland on the west, and Southampton Island on the east. On leaving Wager Inlet, Captain Middleton proceeded to the northward, keeping both the American coast and the shores of Southampton Island in sight, as far as Cape Hope on the American shore, and near the entrance to Repulse Bay. From Cape Hope, therefore, Parry resolved to take up the exploration of the coast northwards, and he resolved to reach this starting-point by sailing from Hudson Strait in a west-north-west direction round the north coast of Southampton Island, and on through the Frozen Strait of Middleton to Repulse Bay. With this view, he made sail out of Hudson Strait for Southampton Island, where, after having much trouble with the

ice, he arrived on August 4th, 1821. On that day, after an unobstructed run of between thirty and forty miles, he was stopped by ice, and obliged to make fast. Sail was made next day; and after a good deal of "boring," Parry found himself ten miles nearer land, after which, however, progress was found to be, for the time, impossible. The floes or icefields amid which he now found himself, were of great size, and were covered with innumerable "hummocks," with pools of water between. The hummocks, which appeared to have been formed of detached masses enclosed within the new ice of the last winter season, and "soldered" together by it, were five or six feet above the general level of the floe. The ice of this region was also distinguished for the number of stones—granite, gneiss, feldspar, and lime—found upon and embedded in it.

On the 6th, observations were taken in lat. $65^{\circ} 28'$, long. about 83° . The ships were now between Baffin Island on the north and the high land of Southampton Island on the south; and from this point begin the discoveries of Parry's second expedition. Detained by ice and by a west wind for five days, on the 12th the vessels advanced up Frozen Strait, heading for Repulse Bay. "Nothing," says Parry, "could exceed the fineness of the weather about this time; the climate was, indeed, altogether so different from that to which we had before been accustomed in the icy seas, as to be a matter of constant remark. The days were temperate and clear, and the nights not cold, though a very thin plate of ice was usually formed upon the surface of the sea in sheltered places, and in the pools of water among the floes." On the 15th, the weather continuing fine and clear, enabled the officers to obtain good observations by the moon and stars. The lat. was found to be $65^{\circ} 28'$, and the long. $84^{\circ} 40'$. During the whole of this night the aurora was distinctly seen glowing with a beautiful orange colour. Pushing on through Frozen Strait to the westward, Parry endeavoured to make out the land in that quarter. "The appearance of this land," he writes, "continued to perplex us more and more as we advanced, as instead of any opening corresponding to Wager River, which lies about this latitude, and the high shores by which it is bounded, we soon discovered before us a continuous line of low yellow-looking coast, extending all round, so as to meet the high land of Southampton Island to the south, as well as that to the north, and leaving no perceptible outlet to the westward." Standing across the open water, and keeping away to the southward, Parry discovered something like a small opening in the north-western corner of what otherwise appeared a large bay. This opening in the southern shore of Southampton Island, a short distance within the entrance to Frozen Strait, and which, after having been carefully surveyed, was found to offer no passage leading westward, was named the Duke of York's Bay. After the survey of this bay, the commander resumed the voyage, and on the 20th passed Passage Island on his

way through Frozen Strait. On the 21st, Parry had led the "Fury" into the middle of Repulse Bay; and on the following day, having penetrated, in search of a westward-leading passage, to the north-west extremity of that inlet, he left the "Fury," accompanied by an exploring party of officers, and signalled Captain Lyon to join him. At the same time he directed another boat to be despatched from the "Hecla," under the command of Lieutenant Palmer, to row round a small bight in the north-west corner of Repulse Bay, where alone, from the circumstance of two points overlapping each other, there was the slightest doubt of the land being continuous. Upon a point just to the east of this bight, Parry landed; but though he made many interesting discoveries, and found many Eskimo remains and relics, he failed to find what he was in search of—namely, a sea-way leading westward from the head of Repulse Bay. This bay, which since Middleton's days had been a subject of controversy, was found to be completely land-locked. This discovery was the first considerable achievement of Parry's second Arctic expedition. From twenty-two minutes past seven A.M. till twelve minutes past one P.M., when Parry left the north-west or innermost shore of Repulse Bay, the tide was constantly ebbing. It fell seven feet three inches in that time. Soon after the commander got on board, Lieutenant Palmer returned from the examination of the north-western bight, which he named Gibson's Cove, and of which he delivered to the captain a sketch, showing *the continuity of land all around it*, and giving its soundings and general outline. Palmer's report stated that he had rowed close in shore all round the bay, and had found it "terminate in a small cove, having a deep ravine running into it on the western side." The long-contested question of the continuity of land round Repulse Bay was thus settled, and the doubts and conjectures which had so long been entertained respecting this remote inlet, set at rest for ever.

CHAPTER II.

WINTER QUARTERS FOUND—WINTER ARRANGEMENTS—THE CAPTAINS' CONCERTS
—THE ESKIMO NEIGHBOURS—CAPTAIN LYON'S NARROW ESCAPE.

CAPTAIN PARRY having ascertained that there was no passage leading westward through Repulse Bay, and thus satisfactorily concluded the first stage of the expedition, now proceeded to carry out the instructions he had received to keep along the line of this coast (the east coast of the north-east extremity of North America), always examining every bend or inlet which might appear likely to afford a practicable passage to the westward. The boats were accordingly hoisted up, and all sail was made back through Frozen Strait to the eastward. On the morning of the 23d August, Parry perceived that the land he was approaching, and which formed part of the north shore of Frozen Strait, had a broken appearance, and in one place appeared to consist only of islands. In order to satisfy himself whether there was "any bend or inlet" running north and west into this apparently open coast, he commissioned Captain Lyon, accompanied by the assistant surveyor, Mr Bushnan, and a party of seamen, to go and examine it, and, if necessary, to travel round the land, and thus prove its continuity. After an absence of three days, Captain Lyon returned; and though the result of his short journey was unsatisfactory, on account of bad weather, he obtained results from which sanguine hopes were entertained of finding a passage to the northward of the inlet he had examined.

The remainder of the month of August, the whole of September, and the first few days of October, were occupied in strictly carrying out the instructions of the Admiralty, and examining every part of the coast to the north of the mouth of Frozen Strait. As this part of the north-east coast of the American continent is much broken, the work was necessarily tedious, and unenlivened by any remarkable occurrence. It is sufficient to say, that the survey of the coast was thorough; and it is to Captain Parry and his officers that we are indebted for the accurate knowledge of this part of the extreme north of America which we possess.

On the 6th October, the ships, being then at the mouth of Lyon Inlet, in the south of Melville Peninsula, were got under way, the object being to

sail to the south-east, to find some secure winter quarters on the south side of Winter Island. The ships' bends were now so coated with ice about the water-line, that it had to be beaten or cut off every day to render progress possible. On the 6th, a clear run was made past Cape Edwards, at the mouth of Lyon Inlet. After rounding this cape, Parry found the sea covered with pancake ice, which, however, being thin, did not offer much resistance. As they advanced, however, the ice became much more troublesome. After much labour, the vessels reached a suitable bay on the south side of Winter Island; and before the night of the 8th October, the ships were got into their stations for the winter by sawing for two or three hundred yards through the ice. Parry had now arrived at the second stage of his enterprise; and, reviewing the events of the season, and considering the progress made, "it was impossible," he states, "not to experience considerable satisfaction. Small as our actual advance had been toward Behring's Strait, the extent of coast newly discovered and minutely explored in pursuit of our object, in the course of the last eight weeks, amounted to more than two hundred leagues, nearly half of which belonged to the continent of North America. This service, notwithstanding our constant exposure to the risks which intricate, shoal, and unknown channels, a sea loaded with ice, and a rapid tide concurred in presenting, had providentially been effected without injury to the ships, or suffering to the officers and men; and we had now once more met with tolerable security for the ensuing winter, when obliged to relinquish further operations for the season. Above all, however, I derived the most sincere satisfaction from a conviction of having left no part of the coast from Repulse Bay eastward in a state of doubt as to its connection with the continent. And as the mainland now in sight from the hills extended no further to the eastward than a north-north-east bearing, we ventured to indulge a sanguine hope of our being very near the north-eastern boundary of America, and that the early part of the next season would find us employing our best efforts in pushing along its northern shores."

The operations at sea being now at an end for the season, Parry directed his chief attention to the security of the ships, and to the various internal arrangements which experience suggested as necessary for the preservation of cleanliness, health, and comfort during the winter. The upper masts were struck, the topsails and courses were kept bent to the yards, and the rest of the bending sails were stowed on deck, and the spare spars lashed over the ships' sides to leave a clear space for taking exercise in bad weather. A watch was set to attend to the fires, and to the heating and drying of the ships between decks, and regulations similar to those adopted on Parry's first expedition were enforced to provide for the comfort and cleanliness of the crews. Having had abundant experience of the astonishing effects produced by the passions in inducing or removing symptoms of scurvy, the

disease to which crews in Arctic regions are most liable, Parry did everything in his power to provide for the rational amusement of the men. A theatre was established under the management of Captain Lyon, and schools were established in each ship. The interests of science were also carefully considered, and Mr Fisher the astronomer and Parry selected a spot for the portable observatory. This house was built of spare boat-plank; the sides, which were double, and filled with sand between, being fixed to capstan bars set upright, and sunk two feet into the ground.

In December there were continual and extraordinary displays of aurora; and in observing these, and attending to the routine of scientific observations, the officers were chiefly employed to the close of the year. The theatrical season was now in full swing. On the 24th December, Christmas Eve, the ships' companies were amused by the officers performing the two farces of "A Roland for an Oliver" and the "Mayor of Garratt." On Christmas Day divine service on board the "Fury" was attended by the officers and crews of both ships. Some little increase was made in the allowances, to mark the festive season; and among the luxuries which the Christmas dinner afforded was that of a joint of English roast beef, of which a few quarters had been preserved for such occasions, by rubbing the outside with salt. This being the season of inactivity in these early days of Arctic exploration—in our days great part of the winter season is occupied in sledge-travelling—it was somewhat difficult to find employment for all. A pleasant picture is given by the commander of the manner in which the more musical among the officers occasionally spent their evenings: "Among the recreations which afforded the highest gratification to several among us, I may mention the musical parties we were enabled to muster, and which assembled on stated evenings throughout the winter, alternately in Captain Lyon's cabin and my own. More skilful amateurs in music might well have smiled at these our humble concerts, but it will not incline them to think less of the science they admire to be assured that, in these remote and desolate regions of the globe, it has often furnished us with the most pleasurable sensations which our situation was capable of affording; for, independently of the mere gratification afforded to the ear by music, there is perhaps scarcely a person in the world really fond of it in whose mind its sound is not more or less connected with 'his far-distant home.' There are always some remembrances which render them inseparable: and those associations are not to be despised, which, while we are engaged in the performance of our duty, can still occasionally transport us into the social circle of our friends at home, in spite of the oceans that roll between us."

On the 1st January 1822 the thermometer stood at 22° below zero. A number of curious examples of the effect of intense cold came under the observation of the officers at about this time. On the 5th the cold had sunk

to -31° . On the 12th a number of bottles of wine were examined. Two or three bottles were found broken, and the wine, in perfect moulds, was found frozen in thin laminæ, not unlike the plates of white mica, and from one-eighth to two-eighths of an inch in thickness. White wine was frozen into one mass, retaining its colour and translucency, and assuming the appearance of very clear amber.

In the beginning of February an event occurred which at once turned the current of the thoughts of every officer and man into a new channel, and which had no inconsiderable effect upon the scientific results, and upon the measure of success achieved by the expedition. "On the morning of the 1st of February," writes Parry, "it was reported to me that a number of strange people were seen to the westward, coming towards the ships over the ice. On directing a glass towards them, we found them to be Eskimos, and also discovered some appearance of huts on shore, at the distance of two miles from the ships, in the same direction. I immediately set out, accompanied by Captain Lyon, an officer from each ship, and two of the men, to meet the natives, who, to the number of five-and-twenty, were drawn up in a line abreast, and still advancing slowly towards us. As we approached nearer, they stood still, remaining, as before, in a compact line, from which they did not move for some time after we reached them. Nothing could exceed their quiet and orderly behaviour on this occasion, which presented a very striking contrast with the noisy demeanour of the natives of Hudson Strait. They appeared, at a distance, to have arms in their hands, but what we had taken for bows or spears proved to be only a few blades of whale-bone, which they had brought either as a peace-offering or for barter, and which we immediately purchased for a few small nails and beads. Some of the women, of whom there were three or four, as well as two children, in this party, having handsome clothes on, which attracted our attention, began, to our utter astonishment and consternation, to strip, though the thermometer stood at 23° below zero. We soon found, however, that there was nothing so dreadful in this as we at first imagined, every individual among them having a complete double suit. The whole (suits) were of deer-skin, and looked both clean and comfortable. However quietly the Eskimos had awaited our approach, and still continued to conduct themselves, there was as little apprehension or distrust in their countenances or manner as it was possible for one strange set of people to evince on meeting another. As soon, however, as we had bought all they had to sell, and made them a number of valuable presents, we expressed by signs a wish to accompany them to their huts, with which they willingly complied, and we immediately set out together. On our way, the Eskimos were much amused by our dogs, especially by a large one of the Newfoundland breed, that had been taught to fetch and carry, a qualification which seemed to excite unbounded aston-

ishment; and the children could scarcely contain themselves for joy when Captain Lyon gave them a stick to throw for the dog to bring back to them. A child of five or six years old, thus amusing itself on such a day, and in such a climate, formed by no means the least characteristic figure of our motley group."

As this tribe of Eskimos was decidedly the most intelligent with which any former Arctic explorer had established any communication, and as they were of no inconsiderable assistance to the captain in giving him directions and drawings which assisted him in his subsequent movements, it may not be out of place to devote a page or two of this narrative to an account, condensed from Parry's own description, of their manners, habits, and character. The Eskimo establishment consisted of five huts, with canoes, sledges, dogs, and above sixty men, women, and children, as regularly, and, to all appearance, as permanently fixed as if they had occupied the same spot all the winter; yet, although all the surrounding shore was scanned daily by so many keen eyes in the "Fury" and "Hecla," the village had never been seen before. If the first view of the exterior of the village created astonishment in the minds of Parry and his companions, that feeling was heightened when they entered the houses and found that in their construction "not a single material was used but snow and ice. After creeping through two low passages, having each its arched doorway, we came to a small circular apartment, of which the roof was a perfect arched dome. From this three doorways, also arched, and of larger dimensions than the outer ones, led into as many inhabited apartments, one on each side, and the other facing us as we entered. The interior of these presented a scene no less novel than interesting. The women were seated on the beds at the sides of the huts, each having her little fireplace or lamp, with all her domestic utensils about her; the children crept behind their mothers, and the dogs, except the female ones, which were indulged with a part of the beds, slunk out past us in dismay. The construction of this inhabited part of the huts was similar to that of the outer apartment, being a dome formed by separate blocks of snow, laid with great regularity and no small art, each being cut into the shape requisite to form a substantial arch, from seven to eight feet high in the centre." The Eskimos were as desirous of pleasing their visitors as the latter were to be pleased. While the Englishmen were engaged in examining every part of the huts, the behaviour of the Eskimos was in the highest degree respectful and good humoured. They eagerly received the articles that were given them, either in exchange for their own commodities or as presents, but on no occasion importuned the strangers for anything, nor did the well-known sound of "pilletay" (give me) once escape them. They also seemed to be unusually honest, and if their visitors dropped a glove or a handkerchief accidentally, they would immediately direct attention to it by

pointing. Parry invited these people to the ships, where they expressed much less surprise or curiosity than might naturally have been expected. But though they were quiet and orderly and well under self-restraint, they were by no means dull, for when Captain Lyon ordered up his fiddler on the deck of the "Hecla" they danced with the men for an hour, and then went off to their huts in high glee and good humour.

Early on the following day, the 2d February, Parry set out with a large party on a second excursion to the huts. They were received with great cordiality, and much bartering went on for some time. The Englishmen dined in the huts, and the Eskimos partook gladly of the biscuit and meat of the strangers, but did not relish their wine. After passing a pleasant and interesting day, and laying the foundation of perfect confidence and good understanding that was never afterwards interrupted, the captain and his party returned to the ships at sunset. "On the 4th," writes Parry, "a number of Eskimos came to the ships, and we took the opportunity of getting them to go through the process of building a snow hut for our amusement and information. From the quickness with which they completed this, our surprise at the sudden appearance of their village ceased, as we now saw that two or three hours would be more than sufficient to have completed the whole establishment just as we at first found it. They were then taken on board, where they derived great amusement from our organ, and from anything in the shape of music, singing, and dancing, of all which they are remarkably fond." On the following day the Eskimos again came to rebuild the snow hut in a more substantial manner, and to put a plate of ice into the roof as a window. This work they performed with great neatness and expertness, a number of the women cheerfully assisting in the labour. Visiting the natives again on the 7th, Parry found the village in the charge of the women and children, the men having gone on a sealing excursion to the north-eastern side of the island. In the following passage Parry introduces us to Iligliuk, the *belle* of the Eskimo village, and perhaps the most intelligent and talented individual of this nation with whom the English have down even to the present day made any acquaintance:

"One of the women, named Iligliuk . . . who favoured us with a song, struck us as having a remarkably soft voice, an excellent ear, and a great fondness for singing, for there was scarcely any stopping her when she had once begun. We had, on their first visit to the ships, remarked this trait in Iligliuk's disposition when she was listening for the first time to the sound of the organ, of which she seemed never to have enough; and almost every day she now began to display some symptom of that superiority of understanding for which she was so remarkably distinguished."

On the evening of the 7th a wolf was caught in one of the traps close to the ship. A party of the officers that went out to secure the stranger fired

two shots into the trap, and afterwards, finding that the animal continued to bite at a sword that was thrust in against it, fired another shot. The trap was then sufficiently opened to get the hind legs of the animal firmly tied together, and, thinking that he was now tolerably secure, the officers decided to pull him out. He had scarcely got his head out, however, when he flew furiously at the throat of Mr Richards, midshipman of the "Hecla." Richards, not liking the tactics of the enemy, resolved upon traversing them; and, instead of allowing the wolf to seize him by the throat, he reversed the operation, and seized the animal by the neck with his utmost force. This unexpected *tu quoque* had the effect of making the wolf change his mind. He took to his heels, though two of these were tied together, and succeeded in getting clear away as safe and hearty as any animal with three shots and a sword-thrust in him has any reasonable grounds to expect. He was four days dead the following day at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the ships.

The Eskimos, whose food consisted for the most part of the flesh and blubber of the seal, and the measure of whose comforts, therefore, depended on their good fortune in seal catching, would have been reduced to want in the beginning of February had not Parry issued supplies of bread dust to them from time to time. The necessity of such supplies was sufficiently evident from the circumstance that when Parry's men took the bread dust to the village they found "some of the poor creatures actually gnawing a piece of hard sealskin with the hair on it," while in few of the huts was there any lamp alight, for the failure of the seal fishery involves a double calamity in depriving the Eskimos both of food and fuel, and the failure of oil or blubber for fuel not only involves the want of warmth and light, but the want also of the means of melting snow for drinking purposes. They were therefore compelled to slake their thirst by eating unmelted snow. Besides the bread dust, the commander sent them on the 10th February a wolf's carcass, which, raw and frozen as it was, they had not the means of cooking or even thawing. One pleasing feature in the character of these Eskimos of Winter Island was, that when the supplies were carried out to them from the ships, the grown-up natives forbore to touch a morsel until the wants of their hungry little ones had been first attended to. On the 13th February the Eskimos had the good fortune to procure three seals. One of the English officers who happened to be at the huts when this piece of good fortune occurred, describes the general outburst of joy with which the announcement of this fortunate event was received. All the women hurried to the doors of the huts, and the children rushed to the beach to meet the men dragging along the prize. "One of these little urchins, to complete the triumphant exultation with which this event was hailed, instantly threw himself on the animal, and clinging fast to it, was thus dragged to the huts. Each woman

was observed to bring her *ootkooseek*, or cooking-pot, to the hut where the seal was dissected for the purpose of receiving a share of the meat and blubber."

The Eskimo method of taking seals is described at length by Parry, and as in his second expedition this navigator's opportunities of observing Eskimo habits and manners were unusually favourable, it may be of interest to reproduce here the results of his experience before bringing the narrative of the intercourse between the Europeans and Eskimos to a close. Early on the morning of the 16th February, Parry observed a party of Eskimos equipped with spears passing the ships on their way to the open water off the shore. Knowing that his friends were going off on a seal-fishing excursion, and wishing to see with his own eyes the Eskimo method of catching the seal, Parry, accompanied by Bushnan and a few others, joined the men from the huts. The Eskimo party consisted of eight persons, but as soon as they reached the edge of the floe they separated.

"The party we at first joined," writes Parry, "were seated on a high hummock of ice, with their spears in their hands, looking out for seals. After we had talked to them for a few minutes, Okotook suddenly started up, and set off along the edge of the ice, without giving us or his own companions the least warning. The latter seemed so much accustomed to this, that they took no further notice of it than by immediately following him, and we did the same, the whole party walking at a very quick rate, and the natives constantly keeping their heads turned towards the sea to look out for seals. After being thus engaged for an hour and a half, we judged, from the motions of a party at a distance beyond us, that they had game in view. As we approached them, Okotook evidently began to be apprehensive that we, who did not understand the matter, would spoil their sport. To prevent this, he did the most civil thing that could well have been devised, which was, to send his companions one by one to the spot, and to remain with us himself, keeping us at such a distance as to allow us to see their proceedings without alarming the animal they were in pursuit of. The other seven Eskimos, now forming one party, disposed themselves into a single line, so as to make as small an appearance as possible in the direction in which they were going, and in this manner crept very cautiously towards the margin of the floe. On a sudden, they all stooped down quite low, to hide themselves, and continued thus a quarter of an hour, during which time they prepared their lines and spears; and then when the animal appeared to be again intercepted from their view, again took the opportunity of gaining a few paces upon him in the same cautious manner as before. When they had been thus occupied for a full hour, alternately creeping and stooping down, the seal, which had been lying on the ice, took the water, and they then gave up their chase. During this time, Okotook could scarcely restrain his impatience

to be nearer the scene of action; and when we produced a spy-glass, which appeared to bring his companions close to us, he had not words to express his surprise and satisfaction. In a short time he held it as steadily as we did, and explained by signs every motion he observed. As soon as they had given up the seal they had been watching, the whole party seemed, with one accord, to turn their steps homeward, in which direction, being that of the ships also, we were by this time not sorry to accompany them. We were now between three and four miles north-east of the ships, and full a mile and a half from any part of the shore. . . . As we returned towards the land, we came to a small rising on the level surface of the floe, not larger than a common mole-hill, and of much the same shape, at which one of the Eskimos immediately stopped. His companions, still walking on, called us away, explaining that what we saw was the work of a seal, and that it was probable the animal was about to complete his hole, and to come up on the ice, in which case the man would endeavour to kill him. We watched the man at the hole for more than half-an-hour, observing him constantly putting his head down towards the ice, as if in the act of listening for the seal, but without otherwise changing his position; after which he followed us on board without success." So far the seal-fishing had not been brilliantly successful; but the Eskimos had better luck a short time after. The preliminary operations in seal-fishing were, however, always the same. When the Eskimo has any reason to suppose that a seal was at work beneath, he immediately attaches himself to the place, and seldom leaves it till he has succeeded in killing the animal. For this purpose, he first builds a snow wall, about four feet in height, to shelter him from the wind, and, seating himself under the lee of it, deposits his spear, lines, and other implements upon several little forked sticks inserted in the snow, in order to prevent the smallest noise being made in moving them when wanted. But the most curious precaution to the same effect consists in tying his own knees together with a thong, so as to prevent any rustling of his clothes, which might otherwise alarm the animal. In this situation a man will sit quietly for hours together, attentively listening to any noise made by the seal, and sometimes using a thin rod of bone thrust into the ice—and the motion of which indicates the presence of the animal—in order to ascertain whether the animal is still at work below. When he supposes the hole to be nearly completed, he cautiously lifts his spear, to which the line has been previously attached; and as soon as the blowing of the seal is distinctly heard and the ice consequently very thin, he drives the weapon into him with the force of both arms, and then cuts away with his panna—a broad, two-edged knife—the remaining crust of ice, to enable him to repeat the wounds, and get the prize out. The *neitiak*, the smallest of the seal tribe, and the only variety killed in this manner, is held, while struggling, either simply by hand, or by putting the line round a spear with the point stuck into the ice.

For the *oguke*, or larger seal, the line is passed round the man's leg or arm, and for a walrus, round his body—his feet being, at the same time, firmly set against a hummock of ice, in which position these people can, from habit, hold against a very heavy strain. Boys of fourteen or fifteen years of age consider themselves equal to the killing of a *neitiek*; but it requires a full-grown person to master either of the larger animals.

Although the officers and men of the "Fury" and "Hecla" derived much amusement from, and were kept comparatively in full occupation by, their Eskimo friends, during the dreary winter months of 1822, they obtained but little information bearing upon the existence of the North-West Passage, of which they were in search. Something, however, they did learn from the savages of Winter Island. Writing on the 4th March, Parry says: "Being extremely desirous of ascertaining what the Eskimos knew of the coast to the northward of our present station, we to-day drew out roughly, on a large sheet of paper, the conformation of the land in this neighbourhood, and as far to the westward as Repulse Bay, and then requested Iligliuk to continue it to the northward." Iligliuk, who, for her high intelligence, was named "the wise woman" by the members of the expedition, readily understood the geographical drawing placed before her, and, taking the pencil in her hand, traced various indications on the coast, and marked the positions of a number of islands. In order to verify Iligliuk's chart, Captain Lyon, accompanied by a sufficient party, left the winter quarters on the 15th March—the temperature having then risen as high as zero, and a moderate breeze blowing from the north, accompanied by considerable snow-drift. The object of the travelling party under Captain Lyon was to explore the northern shores of the island on the southern shores of which the "Fury" and "Hecla" had found winter quarters. The party had no sooner started, however, than Captain Parry began to dread some mishap. From the hour of Captain Lyon's departure, the thermometer began to fall rapidly, and the wind to increase. At midnight, the mercury had sunk to 32° below zero, and a hard gale was blowing from the north-west. It was one of the wildest, bitterest nights Parry had ever experienced in the Arctic regions. The degree of cold recorded by the thermometer was not by 25° so low as the explorers had frequently withstood in calm weather. But the gale that raged outside was enough to chill the marrow of every living being, even though the thermometer were registering a much milder temperature. No wonder, then, that Parry and his officers, as they clustered round the comfortable fire between decks, sheltered from the blast by closed hatches, and by the snow-thatched housing that covered in the wooden walls, and made all snug within, were anxious for their absent comrades. In the Arctic regions, more frequently than in any other climate, does the traveller, seated by his glowing fire, think with solicitude upon the—

"Poor, naked wretches, wheresoe'er they be,
That bide the pelting of the pitiless storm."

"But now," writes Parry, "that some of our own companions were thus exposed, the idea came more forcibly home to our recollections, together with the utter helplessness, not to say hopelessness, of their situation. The wind and drift continued incessantly on the 16th, and as the thermometer rose no higher than -20° (or 20° below zero) during the day, our apprehensions for Captain Lyon's party were by no means diminished. To send in quest of them would have been only to incur the certainty of other men being equally exposed. Indeed this is one of the cases in which no assistance can be offered; for any persons sent out with that hope must inevitably become helpless in a short time, while the snow-drift would render it impossible to trace those whom they were intended to assist."

But while the commander was thus speculating about the fate of his first officer and the men with him, it will be well to state what the experiences of that officer and his party were. Captain Lyon started on the 15th and went away northward toward the hills that rose above the winter quarters of the ship. He had proceeded but a short distance when the wind sprang up and came right on in the faces of the travellers, laden with a thick and a continuous snow-drift. They dragged their sledge, laden with their provisions for this very remarkable excursion, with the utmost difficulty through the soft snow, in which they were wading knee-deep. The snowy wind rapidly increased to a heavy gale, and every time they rested to recover breath the whole party were frost-bitten, and had to rub each other's fast-blanching faces with snow. They struggled on for an hour or two, reached the north side of the island and pitched their tent. They passed the night literally in a snow-cavern. Next day the gale was unabated; but as it was evident that there was nothing but death before the whole party if they remained in their snow-hovel, they resolved to get out and make an attempt to reach the ships, from which they were six miles distant. "We could not see a yard of our way," says Captain Lyon in his report of the journey; "yet to remain appeared worse than to go forward, which latter plan was decided on. At thirty minutes past nine, having placed all our luggage in the tent, and erected a small flag over it, we set out, carrying a few pounds of bread, a little rum, and a spade. The wind being now on our backs, we walked very briskly, and having an occasional glimpse of a very faint sun through the drift, managed to steer a tolerable course." After a while, however, they lost their reckoning amid the whirling snow-drift, and, stupefied by cold, fatigue, and suffering, became completely bewildered. "Several of our party," continues Lyon, "began to exhibit symptoms of that horrid kind of insensibility which is the prelude to sleep. They all professed extreme willingness to do what they were told in order to keep in exercise, but none obeyed; on the contrary,

they reeled about like drunken men. The faces of several were severely frost-bitten, and some had for a considerable time lost sensation in their fingers and toes ; yet they made not the slightest exertion to rub the parts affected, and discontinued their general custom of warning each other on observing a discolouration of the skin." They continued to stagger blindly on, helping each other as best they could ; the officers cheering the men, and occasionally making a dash at members of the party that were frost-bitten and rubbing their faces to restore circulation. In what direction they were going they did not in the least know ; and it was certainly by no intelligent exertion of their own, that at one P.M. on the 16th, they reached the ships. Captain Lyon thus concludes his report : "John Lee had two of his fingers so badly frost-bitten as to lose a good deal of flesh off the upper ends, and we were for many days in fear he would be obliged to have them amputated. Carr, who had been the most hardy while in the air, fainted twice on coming below ; and all had severe frost-bites in different parts of the body, which recovered after the loss of skin usual in those cases." Such is a brief and faint outline of the liabilities to which sledge parties in the Polar regions are continually exposed.

CHAPTER III.

THE SHIPS RELEASED—DISCOVERY OF BARROW RIVER AND FALLS—AMONG THE
WALRUSES.

CAPTAIN PARRY had taken the "Fury" and "Hecla" into winter quarters on the south shore of Winter Island in October 1821, and it was not till the beginning of the following July that the ice opened sufficiently to allow him to resume the prosecution of the object of the expedition—the examination of the eastern coast of this part of North America in search of a passage leading westward. Early on the 2d of July the ships were taken out of their winter's dock, sail was made with a fresh breeze from W.N.W., and the bows of the "Fury" and "Hecla" were turned to the north in search of new lands. The land was seen to be completely lined with ice, extending in most places from two to five miles to seaward, and firmly attached to the shores. The ice close in-shore consisted of a smooth and level strip one or two miles in width, and evidently of the previous winter's formation; the outer band of ice was "hummocky," or produced by external pressure or by the cementing together of a number of broken masses. Out to sea there was also much hummocky ice drifting rapidly about with the tides. Between the shore-ice and the ice in the offing there was a navigable passage varying in width from two or three hundred yards to two miles. Along this channel the vessels of the expedition held their way northward. Sailing slowly along the land-floe and keeping a careful look-out for the sea-ice which swept in upon the vessels threateningly with the flood-tide, Parry ran along the coast a distance of about thirty miles, and made fast to the land-ice for the night. Next day a single sledge party of Eskimos were seen on the land-ice travelling north. Mr Bushnan was sent with some of the men to meet them and bring them on board. The Eskimos proved to be a party of the tribe that had passed the winter beside the ships on Winter Island, and who had left that station on their journey northward to their summer fishing grounds forty days previously. When they came under the bows, they halted in a line, and gave their old friends three cheers. "As soon as they got on board,"

says Parry, "they expressed extreme joy at seeing us again, repeated each of our names with great earnestness, and were indeed much gratified by this unexpected rencontre. . . . Many of our officers and men cordially greeted these poor people as old acquaintances they were glad to see again, and they were loaded as usual with numerous presents." But the giving of presents to these people was a practice to be indulged only in moderation, as when they obtained anything they went off into fits of hysterical laughter or screaming, succeeded in the case of the women by convulsive fits of weeping. Their gratitude, however, was as a rule strictly confined to this somewhat painful demonstration, for they seldom thought of making any return whatever for benefits received. One of the men that had just been taken on board brought a present of a piece of sealskin to *Parree*, "being," says the commander, "the first offering of real gratitude, and without any expectation of return, that I had ever received from any of them." One of these Eskimos, named Ewerat, drew for Parry a very interesting chart of Melville Peninsula, showing a fair representation of the land, with the as yet undiscovered "Fury and Hecla Strait" bounding it on the north, and with the narrow isthmus, with which the name of Dr Rae has since been associated, on the south. This chart corroborated that which Iligliuk, "the wise woman," had already drawn for Parry. After half-an-hour's visit to the ships, the Eskimos returned to pursue their journey on shore. On the 4th July observations at noon gave lat. $66^{\circ} 54'$, long. $81^{\circ} 44'$.

On the morning of the 12th, the vessels being then in latitude about $67^{\circ} 12'$, the land-ice began to float off and leave the whole line of the shore entirely bare. At four P.M. sail was made with a light air of south-easterly wind, and after running four or five miles, an opening in the land, suggesting a river, was discovered. On the following morning the boats were ordered out to examine the river and cast the nets, as the place seemed a likely one for salmon. The breadth of the stream, near its mouth, varied from four or five hundred yards to one-third of a mile. "Landing on the southern shore" (of the river), writes Parry, "and hauling the boats up above high water mark, we rambled up the banks of the stream, which are low next the water, but rise almost immediately to the height of about two hundred feet. As we proceeded we gradually heard the noise of a fall of water; and being presently obliged to strike more inland, as the banks became more precipitous, soon obtained a fresh view of the stream running on a much higher level than before, and dashing with great impetuosity down two small cataracts. Just below this, however, where the river turns almost at a right angle, we perceived a much greater spray, as well as a louder sound; and having walked a short distance down the bank, suddenly came upon the principal fall, of whose magnificence I am at a loss to give any adequate description. At the head of the fall, or where it commences its principal

descent, the river is contracted to about one hundred and fifty feet in breadth, the channel being hollowed out through a solid rock of gneiss. After falling about fifteen feet at an angle of 30° with a vertical line, the width of the stream is still narrowed to about forty yards, and then, as if mustering its whole force previous to its final descent, is precipitated in one vast continuous sheet almost perpendicular for ninety feet more." This hitherto unknown river was named after Mr Barrow, Secretary of the Admiralty. The pleasure of the walk along the fine romantic banks of the river was enhanced by the circumstance that the sportsmen of the party shot four deer by the side of the stream, and thus provided a welcome dish of venison for themselves and their comrades. On the same day Capes Penrhyn and Brown were discovered and named.

On the 15th, as the vessels continued to advance northward, it was noticed that the walrus became more and more numerous. They were seen lying upon loose pieces of drift; and shortly after noon on the day named, the boats of the "Fury" and "Hecla" were despatched to kill one or two of them, for the purpose of obtaining oil. On approaching the ice, the animals were seen lying huddled together in droves of from twelve to thirty. The whole number near the boats was about two hundred. "Most of them," writes Parry, "waited quietly to be fired at; and even after one or two discharges, did not seem to be greatly disturbed, but allowed the people to land on the ice near them, and, when approached, showed an evident disposition to give battle. After they had got into the water, three were struck with harpoons and killed from the boats. When first wounded, they became quite furious; and one, which had been struck from Captain Lyon's boat, made a resolute attack upon her, and injured several of the planks with its enormous tusks. A number of the others came round them, also repeatedly striking the wounded animals with their tusks, with the intention either of getting them away, or else of joining in the attack upon them. Many of these animals had young ones, which, when assaulted, they either took between their fore-flippers to carry off, or bore away on their backs. Both of those killed by the 'Fury's' boats were females, and the weight of the largest was fifteen hundredweight and two quarters nearly." One of these creatures being accidentally touched by an oar, took it in its flippers, twisted it out of the rower's hands, and snapped it in two. Very little oil was obtained from the carcasses, as the blubber is thin and poor at this season; but the walrus flesh was discovered to be valuable for quite a different purpose. Some quarters of this "marine beef," as it is called by Captain Cook, having been hung for steaks, was so much enjoyed that it was much sought after on every occasion on which it could afterwards be obtained. There was some prejudice against the dark colour of the meat; but "in no other respect," says Parry, "is the meat of the walrus, when fresh killed, in

the slightest degree offensive or unpalatable. The heart and liver are indeed excellent."

The Eskimo island of Ooglit was passed on the 15th; and on the following day the eastern extremity of what has since been known as the Fury and Hecla Strait, and which was laid down in the charts drawn in pencil by the Eskimos Iligliuk and Ewerat, was discovered. This discovery was looked forward to by the explorers as being likely to form the great event of the expedition, as it was believed to be the mouth of the long-sought North-West Passage; "but," exclaims Parry, "after sailing a few miles farther, it is impossible to describe our disappointment and mortification in perceiving an unbroken sheet of ice, extending completely across the supposed passage from one land to the other." This ice consisted of a floe so level and continuous, that a single glance was sufficient to assure the commander of the disagreeable fact that it was "the ice formed in its present situation during the winter, and still firmly attached to the land on every side." It had suffered no disruption as yet, although the season was now well advanced; and it was necessary to await that disruption before the explorers could hope to sail through it, and thus accomplish the circumnavigation of the north-eastern point of the American continent.

Five Eskimo canoes were now seen on the edge of the land-ice; and Captain Parry, believing that these belonged to the tribe that had wintered near the "Fury" and "Hecla," and being desirous of obtaining from them all information respecting the locality in which he now found himself, put off in a boat towards the shore. He soon found, however, that his Winter Island friends had not yet arrived; but the distribution of a few presents among the strange Eskimos, who came forward fearlessly to meet the boats, secured their goodwill. Parry persuaded them to turn back to the shore; and before he had reached it, he had obtained the information that the land toward which he was now sailing was that of Igloodik, an island on the south side of the eastern extremity of the strait through which he had expected to pass westward to the Polar Sea. On reaching the shore, Parry found eleven tents near the landing-place, and five more about half-a-mile to the northward. The tents, which varied in size according to the number of occupants, were made of seal and walrus skins, supported upon a rude tent-pole, formed of deer's horns or of bones tied together.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY OF "FURY AND HECLA STRAIT"—WINTER AT IGLOOLIK, 1822-23—
OUTBREAK OF SCURVY—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE.

THE second expedition under Captain Parry had now practically reached its farthest. The "Fury" and "Hecla" had arrived at a point in the eastern entrance to the strait that bears their name in lat. about $69^{\circ} 32'$, long. about $81^{\circ} 23'$; and in this neighbourhood, while the vessels were detained in enforced idleness, owing to the prevalence of ice to the westward, considerable time was occupied in making meteorological and other scientific observations. As the season wore on towards the middle of August, the ice that filled up the strait that Parry believed to be the North-West Passage, for which he had been so anxiously searching, and which the Eskimos of the neighbourhood described as a passage leading westward into the open sea, began to decay, but so slowly that the navigator had to exercise his utmost patience, and remain inactive and expectant. He dared not leave the spot in which his ships were lying idle, lest when the break-up of the ice should occur, he might not be here at the mouth of the passage, ready to take advantage of every hour of open navigation. "Convinced as I was," he writes, "of the expediency of pursuing this line of conduct, which in truth seemed the only practicable one, yet every hour's delay added an indescribable weight to my anxiety. . . . Stopped, as we had now been, at the very threshold of the North-West Passage for nearly four weeks, without advancing twice as many miles to the westward, suspense at such a crisis was scarcely the less painful, because we knew it to be inevitable. The decayed state of the ice, which even a fortnight before had rendered travelling extremely dangerous, could alone, therefore, under these vexatious circumstances, have prevented my despatching another party for the express purpose of deciding the question respecting the strait; for, highly as we had a right to value the repeated and concurrent testimony of so many intelligent Eskimos, it was impossible to feel satisfied on such a subject, while our own ocular evidence was still wanting." On the 14th August—the advance of

the vessels being still prevented by the ice at the mouth of the strait—a party, consisting of Captain Parry, Mr Richards, and two men from each ship, left the vessels to make their way on foot across the ice, and over the islands that lined the southern shore of the strait. On this journey, the Bouverie Islands having been discovered and traversed, Parry arrived, on the morning of the 18th, at the ultimate object of which he was in search—“the extreme northern point of the peninsula overlooking the narrowest part of the desired strait, which,” he states, “lay immediately below us in about an east and west direction, being two miles in width, apparently very deep, and with a tide or current of at least two knots, setting the loose ice through to the eastward. Beyond us to the west, the shores again separated to the distance of several leagues; and for more than three points of the compass in that direction, no land could be seen to the utmost limits of a clear horizon, except one island six or seven miles distant. Over this we could not entertain a doubt of having discovered the Polar Sea; and loaded as it was with ice, we already felt as if we were on the point of forcing our way through it along the northern shores of America.” After despatching one of the party to the foot of the point of the promontory on which they stood for some of the sea water, which was found extremely salt to the taste, Parry and his party celebrated their discovery by three hearty cheers, and by drinking in grog to a safe and speedy passage through the channel just discovered, and to which the commander there and then gave the name of Fury and Hecla Strait. To the promontory on which he was then standing, Parry gave the name of Cape North-East. The return journey was then commenced, and successfully completed on the 20th.

On the following morning the ships were found to be in almost clear water, the ice having rapidly broken up and drifted past to the east during the last few days. Sail was immediately made for the north-west, and after being much hampered, on the 26th the vessels had passed Cape North-East, or, in other words, had passed through the narrows of Fury and Hecla Strait. Vain, however, was the attempt to penetrate completely through the passage, which was closed to the westward of the narrows by a solid ice-field.

After beating about the eastern entrance of the strait, Parry was obliged to seek for quarters for the second winter, and found them off the island of Igloodik, on the last day of October. The winter was passed in the same manner as the previous one at Winter Island, there being little to chronicle of any moment. Parry had come to the resolution that when the ships should be again liberated, in the summer of 1823, he should send the “Hecla” home to England, and transferring her spare stores to the “Fury,” should make another attempt, in that vessel, to achieve the North-West Passage by the Fury and Hecla Strait. The outbreak of scurvy among the men,

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A FIGHT WITH THE WALRUSES—YOUNG LORD NELSON COMMANDING THE
RELIEVING PARTY IN SECOND BOAT.

however, constrained him to abandon this intention. The surgeon declared it as his opinion that it would be unwise to keep either of the two ships out a third winter, and Parry, rather than expose his crews unnecessarily, resolved to return in company with the "Hecla." He was further confirmed in this determination by the last view he got of the strait, which was locked against him as firmly as ever by immovable ice. The ships were relieved in the middle of August, and after a most perilous voyage, in which the vessels were drifted at random down Fox Channel, Davis Strait was made, and Parry commenced at last the direct voyage homeward. He arrived at Lerwick on the 10th October 1823.

On his return Parry received a letter of congratulation from Franklin, who had the year before returned from his great land expedition; and to this letter he returned a characteristic reply, in which the following passages occur: "Your letter was put into my hand at Shetland, and I need not be ashamed to say that I cried over it like a child. The tears I shed, however, were those of pride and pleasure—pride at being your fellow countryman, brother officer, and friend; pleasure in seeing the virtues of the Christian adding their first and highest charm to the unconquerable perseverance and splendid talents of the officer and the man. . . . I cannot at present enter into any *shop* business,—I mean geographical details, but I long very much to see the connection between our discoveries. Ours are small, for our success has been small on this occasion. Briefly, the north-eastern portion of America consists of a singular peninsula, extending from Repulse Bay in $66\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ lat. to $69\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$, and resembling a bastion at the corner of a fort, the gorge of the bastion being three days of Esquimaux journey across from Repulse Bay to Akkoolce, one of their settlements or stations on the opposite or Polar Sea side."

CHAPTER V.

PARRY'S THIRD VOYAGE, 1824-25—WINTER AT PORT BOWEN—CAUGHT IN THE ICE—THE "FURY" ABANDONED—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE—RESULTS OF PARRY'S THREE VOYAGES.

IN October 1823 Parry returned to England from his second expedition, after discovering and surveying the east coast of North America, from the parallel of 65° to 70°, and achieving the negative success of demonstrating that no north-west passage existed south of "Fury and Hecla Strait," and that that passage was impracticable, so far as his experience and observation had informed him, by being loaded with ice. The expedition, although unsuccessful, added much to existing geographical knowledge, and its results were so far valuable, as instructing future explorers that no North-West Passage was to be looked for lower than the 70th parallel. These results appeared to the Government of the time to be not only satisfactory in themselves, but promising for the future, and within two months after Parry's arrival in the country he was appointed to the command of a new expedition for the further exploration of the Polar seas. This expedition, the third and the last that Parry undertook for the discovery of the North-West Passage, was determined upon immediately after the navigator's return; and before the close of the year the famous explorer was again at the occupation—to which he was now pretty well accustomed—of fitting out his ships in Deptford dockyard.

It was no sooner decided that a new expedition was to be sent out, than the question of the special direction in which the new attempt should be made was widely discussed. Franklin's recently accomplished journey along the shores of the Polar Sea, eastward from the mouth of the Coppermine River, had brought an extensive reach of the northern shores of the American continent within the knowledge of geographers, and along these shores Parry still thought the passage might be sought with a greater chance of success, than in the higher latitude of Melville Island. In one of the numerous letters written at this time, by the famous navigator to Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, the best route for the new expedition is discussed; and on the question of starting from the west through

Behring's Strait, or from the east as before, Parry states that, "the information lately obtained makes it less advisable than ever for England to make the attempt from any but the Atlantic side; because it is obvious, that any difficulties of a more than ordinary nature should be encountered at first, while the resources are complete, the ships uninjured, and the energy of the crews wholly unimpaired." This opinion, combined with the results of the explorer's experience at Melville Island and in "Fury and Hecla Strait," narrows the question of the most promising route to within a very limited compass. Only one opening remained unexplored—that of Prince Regent Inlet leading southward from Lancaster Sound, in the direction of the shores that had been explored by Franklin. This inlet, however, when discovered, and partly examined, by Parry in his first voyage for the discovery of a North-West Passage, had an unpromising appearance from the quantity of ice with which it was encumbered; but the channel was wide, and the well-known rapidity with which, under ordinary circumstances, changes in the state of the ice occur, even from day to day, during the summer, made it not unlikely that it would be found more favourable on a second visit. These views Parry strongly urged upon the Admiralty, and they formed the groundwork of the official instructions he received for his guidance. These instructions were simple and definite. Parry was to make the best of his way to Lancaster Sound, and, proceeding through Barrow Strait, endeavour to make a passage through Prince Regent Inlet into the sea which Franklin had discovered at the mouth of the Coppermine, and thence westward to the Pacific. The following passage of the instructions is of importance, as showing the interest taken in Arctic exploration in 1824: "His Majesty's Government having appointed two land expeditions for exploring the north coast of America, the one under Captain Lyon, to proceed from Repulse Bay across the isthmus (Rae Isthmus) to Akkoolee, and thence along the coast towards the Coppermine River, the other, under Captain Franklin, to proceed from Mackenzie River to the Icy Cape; it would be desirable, if you should reach any part of the coast, that you should mark your progress by erecting flagstaffs on a few of the most distinguishable points, which you may successively visit, and you are to bury at the foot of each staff a bottle, containing such information as you think may be useful to the land expeditions, and any particulars relative to your own proceedings, which you may think proper to add."

On the 17th January Parry was appointed to the "Hecla," and, on the same day, Captain H. P. Hoppner was appointed to the "Fury." Captain Hoppner, who was to sail under Parry's orders, was one of the most skilful Arctic navigators then in the service. He had sailed as lieutenant under Parry in the "Alexander" in 1818, in the "Griper" under Captain Liddon in 1819-20, and in the "Hecla" under Captain Lyon in 1821-23. Hooper

once more sailed with Parry as purser, and among his midshipmen were Crozier and Richards—who does not appear to have “had enough of it” even yet; while among Captain Hoppner’s officers were James Clark Ross, who was now commencing his sixth year of Arctic service, and Lieutenant Thomas Austin. Sixty-two officers and men sailed in the “Hecla,” and sixty in the “Fury.” The expedition, which was ready to sail in the beginning of May, dropped down the Thames from Deptford on the 8th of the month, and after a brief stay at Northfleet weighed and stood out to sea on the 19th. On the 12th June the meridian of Cape Farewell, at the south extremity of Greenland, was reached, and on the 30th Captains Parry and Hoppner had the pleasure of enjoying the hospitality of the Disco officials. Standing off westward from the Danish settlement, the “main ice,” or “pack,” of Baffin’s Bay was seen early in July. On the 13th, the expedition being then in lat. $71^{\circ} 2'$, long. $58^{\circ} 36'$, the ice was observed to be “slack” for a considerable distance within the pack. Parry had intended to cross this middle ice in a latitude one or two degrees higher; but the favourable appearance it now bore, and the fair wind and clear weather which prevailed, induced him to make the trial here. The ships were accordingly pushed several leagues within the slack margin of the pack. Progress was temporarily stopped, however, on the 1st August by a hard gale from the south-east, which pressing the ice together, in every direction, piled it up in lofty ridges, mass overlying mass. The season proved to be a wretchedly unfavourable one, and the passage of the middle ice occupied forty days. So wet and stormy was the weather that for ten weeks in July, August, and September, though the ships’ companies were constantly on the watch for an opportunity of airing their bedding, they could only venture to do so once. All past obstacles, however, were soon forgotten when, on the 9th August, open water was seen ahead in the direction of the entrance to Lancaster Sound, which was reached on the following day and found to be free from ice, except that here and there “a berg was seen floating about in that solitary grandeur, of which these enormous masses, when occurring in the midst of an extensive sea, are calculated to convey so sublime an idea.” On the 13th, when Parry had pushed on to within seven leagues of Cape York, the sea in advance was seen covered with young ice, for the season was now far advanced, and the thermometer had for two days past ranged only from 18° to 20° . The commander was now called upon to decide whether to advance to the westward and winter in some convenient bay, or to return to England. As the crossing of the ice in Baffin’s Bay had occupied nearly the whole of the navigable season, it was clear that no success could be met with, in sailing westward, during that year. Under these circumstances Parry resolved to push on as far as the present season would permit, and give a fair trial, during the whole of the next summer, to the route he was directed, in his instructions, to pursue.

Accordingly, after beating about and experiencing much rough weather and endless difficulties with the young ice, Parry at length succeeded in entering Prince Regent Inlet on September 26th. Finding open water along the eastern shores of the inlet, he penetrated it in a southward direction. "A strong blink," he writes, "extending along the western horizon, pointed out the position of the main body of the ice, which was farther distant from the eastern shore of the inlet than I ever saw it. Being assisted by a fine working breeze, which at the same time prevented the formation of any more ice to obstruct us, we made considerable progress along the land, and at noon (on the 27th) were nearly abreast of Jackson Inlet, which we now saw to be considerably larger than our distant view of it on the former voyage had led us to suppose. . . . A few more tacks brought us to the entrance of Port Bowen, which, for two or three days past, I had determined to make our wintering-place, if, as there was but little reason to expect, we should be so fortunate as to push the ships thus far." Beating up for Port Bowen, which he found filled with "old" ice in ridged "hummocks" attached to the shores on both sides, and extending from the head of the harbour for a distance of about three miles, Parry cut an artificial dock for his vessels in the ice, and prepared to make his arrangements for the winter.

These arrangements so closely resembled those adopted in the two earlier expeditions of this explorer, that it would be repetition to describe them. And if there is little to note in the provisions made to secure the ships' companies against the winter's cold, there is as little to record in the way of incident or adventure. In the vicinity of the port there were no Eskimo families, intercourse with whom might afford the explorers at least an amusing occupation. "Indeed," writes Parry, "it is hard to conceive any one thing more like another than two winters passed in the higher latitudes of the Polar regions, except when variety happens to be afforded by intercourse with some other branch of 'the whole family of man.' Winter after winter, nature here assumes an aspect so much alike, that cursory observation can scarcely detect a single feature of variety. The winter of more temperate climates, and even in some of no slight severity, is occasionally diversified by a thaw, which at once gives variety and comparative cheerfulness to the prospect. But here, when once the earth is covered, all is dreary, monotonous whiteness—not merely for days or weeks, but for more than half a year together. Whichever way the eye is turned, it meets a picture calculated to impress upon the mind an idea of inanimate stillness, of that motionless torpor with which our feelings have nothing congenial—of anything, in short, but life. In the very silence there is a deadness with which a human being is *out of keeping*. The presence of man seems an intrusion on the dreary solitude of this wintry desert, which even its native animals have for a while forsaken."

Immediately after the ships were finally secured, the observatory was erected on shore, and arrangements were commenced for making the desirable scientific and other observations. The interest of these observations, and especially of such of these as related to magnetism, gradually increased so much, that soon the neighbourhood of the observatory assumed almost the appearance of a scattered village, so many detached houses were set up to mark the variations of the needles. As this branch of scientific investigation, however, is fully discussed in our narrative of Ross's second voyage for the discovery of the North-West Passage in 1829-33, in which expedition James Clark Ross, nephew of the commander, planted the Union Jack on the North Magnetic Pole (June 1, 1831), the reader's patience will not be here drawn upon in advance, by having the results of investigations that were only as yet tentative and partial placed before him. The amount of atmospheric refraction at low temperatures, observations for latitude and longitude, and experiments with the view of determining the rate at which sound travels at different temperatures and pressures of the atmosphere, were among the other subjects of scientific investigation during the winter of 1824-25. While the officers were engaged in these pursuits, in surveying the neighbouring coasts and country, and in noting the strange meteorological phenomena seen in Prince Regent's Inlet, the most anxious attention was paid to preserving the bodily health of the crews, and keeping their minds in constant occupation. Theatrical amusements were thought to have lost interest from the frequency with which they had been resorted to in previous voyages, and Captain Hoppner proposed to attempt a *masquerade*, in which officers and men should alike take part. The proposal seemed exactly to hit the humour of the men, and we can easily imagine, from the well-known fondness of sailors for practical joking and love of extravagant oddities of all kinds, that the proposal was received with enthusiasm. "It is impossible," writes Parry—and his description of these harmless *fêtes* forms a valuable suggestion to modern Arctic explorers—"that any idea could have proved more happy, or more exactly suited to our situation. Admirably dressed characters of various descriptions readily took their parts, and many of these were supported with a degree of spirit and genuine humour which would not have disgraced a more refined assembly; while the latter might not have disdained, and would not have been disgraced by, copying the good order, decorum, and inoffensive cheerfulness which our humble masquerades presented. It does especial credit to the dispositions and good sense of our men that, though all the officers entered fully into the spirit of these amusements which took place once a month, alternately on board each ship, no instance occurred of anything that could interfere with the regular discipline, or at all weaken the respect of the men towards their superiors. Ours were masquerades without licentiousness—carnivals without excess." More

valuable occupation, however, was found in the schools established under the superintendence of Mr Hooper, purser of the "Hecla," and Mr Mogg, clerk of the "Fury." In these schools, those of the men who were backward in "the three R's" received instruction in them, and made wonderful progress. Nor was the benefit confined to these odd pupils alone—it extended itself to the rest of the ship's company, "making," says Parry, "the whole of the lower deck such a scene of quiet, rational occupation as I never before witnessed on board a ship. And I do not speak lightly when I express my thorough persuasion that to the moral effects thus produced, were owing, in a very high degree, the constant yet sober cheerfulness, the uninterrupted good order, and even, in some measure, the extraordinary state of health which prevailed among us during this winter."

In these employments the weeks and months of the long winter sped on. Three land expeditions were undertaken by Captain Hoppner into the interior eastward from Port Bowen, and by Lieutenants Sherer and Ross along the coasts north and south from the port respectively. As these travelling parties made no striking discovery, however, it is enough merely to mention them. Towards the end of June the dovekies (*Colymbus grylle*) were seen swarming in the cracks of the ice at the mouth of the port, and were shot in great numbers; but it was not till the 20th July that the ice in the port broke up and allowed the "Hecla" and "Fury" to get clear out to sea. Parry first made sail to the western shore of Prince Regent's Inlet, but was stopped by ice, after sailing eight miles. On the following day he could perceive no opening of the ice leading towards the western land—no appearance of any channel to the southward along the eastern shore. He then made sail northward and coasted for a time in the neighbourhood of the Leopold Isles, which he had discovered in 1819. The south promontory of the southernmost island he describes as particularly picturesque and beautiful—the heaps of loose *débris* lying here and there up and down the sides of the cliff, giving it the appearance of some huge and impregnable fortress, with immense buttresses of masonry supporting the walls. Stretching southward from these islands, Parry coasted along the western shore of the inlet past Cape Seppings. On the 25th and 26th July respectively he discovered and named Elwin Bay and Batty Bay. He now perceived that the ice closed completely in with the land a short distance to the south, and having made all the way he could, he was obliged to stand off and on during the day in a channel not three-quarters of a mile wide. Towards evening this channel became more contracted, and, fearing the seaward ice, Parry made fast to some grounded ice on the beach. On the 28th, advantage was taken of a north-west wind to run down along the coast about eight or nine miles. Here Parry was stopped by the ice, which stretched close in to the shore in a closely packed and impenetrable body, as far as the eye could reach from the crow's-nest.

Anxious, however, to gain every foot of advance, the commander pushed along to the termination of the open channel, and was there preparing to anchor, when to his disappointment and alarm he observed that the sea-ice was in rapid motion towards the shore, and that his ships were in the greatest peril of being crushed between the advancing ice-field and the beach, or rather the grounded ice upon the beach. The "Hecla" was caught by the ice and drifted shorewards, the "Fury" was hauled in beside some grounded masses. On the 30th, the "Hecla" was shifted a mile and a half to the southward—the "Fury" remained where she was, there being no other available berth even so good as the bad one in which she was lying. From this most dangerous position, with the advancing ice on the one hand and a shelterless shore on the other, Parry succeeded in extricating the "Hecla;" but all the efforts of Captain Hoppner, during days and nights of incredible labour, were ineffectual in getting the "Fury" clear of the ground upon which the ice at length drove her. On several occasions the "Fury" was moved, and it was Parry's intention to get her into some harbour in which she could be refitted; but again and again was the unfortunate sloop driven aground, and her timbers stove in. During the storms which prevailed, while the "Fury" was being broken on the beach at Fury Point, Parry continued to cruise in the neighbourhood—discovering and naming Cape Garry and Cresswell Bay—ready to afford any assistance to the grounded vessel. It soon became doubtful whether such assistance would be of any avail, and on the 25th August Captain Parry, accompanied by Captain Hoppner, left the "Hecla" in two boats to go and examine the stranded vessel. "We found her," writes Parry, "heeling so much outward, that her main channels were within a foot of the water, and a large floe-piece, which was still alongside of her, seemed alone to support her below water, and to prevent her falling over still more considerably. The ship had been forced much farther up the beach than before, and she had in her bilge above nine feet of water, which reached higher than the lower-deck beams. . . . The first hour's inspection of the "Fury's" condition too plainly assured me that exposed as she was, and forcibly pressed up upon an open and stony beach, her holds full of water, and the damage to all appearance and in all probability more considerable than before, without any adequate means of hauling her off to seaward, or securing her from the further incursions of the ice, every endeavour of ours to get her off, or if got off, to float her to any known place of safety, would be at once utterly hopeless in itself, and productive of extreme risk to our remaining ship." Unwilling, however, to trust solely to his own opinion on the advisability of abandoning the "Fury," Parry instructed Captain Hoppner and Lieutenants Austin and Sherer, together with the carpenter, to hold a survey upon the "Fury," and report. These gentlemen formed a species of jury, who "sat upon" the unfortunate

ship, and after a careful examination, pronounced her hopelessly damaged. There was now nothing for it but to abandon her on the wild beach on which her timbers had been crushed. It was "with extreme pain and regret" that the commander now made the signal for the "Fury's" officers and men to be sent for their clothes, most of which had been put on shore with the stores. The officers and men were allowed an hour for packing up their clothes, etc., after which the "Fury's" boats were hauled up on the beach, and at two A.M. Captain Parry left her, followed by Captain Hoppner, Lieutenant Austin and "the last of the people."

The whole of the "Fury's" stores—which formed a magazine from which several subsequent expeditions obtained much-needed supplies—were of necessity left either on board the abandoned sloop or on the shore, as every square foot of space in the "Hecla" was now required for the accommodation of the double complement of officers and men, whose cleanliness and health could only be maintained by keeping the decks as clear and well-ventilated—as free from litter and lumber—as possible. What was now to be done? After the first accident happened to the "Fury," Parry expected to have been able to repair her damages, and, with many weeks of the open season still before him, to carry on sail towards the south. But as soon as the gales burst upon them, beating upon the harbourless shore, and tearing away the grounded ice which formed their protection against the flocks driven in from the offing, and thus destroying all hope of repairing the damaged sloop, all the conditions of the situation were altered. Taking into consideration the little progress that had been made, the uncertain nature of the navigation of these hitherto undiscovered seas, the advanced period of the season, and the circumstance that the stores of the expedition were now diminished by about one-half, Parry felt that it would be folly to prosecute the voyage, and that his clear duty under all the circumstances of the case, and in compliance with the terms of his instructions, was to return to England at once. Accordingly, as soon as the boats were hoisted up and stowed, the "Hecla's" head was put to the north-eastward, and advantage was taken of a light air off the land, to gain an offing before the ice should again set inshore. "Fury Beach," the spot where the wreck of the sloop, with its boats and stores, was left, is in lat. $72^{\circ} 42'$, long. by chronometers $91^{\circ} 50'$.

On the 27th August a breeze from the northward sprang up, and the "Hecla" was taken across the inlet to the eastern shore, and anchored in Neill's Harbour, a few miles to the south of Port Bowen, for the purpose of restowing the hold, and generally preparing her for the voyage across the Atlantic. All preparations completed, Parry weighed and stood out to sea on the 31st, and by four A.M. on the 1st September, having beat to windward of a compact body of ice which had fixed itself on the lee-shore about Cape York, he found himself in a perfectly open sea in Barrow Strait, and,

bearing along to the eastward, was entering Ballin's Bay on the 3d. After a somewhat stormy voyage, the "Hecla" made the Orkney Islands, 10th October 1825, and on the 12th Parry landed at Peterhead, and, setting off without delay for London, arrived at the Admiralty on the 16th.

Thus ends the outline of Parry's third and last voyage for the discovery of the North-West Passage—his fourth and most successful, as well as most striking voyage being undertaken for the purpose of reaching the North Pole. He had spent in all eight successive seasons in the search for the North-West Passage, and to him is due the splendid merit of the discoveries of Lancaster Sound and Barrow Strait, Wellington Channel, leading northwards, and Prince Regent Inlet, leading southward from this great westward passage, and also of the great islands, Melville Island and Banks' Land. His great experience in the Arctic seas constitutes him one of the greatest authorities on navigation in the Far North; and the general remarks on this subject with which he concludes the narrative of his third voyage may be said to embody the results of his experience as an Arctic navigator. One circumstance forced itself upon his notice in the course of his various attempts to penetrate through the ice in these regions—namely, "that the *eastern* coast of any portion of land, or, what is the same thing, the *western sides of seas* or inlets, having a trending at all approaching to north and south, are, at a given season of the year, generally more encumbered with ice than the shores which have an opposite aspect." In support of this general statement of the results of his own observation, Parry adduces the following instances: "In the great Northern Sea, between Spitzbergen and Lapland on the east and Greenland on the west, the western shores—those of Greenland—are blocked up by ice throughout the summer, so as to make it a difficult matter to approach them; while the navigation of the eastern portion of that sea may be annually performed without difficulty, even to a very high latitude, and at an early part of the season. A second equally well-known instance," says Parry—and here, as he is speaking in authority, his own words are given—"occurs in the navigation of Davis Strait, which from about Resolution Island, in lat. $61\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the parallel of at least 70° , is usually inaccessible as late as the month of August, and a great deal of it in some summers not accessible at all; while a broad and navigable channel is found open on the eastern side of the strait (that is, on the western coast of Greenland) many weeks before that time. We experienced a third, and very striking, example of this kind in coasting the eastern shore of Melville Peninsula, in the years 1822 and 1823, the whole of that coast being so loaded with ice as to make the navigation extremely difficult and dangerous. Now, on the *eastern* side of Fox Channel (the side opposite the shore of Melville Island), there is reason to believe, as well from the account of that navigator in 1631, and of Ballin in 1615, as from our own observation, that

there is little or no ice during the summer season. . . . The last instance of the same kind, which I shall mention, is that of Prince Regent's Inlet, of which the events of this voyage furnish too striking a proof—the ice appearing always to cling to the western shore in a very remarkable manner, while the opposite coast is comparatively free from it." Taking all these facts together, Parry was deeply impressed with the idea "that there must exist in the Polar regions some general motion of the sea towards the west, causing the ice to set in that direction, when not impelled by contrary winds, or local and occasional currents, until it butts against those shores which are actually found to be most encumbered by it." In confirmation of the existence of a generally prevalent westward setting current, this navigator states several cases in which his vessels were carried to the westward, even against a strong breeze from that direction. On this interesting topic Parry concludes: "Whether the circumstances I have above stated may have any reference to the well-known fact of the western shores of lands enjoying a climate considerably more temperate than the eastern ones, in a corresponding latitude, I do not presume even to conjecture; nor indeed do I feel myself confident to offer any decided opinion as to the cause of the phenomena in question. Having stated the facts precisely as they have occurred to my notice, I shall only therefore add to these remarks by suggesting, for the consideration of others, *whether such a tendency of the sea, as that above noticed, may not have some connection with the motion of the earth on its axis.*" It was not until many years after Parry wrote the above that the motions of winds and currents were reduced to a science by Captain Maury of the United States Navy, and by Dr Carpenter, one of the most distinguished of English physicists. But it has now some time been known that there was truth in Parry's surmise, that the westward motion of the Polar Sea had "some connection with the motion of the earth on its axis." What that connection precisely was, was unknown to Parry, and he candidly confessed it. Perhaps nowhere is the "connection," if strictly speaking it may so be called, more clearly and briefly described than by Dr Carpenter in his pregnant essay on "Ocean-Circulation" in the *Contemporary Review* for September 1875. "Much ink," writes Dr Carpenter, "has been wasted in the discussion of a question, which the common sense of any one who rightly apprehends the fundamental principles of physics should enable him to answer at once—viz., the influence of the earth's rotation upon the movement of the water which fills its ocean basins. This influence, supposing the water to be otherwise stationary, will be simply *nil*; for the water lying under each parallel will have the same rate of rotation from west to east as the solid earth under that parallel. But suppose that a large body of water has a movement of its own, either from a lower to a higher, or from a higher to a lower parallel; it will then, according to a well-known

principle of physics, carry with it the easterly momentum of the parallel it has quitted into a parallel which has a different rate of eastward movement; and thus, if flowing from a lower to a higher latitude, it will carry with it an excess of easterly momentum, which will cause it to tend constantly towards the east; whilst if flowing from a higher to a lower latitude, it will arrive at the latter with a deficiency of easterly momentum, causing it to be (as it were) left behind, so as to tend constantly towards the west. Now the excess of easterly momentum possessed by the Gulf Stream, in virtue of its northerly flow, was rightly assigned by Captain Maury, as a principal cause of its easterly change of direction where the parallels of latitude are rapidly shortening; and I apply the same principle to explain the very strong eastward tendency of the poleward upper flow, which carries it (the Gulf Stream) not only to the shores of Norway, but past the North Cape towards Nova Zembla. But if this be true, the converse also will be true in regard to any southward movement of Arctic water; and thus we see not only why the continuation of the Greenland and Labrador current should have a westerly tendency which keeps it close to the shore of the United States, but also why the glacial underflow should approach the surface along the coast line." In other words, the Arctic water, having a southward motion of its own towards the equator, encounters as it flows the ever-increasing momentum towards the east of the lower latitudes, and thus becomes practically a vast current pressing ever the more directly westward, the lower the parallel to which it reaches.

CHAPTER VI.

FRANKLIN'S SECOND LAND EXPEDITION, 1825-27 — THROUGH THE CANADIAN LAKES—OLD FRIENDS—PRELIMINARY VOYAGE DOWN MACKENZIE RIVER—THE PLANTING OF THE UNION JACK ON THE POLAR SHORE—RETURN TO WINTER QUARTERS.

FRANKLIN arrived in England in the summer of 1822, after having accomplished his great overland journey to and from the shores of the Polar Sea. In October 1823, Parry found himself again at home after his second voyage for the discovery of the North-West Passage, and a few weeks after his return, the discoverer of the Fury and Hecla Strait was appointed to a new expedition, for the purpose of prosecuting the search for a passage by way of Prince Regent Inlet. No sooner was this new expedition resolved upon, than Franklin, thinking that Government would do well not to confine themselves to one route, in pursuing the object after which they had been striving for three centuries, laid before the Lords of the Admiralty "a plan for an expedition overland to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and thence, by sea, to the north-western extremity of America, with the combined object, also, of surveying the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers." In his proposals to carry out this plan, Franklin was able to show that the dangers of his previous expedition would not be incurred in the undertaking proposed, while the objects to be attained were important at once to the naval character, scientific reputation, and commercial interests of Great Britain. The application was favourably received, and Franklin was appointed to the command of the new overland expedition, and was directed to proceed at once with the preparations for its equipment. These preparations consisted mainly in organising a system whereby regular supplies of provisions would be guaranteed to the explorers, in selecting stores for their own use, and for distribution among the Indians, etc., and in superintending the construction of boats better adapted for the navigation of the ice-encumbered Polar Sea than the birch-bark canoes, which were so well adapted for the navigation of the rivers that flow into that sea. The boats were built of mahogany with timbers of ash—the largest twenty-six feet, and two others twenty-four feet in length. A fourth boat, called the "Walnut-

shell," nine feet long and four feet four inches broad, which weighed only eighty-five pounds, and could be taken apart and made up in five or six parcels, and put together again in twenty minutes, was also constructed. A large quantity of pemmican was made in England and sent out to Great Bear Lake, upon which Franklin resolved to fix his winter quarters, and arrangements were made with the Governor and Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and with their factors and traders, to provide the necessary depôts of provisions at the places which Franklin pointed out. Franklin's official instructions were to proceed with his party by the packet from Liverpool to New York, and thence to make the best of his way to Lake Huron, where the stores necessary for his journey had been sent in advance, and afterwards, embarking in canoes, he was to follow the water communication to the western side of the Great Bear Lake, where he was to establish his winter quarters. In the spring of 1826 he was to proceed down the Mackenzie River to the Polar Sea, and to sail westward along the coast to Icy Cape, round which he was to push on into Kotzebue's Inlet, where he would meet H.M.S. "Blossom." Meantime a party from the expedition was to be despatched to examine the intermediate coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers.

The expedition, consisting of Captain Franklin, Lieutenant Back, Dr Richardson, Mr Kendall (assistant surveyor), and Mr Thomas Drummond (assistant naturalist), accompanied by four marines, among whom was Robert Spinks, of whom the last we heard was his performing the extraordinary feat of "shooting the glacier" in Spitzbergen (p. 73), embarked on board the American packet-ship at Liverpool on the 16th February 1825. They arrived at New York on the 15th March, and were soon on their way to the Canadian lakes. They proceeded by Rainy Lake, the Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and the Saskatchewan River, to Cumberland House, and thence through Pine Island Lake, and Lake Isle à la Crosse. "In the course of this voyage," writes Franklin, "we met the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company proceeding from the interior with various brigades of canoes, carrying the returns of trade for the year to York Factory, and I had not only the satisfaction of hearing frequent news of the progress of our (advance) boats, but that the deposits of provisions I had requested, and the other arrangements I had made, were all punctually carried into effect." Resuming his voyage from Isle à la Crosse station on the 27th June, through Deep River, Clear and Buffalo Lakes, the officers of the expedition overtook the advance boats in Methye River on the 29th June. At this point the boats had advanced 1200 miles from Hudson's Bay into the interior, and Franklin and his party taking the more circuitous route by New York and Canada had travelled 2800 miles to reach the same point.

Starting on the 29th June the whole expedition advanced northwards, and on the evening of the 29th July reached Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake. All the difficult portages on the road to Bear Lake being now passed, the Canadians requested that they should be allowed to commemorate the event by a dance, which amusement they kept up all night till daylight to the music of bagpipes relieved occasionally by a Jew's harp—the *piano* and *forte* passages being no doubt well marked. At this station Franklin was glad to meet again with his old Copper-Indian friends, Keskarrah and Humpy, the brother of Akaitcho, who had been waiting here for two months for the express purpose of seeing the "white father" once more. "These excellent men," says Franklin, "showed that their gratification equalled ours, by repeatedly seizing our hands and pressing them against their hearts, and exclaiming 'How much we regret that we cannot tell what we feel for you here!'" Akaitcho had left the fort about two months previously on a hunting excursion, hoping to return with plenty of provision for our use, by the middle of August, which was as early as he thought we should arrive." The journey was resumed on the 31st, on the evening of which day the expedition arrived at the Isle of the Dead and took observations in lat. $61^{\circ} 1' N.$, long. $114^{\circ} 18' W.$ A small party of Chipewyan Indians joined the explorers at this encampment and informed them that they had supplied Dr Richardson (who had gone on in advance) with dried meat on the preceding day. "The chief was very importunate for rum," writes Franklin, "but I steadily adhered to the determination I had formed this time, on my entering the Fur Country, of not giving spirits to any Indian. A share of our supper and tea and some tobacco were offered to him, and accepted though with a bad grace. The Fur Company ceased the following season to bring any rum to this quarter, and I learned that this man was one of the few natives who were highly displeased at this judicious change."

The canoes entered the Mackenzie River on the 2d August, and on the 7th the expedition reached Fort Norman, situated 574 miles from Fort Resolution, and four days' journey from Bear Lake. From this point, had Franklin been desirous of getting at once to his winter quarters on Bear Lake, he would have journeyed eastward to its shores. But the season was yet early, and he was most desirous of obtaining some information respecting the condition of the ice, the direction of the coast, etc., to the east and west of the embouchure of the Mackenzie in the Polar Sea. Accordingly, he set off, accompanied by Mr Kendall, down the river, on the 8th August, on his preliminary visit to the sea. Meantime it was arranged that Lieutenant Back, leaving the Mackenzie, should conduct the main body of the expedition up the Bear Lake River (an affluent of the Mackenzie), eastward to the shore of the Bear Lake, and should there superintend the erection of the buildings which were to form the winter quarters of the exploring party.

A singular phenomenon, observed by Franklin on his voyage down the great stream to the Polar Sea, is thus described: "A few miles above Bear Lake River, and near its mouth, the banks of the Mackenzie contain much wood-coal, which was on fire at the time we passed, as it had been observed to be by Mackenzie in his voyage to the sea. Its smell was very disagreeable. On a subsequent trial of this coal at our winter quarters, we found that it emitted little heat, and was unfit for the blacksmith's use. The banks likewise contain layers of a kind of unctuous mud, similar perhaps to that found on the borders of the Orinoco, which the Indians in this neighbourhood use occasionally as food during seasons of famine, and even, at other times, chew as an amusement. It has a milky taste, and the flavour is not disagreeable. We use it for whitening the walls of our dwellings, for which purpose it is well adapted."

Sailing swiftly with the stream, on the 16th the party arrived at Ellice Island, in lat. $69^{\circ} 14'$, long. $135^{\circ} 57'$. From this point, which is 1045 miles from Slave Lake, the water to the northward had a sea-like appearance, and after continuing the voyage for an hour or two, Franklin had the "indescribable pleasure" of finding that the water had a decidedly salt taste, and that he had now without doubt reached the Polar Sea, and had consequently carried exploration farther in this direction than any previous navigator. Beyond this point every geographical fact ascertained was a *discovery*. "The sun was setting," says Franklin, "as the boat touched the beach, and we hastened to the most elevated part of the island to look round. Never was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us. The rocky mountains were seen from S.W. to W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.; and from the latter points, round by the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free from ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. Many seals and black and white whales were sporting on its waves; and the whole scene was calculated to excite in our minds the most flattering expectations as to our own success and that of our friends in the 'Hecla' and the 'Fury'."

At this stage of the explorer's narrative, a passage occurs, which, as giving us clear insight into the personal character of the man, is of the deepest interest. In 1823 Franklin had married Miss Eleanor Purdon, the accomplished authoress of "The Veils," "The Arctic Expedition," and other poems. A woman of an essentially noble nature, her admiration for all that was heroic in the character of her husband, was only equalled by her intelligent appreciation of his gifts and achievements. Bright and happy was the married life of this equal-mated pair. In the early spring of 1823, Franklin had agreed to sail upon the expedition on which he was now engaged. For some time before he left England, his wife had been suffering from severe illness; but her whole heart was bound up in her husband's new venture, and during the last days in which she enjoyed his companionship, she

beguiled the tedium of her sick-room by making for him a small silk Union Jack. "Never unfurl it," she said, "until you plant it on the shores of the Polar Sea." Fain would Franklin have remained with her till the period of danger should be overpast; but her magnanimous spirit was uninfluenced by affection; and in the sublime moment of parting, she felt only that duty and honour were calling her husband from her, and she joined her voice to theirs and bade him go. A few days after the expedition sailed she died. After reaching America, Franklin received the intelligence of her death; and now, six months after she had been laid in her grave, he stood, with her silken flag in his hand, upon the shores of that Polar Sea which was so constantly in her mind during the few days before she herself reached that farther shore of which all of us must become explorers. We may imagine with what emotions he unfurled this reliquary flag, thinking the while about the grave away in distant England, upon which the first summer's flowers were still in bloom. In the following passage, so admirable in its dignity and unobtrusive grief, the feelings of the man are to be measured chiefly by the apparent effort to conceal them. "During our absence (surveying the ocean from the island-height), the men had pitched the tent upon the beach, and I caused the silk Union flag to be hoisted, which my deeply-lamented wife had made and presented to me as a parting gift, under the express injunction that it was not to be unfurled before the expedition reached the Polar Sea. I will not attempt to describe my emotions as it expanded to the breeze—however natural, and, for the moment, irresistible, I felt that it was my duty to suppress them, and that I had no right, by the indulgence of my own sorrows, to cloud the animated countenances of my companions. Joining, therefore, with the best grace that I could command, in the general excitement, I endeavoured to return, with corresponding cheerfulness, their warm congratulations on having thus planted the British flag on this remote island of the Polar Sea."

Grief and mirth are next-door neighbours in this world, and live almost together. At military funerals, the despairing strains of the Dead March are separated only by a muttered prayer and a rattle of musketry from the quick-step of "The girl I left behind me;" and no sooner had Franklin planted his flag, with the hopes of his early manhood at its base, than duty called him to serve out the grog, and call upon his men to join him in three cheers for the king, and for the continued success of their expedition. "Mr Kendall and I," adds the commander, "had also reserved a little of our brandy in order to celebrate this interesting event; but Baptiste (the Canadian guide), in his delight at beholding the sea, had set before us some salt water, which, having been mixed with the brandy before the mistake was discovered, we were reluctantly obliged to forego the intended draught, and to use it in the more classical form of a libation poured

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on the ground. Baptiste, on discovering that he had actually reached the ocean, stuck his feathers in his hat, and exultingly exclaimed, 'Now that I am one of the *Gens de la mer* (men of the sea), you shall see how active I shall be, and how I shall crow over the *Gens du nord*'—the name by which the Athabasca voyagers were designated."

Franklin wrote an account of his progress, embodying all necessary information respecting the distance of the nearest station of the Company, etc., for the use of Captain Parry, in the event of that navigator being successful enough to find his way into the Polar Sea, and deposited the letter under a pole erected for the purpose, on which a blue and red flag was left flying to attract attention. Having coasted about for some little distance on both sides of the mouth of the Mackenzie, and noted a few of the localities, Franklin commenced the return voyage on the 18th August to the winter quarters on Bear Lake, where he and his party arrived in safety on the 4th September.

CHAPTER VII.

BUILDING FORT FRANKLIN—CHRISTMAS AT FORT FRANKLIN—THE SUMMER VOYAGE COMMENCED—HOSTILE ESKIMOS—STOPPED FOR WANT OF SLEDGES—CONCLUSION OF VOYAGE.

ALL Franklin's preparations for passing the winter months at Great Bear Lake had been carefully made. He knew that a residence in the northern parts of America, where the party must depend for subsistence on the daily supply of fish, or on the more precarious success of Indian hunters, involved many duties requiring the superintendence of a person experienced in the management of the fisheries, and accustomed to direct the labours of working parties of Canadians and Indians. During his first overland journey he had many opportunities of gauging the qualifications of Mr Dease, chief trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, for such a post, and he had succeeded in obtaining the sanction of Government in employing that gentleman on the expedition. Mr Dease had arrived at the proposed winter quarters on Great Bear Lake, with fifteen Canadian voyagers, Beaulieu the interpreter, and four Chipewyan hunters, on the 27th July 1825. A number of the Dog-Rib Indians were already on the spot, and he immediately employed these to procure a supply of meat for the winter's consumption as well as fresh supplies for immediate use. Great Bear Lake, however, was regarded as the source from which the main supplies of the explorers were to be derived, and Mr Dease was decided in his selection of the site for the winter residence by its nearness to that part of the lake where fish had formerly been found in greatest abundance. This spot was the site of an old fort that had once been occupied as a station of the North-West Company, but had been for some time abandoned. Here the buildings of the new fort were erected without delay. They were arranged so as to form three sides of a square, and consisted of the officers' and men's houses, the interpreter's house, blacksmith's shop, and two stores. The whole was enclosed by the stockading of the original fort, which was found serviceable as a screen from the snow-drift and wintry blasts. The name of Fort Franklin had been given to the buildings previously to the arrival of the

leader of the expedition, and at the desire of the officers this name was retained. The number of persons belonging to the establishment amounted to fifty—consisting of five officers, including Mr Dease; nineteen British seamen, marines, and voyagers; nine Canadians; two Eskimos; Beaulieu and four Chipewyan hunters; three women, six children, and one Indian lad. This party was too large to obtain subsistence by fishing at one station, and two houses were therefore erected, at the distance of four and seven miles from the fort, to which parties furnished with fishing nets, etc., were sent. At the fort itself from fifteen to twenty nets were kept in use, under the management of an experienced Canadian fisherman and assistants. These yielded daily, during the summer and autumn, from 300 to 800 fish, of the kind called the "herring-salmon of Bear Lake." The men were told off in separate bands—to attend the nets, bring home the meat that the Indian hunters killed, cut, bring home, and split up fuel, etc.; and when the days shortened, a school was organised under the superintendence of the officers, and which was attended by most of the British party. The officers were employed in making and registering observations; but they had also special duties—Lieutenant Back had the general superintendence of the men, and filled up leisure time in sketching and making finished drawings; Dr Richardson combined the duties of medical officer with those of naturalist; Mr Kendall was entrusted with the construction of all the charts after the calculations had been revised by Franklin; and Mr Dease had enough to do in collecting and issuing provisions, and in keeping his Canadians and Indians up to their work.

Writing on the 23d September, Franklin thus describes the ceremony of "opening" the fort: "The chimney of the last of the buildings being completed this morning, the flagstaff erected, and all the men assembled, we commemorated these events by the festivities usual on the opening of a new establishment in this country. The first part of the ceremony was to salute the flag. The men having drawn themselves up in line, and the women and children and all the Indians resident at the fort being dispersed in groups by their side, a deputation came to solicit the presence of the officers. When we appeared, we found our guns ornamented with blue ribbons, and we were requested to advance and fire at a piece of money which was fastened to the flagstaff. The men then fired two volleys, and gave three hearty cheers, after which Wilson the piper struck up a lively tune, and placing himself at the head of his companions, marched with them round to the entrance of the hall, where they drank to his Majesty's health, and to the success of the expedition. In the evening the hall was opened for a dance, which was attended by the whole party dressed in their gayest attire. The dancing was kept up with spirit to the music of the violin and bagpipes until daylight."

For a month or two from this date, little occurred that would be considered worthy of note by readers of the present day. The occupations of the officers and men were constant, and the time seemed to pass so swiftly, that the shortest day came upon them almost unexpectedly. In all Arctic expeditions the celebration of Christmas is always interesting, and the following vivid passage describes the Christmas of 1825 at Fort Franklin: "On the evening of the 24th, the Indian hunters, women, and children, were invited to share in a game of snap-dragon, to them an entire novelty. It would be as difficult to describe the delight which the sport afforded them after they recovered their first surprise, as to convey the full effect of the scene. When the candles were extinguished, the blue flame of the burning spirits shone on the rude features of our native companions, in whose countenances were portrayed the eager desire of possessing the fruit, and the fear of the penalty. Christmas Day falling on a Sunday, the party were regaled with the best fare our stores could supply; and on the following evening a dance was given, at which were present sixty persons, including the Indians, who sat as spectators of the merry scene. Seldom, perhaps, in such a confined space as our hall, or in the same number of persons, was there greater variety of character, or greater confusion of tongues. The party consisted of Englishmen, Highlanders (who mostly conversed with each other in Gaelic), Canadians, Eskimos, Chipewyans, Dog-Ribs, Hare Indians, Cree women and children, mingled together in perfect harmony. The amusements were varied by English, Gaelic, and French songs." On the morning of the 1st January 1826, the men assembled in the hall to offer their congratulations to the officers. Divine service was afterwards read, and in the evening the New Year was welcomed with singing and dancing. While these rejoicings was going forward, the thermometer registered the very trying temperature of 49° below zero, which was lower than was felt on any other occasion during the winter.

The month of February was a very anxious one to Franklin. The produce of the nets and fishing lines had been gradually diminishing during January, until the supply did not afford more than three or four small herrings to each man. The stock of dried meat was expended, and it was feared that before the return of the deer in spring the party would be in want. Toward the close of the month, however, a number of deer were shot, and the season of plenty again set in. "The conduct of the men during the season of scarcity," writes Franklin, "was beyond all praise; and the following anecdote is worthy of record, as displaying the excellent feeling of a British seaman, and as speaking the sentiments of the whole party. Talking with Robert Spinks as to the difference of his present food from that to which he had been accustomed on board ship, I said, I was glad the necessity was over of keeping them on short allowance. 'Why, sir,' said

he, 'we never minded about the short allowance, but were fearful about having to use the provisions intended for next summer; we only care about the next voyage, and shall all be glad when the spring comes, that we may set off; besides, at the worst time, we could always spare a fish for each of our dogs.' During the period of short allowance, the three dogs under the charge of this man were kept in better condition than any of the others."

In the early summer, preparations were actively carried on for the voyage to the Polar Sea, to carry out the objects of the expedition, and on the 15th June the equipment of the boats was completed. Fourteen men including Augustus, the Eskimo interpreter, were appointed to accompany Franklin and Back in the "Lion" and "Reliance," and ten, including Ooligbuck, were told off to sail with Richardson and Kendall in the "Dolphin" and "Union." On the 20th both parties left the fort, leaving old Cotè, the fisherman, in sole charge until Mr Dease should return. The old Canadian, Cotè, sharing the enthusiasm of the whole party, would not allow the explorers to depart without giving his hearty though solitary cheer, which was returned in full chorus from the departing boats. On the 3d July, after having been a number of days on the Mackenzie River, sailing northward to the sea in company, Franklin gave Richardson his final instructions. The doctor was to take Mr Kendall and ten men and proceed in the "Dolphin" and "Union" to survey the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine Rivers. On reaching the latter river, he was to travel by land to the north-east arm of Great Bear Lake, where Beaulieu was under orders to meet him with a boat for the conveyance of his party to Fort Franklin. "As the parties," writes Franklin, "entertained for each other sentiments of true friendship and regard, it will easily be imagined that the evening preceding our separation was spent in the most cordial and cheerful manner. We felt that we were only separating to be employed on services of equal interest; and we looked forward with delight to our next meeting, when, after a successful termination, we might recount the incidents of our respective voyages. The best supper our means afforded was provided, and a bowl of punch crowned the parting feast. . . . By six in the morning of the 4th (July) the boats were all laden, and ready for departure. It was impossible not to be struck with the difference between our present complete state of equipment and that on which we had embarked on our former disastrous voyage. Instead of a frail bark canoe, and a scanty supply of food, we were now about to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision. At Dr Richardson's desire, the western party (Franklin's) embarked first. He and his companions saluted us with three hearty cheers, which were warmly returned; and as we were passing round the point that was to hide them from our view, we perceived them also embarking."

On the 7th, having obtained an observation for latitude in $68^{\circ} 53' N.$, and having walked towards the mouth of the river, Franklin "discovered on an island which formed the east side of the bay, into which the river opened, a crowd of tents, with many Eskimos strolling among them. I instantly hastened to the boats to make preparations for opening a communication with them, agreeably to my instructions. A selection of articles for presents and trade being made, the rest of the lading was closely covered up; the arms were inspected, and every man was directed to keep his gun ready for immediate use. . . . On quitting the channel of the river, we entered into the bay, which was about six miles wide, with an unbounded prospect to seaward, and steered towards the tents under easy sail, with the ensigns flying. The water became shallow as we drew towards the island, and the boats touched the ground when about a mile from the beach. We shouted and made signs to the Eskimos to come off, and then pulled a short way back to await their arrival in deeper water. Three canoes instantly put off from the shore, and before they could reach us, others were launched in such quick succession that the whole space between the islands and the boats was covered by them. The Eskimo canoes contain only one person, and are named *kayacks*; but they have a kind of open boat capable of holding six or eight people, which is named *oomiak*. The men alone use the *kayacks*, and the *oomiaks* are allotted to the women and children. We endeavoured to count their numbers as they approached, and had proceeded so far as seventy-three canoes and five *oomiaks*, when the sea became so crowded with fresh arrivals that we could advance no further in our reckoning. The three headmost canoes were paddled by elderly men who most probably had been selected to open the communication. They advanced towards us with much caution, halting when just within speaking distance, until they had been assured of our friendship and repeatedly invited by Augustus to approach and receive the presents which I offered to them. Augustus next explained to them in detail the purport of our visit, and told them that if we succeeded in finding a navigable channel for large ships a trade highly beneficial to them would be opened. They were delighted with this intelligence, and repeated it to their countrymen, who testified their joy by tossing their hands aloft and raising the most deafening shout of applause I ever heard. After the first present, I determined to bestow no more gratuitously, but always to exact something, however small, in return. The three elderly men readily offered their arms and knives, as well as the ornaments they wore on their cheeks, in exchange for the articles I gave them." Franklin soon found himself surrounded by about 300 Eskimos attracted by the shouting of the three chiefs, and all of these became most anxious to share in the lucrative trade which they had seen commenced, and with endless shouting and clamour offered to sell their bows, arrows, and spears, which

they had hitherto kept concealed in their canoes. In vain did Franklin endeavour to obtain information respecting the coast. The savages were too intent upon English cutlery to trifle away time in geographical discussion. Finding his new friends becoming ever more noisy, importunate, and troublesome, Franklin resolved to leave them, and ordered the boats' heads to be turned seaward. The tide, however, was now fast ebbing, and soon both boats grounded and lay helpless and immovable. The Eskimos now consoled their benefactor by informing him, through Augustus, the interpreter, that the whole bay was alike flat, and that the British boats must consequently remain *in statu quo* and wait for the turn of the tide. Unluckily, at this stage a kayak was overset accidentally by one of the oarsmen of the "Lion," and its Eskimo owner was plunged head foremost into the shallow and muddy water, in which, from the soft nature of the bottom, he was in imminent danger of being drowned. The "Lion's" men promptly rescued him, and took him into their boat until his kayak should be righted and emptied, and Augustus, seeing him shivering with cold, wrapped him up in his own greatcoat. At first he was exceedingly angry, but afterwards reconciling himself to the inevitable, he began to amuse himself by looking at him, and he discovered that the "Lion" carried many bales, no doubt stowed with wonderful goods, and that many extraordinary and magnificent articles were lying about, all of which had been concealed hitherto from the other savages by the coverings that had been carefully spread over them. He soon began to ask for everything he saw, and expressed the highest displeasure that his demands were not complied with. But much worse than this, immediately rejoining his companions, he spread among them reports of the inexhaustible riches of the "Lion," and suggested the advisability of capturing the vessels of the strangers, and making themselves independent for life in the matter of spears, knives, hatchets, and guns. The water had now ebbed so far that around the grounded boats it was only knee-deep, and the Eskimos swarmed around, slyly attempting to steal everything within their reach. Franklin now gave his men orders not to suffer any one to come alongside. The Eskimos then retired in a body, held a brief consultation, and returning, seized the "Reliance," and proceeded to drag her to the shore.

"As soon as I perceived the 'Reliance' moving under the efforts of the natives, I directed the 'Lion's' crew to endeavour to follow her; but our boat remained fast until the Eskimos lent their aid, and dragged her after the 'Reliance.' Two of the most powerful men, jumping on board at the same time, seized me by the wrists and forced me to sit between them; and, as I shook them loose two or three times, a third Eskimo took his station in front to catch my arm whenever I attempted to lift my gun or the broad dagger which hung by my side. The whole way to the shore they kept repeating the word '*teyma*,' beating gently on my left breast with their

hands, and pressing mine against their breasts. As we neared the beach two oomiaks full of women arrived, and the '*teymas*' and vociferation were redoubled. The '*Reliance*' was first brought to the shore, and the '*Lion*' close to her a few seconds afterwards. The three men who held me now leaped ashore, and those who had remained in their canoes, taking them out of the water, carried them to a little distance. A numerous party then, drawing their knives and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the '*Reliance*,' and, having first hauled her as far up as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight. Lieutenant Back and his crew strenuously, but good humouredly, resisted the attack, and rescued many things from their grasp, but they were overpowered by numbers and had even some difficulty in preserving their arms. One fellow had the audacity to snatch the Canadian Vivier's knife from his breast, and to cut the buttons from his coat; whilst three stout Eskimos surrounded Lieutenant Back with uplifted daggers, and were incessant in their demands for whatever attracted their attention, especially for the anchor buttons which he wore on his waistcoat. In this juncture a young chief coming to his aid drove the assailants away. In their retreat they carried off a writing-desk and cloak, which the chief rescued, and then seating himself on Lieutenant Back's knee, he endeavoured to persuade his countrymen to desist by shouting '*teyma teyma*;' and was indeed very active in saving what he could from their depredations. The '*Lion*' had hitherto been beset by smaller numbers, and her crew, by firmly keeping their seats on the cover spread over the cargo, and by beating the natives off with the butt-ends of their muskets, had been able to prevent any article of importance from being carried away. But as soon as I perceived that the work of plunder was going on so actively in the '*Reliance*,' I went with Augustus to assist in suppressing the tumult; and our bold and active little interpreter rushed among the crowd on shore, and harangued them on their treacherous conduct, until he was actually hoarse. In a short time, however, I was summoned back by Duncan, who called out to me that the Eskimos had now commenced in earnest to plunder the '*Lion*,' and on my return I found the sides of the boat lined with men, as thick as they could stand, brandishing their knives in the most furious manner, and attempting to seize everything that was movable; whilst another party was ranged on the outside ready to bear away the stolen goods. The '*Lion's*' crew still kept their seats, but as it was impossible for so small a number to keep off such a formidable and determined body, several articles were carried off. Our principal object was to prevent the loss of the arms, oars, or masts, or anything on which the continuance of the voyage, or our personal safety, depended. Many attempts were made to purloin the box containing the astronomical

instruments, and Duncan, after thrice rescuing it from their hands, made it fast to his leg with a cord, determined that they should drag him away also if they took it."

"In the whole of this unequal contest," continues Franklin, "the self-possession of our men was not more conspicuous than the coolness with which the Eskimos received the heavy blows dealt to them with the butts of the muskets. But at length, irritated at being so often foiled in their attempts, several of them jumped on board and forcibly endeavoured to take the daggers and shot-belts that were about the men's persons; and I myself was engaged with three of them who were trying to disarm me. Lieutenant Back perceiving our situation, and fully appreciating my motives in not coming to extremities, had the kindness to send to my assistance the young chief who had protected him, and who, on his arrival, drove my antagonists out of the boat. I then saw that my crew were nearly overpowered in the fore part of the boat, and hastening to their aid, I fortunately arrived in time to prevent George Wilson from discharging the contents of his musket into the body of an Eskimo. He had received a provocation, of which I was ignorant until the next day, for the fellow had struck at him with a knife, and cut through his coat and waistcoat. . . . No sooner was the bow cleared of one set of marauders than another party commenced their operations at the stern. My gun was now the object of the struggle, which was beginning to assume a more serious complexion, when the whole of the Eskimos suddenly fled, and hid themselves behind the drift timber and canoes on the beach. It appears that by the exertions of the crew, the 'Reliance' was again afloat; and Lieutenant Back, wisely judging that this was the proper moment for more active interference, directed his men to level their muskets, which had produced the sudden panic." Very soon after, the "Lion" was also got afloat, and both boats were retiring from the beach, when the Eskimos, having recovered from their sudden terror, launched their kayacks, and were preparing to pursue. Franklin, however, instructed Augustus to tell them at once, and decisively, that the first man that came within musket range would be shot—a caution which had the desired effect.

This strange, unequal, and very exhausting struggle had lasted for several hours, and was not at an end till eight o'clock in the evening; yet the only things of any importance that had been carried off by the savage thieves were the mess canteen and kettles, a tent, a bale containing blankets and shoes, one of the men's bags, and the jib sails. The other articles lost could well be spared, and were, in fact, intended for distribution among the men who had taken them. In reviewing the contest and its results, Franklin says: "I cannot sufficiently praise the fortitude and obedience of both the boats' crews in abstaining from the use of their arms. In the first instance, I had been influenced by the desire of preventing unnecessary bloodshed, and

afterwards, when the critical situation of my party might have well warranted me in employing more decided means for their defence, I still endeavoured to temporise, being convinced that as long as the boats lay aground, and we were beset by such numbers, armed with long knives, bows, arrows, and spears, we could not use fire-arms to advantage. The howling of the women and the clamour of the men, proved the high excitement to which they had wrought themselves; and I am still of opinion that, mingled as we were with them, the first blood we had shed would have been instantly avenged by the sacrifice of all our lives." For another day the "Lion" and "Reliance" were detained near these hostile shores; but learning from Augustus (who obtained the information during a visit on shore, in the course of which the Eskimos returned a quantity of the goods they had stolen), that the tide began regularly to flow about midnight, Franklin was able, early on the morning of the 8th July, to have his boats dragged into water sufficiently deep to float them, and to resume his voyage along the shores of the Polar Sea, westward from the Mackenzie River.

On the morning of the 9th, progress was completely stopped by land-ice, or ice adhering to the shore. This ice stretched away to seaward beyond the limits of the explorers' view. The officers landed, and ascended to the top of the bank to look round, when they beheld the sea looking as firmly frozen as in winter, and close to the encampment which they now proceeded to form, the ice was piled up to the height of thirty feet. Exhausted with the exertions of the last few days, the weary explorers retired to bed, but had only just fallen asleep when they were roused by the guard calling out that a party of Eskimos were close to the tents. These natives were friendly, and informed Franklin that as soon as the wind should blow strong from the land (*i.e.*, from the south), the ice might be expected to remove from the shore, so as to open a passage for boats, and that it (the ice) would remain off shore till the stars should be seen after the long days of the Polar summer were over. "Farther to the westward," they said, "the ice often adheres to the land throughout the summer; and when it does break away, it is carried but a short distance to seaward, and is brought back again as soon as a strong wind blows down from the north upon the coast. *If there be any channels in these parts, they are unsafe for boats, as the ice is continually tossing about. We wonder, therefore,*" continued the Eskimos, "*that you are not provided with sledges and dogs, as our men are, to travel along the land when these interruptions occur.*" They further warned the explorers not to stay to the westward after the stars could be seen, because the winds would then blow strong from the sea, and pack the ice on the shore.

If this information could have been regarded as in all respects trustworthy, the wisest thing Franklin could have done would have been to put his boats about and return. But on inquiry he learned that this tribe was

usually employed during the summer in catching seals and whales, in the vicinity of the Mackenzie, and that they seldom travelled to the westward beyond a few days' journey, and were not therefore to be regarded as authorities upon the general condition of the coast between the Mackenzie and Icy Cape. Practically, however, the Eskimos were right, and the history of subsequent Arctic Exploration has established the fact that substantial progress is only to be achieved by combining the use of ships and boats with that of dogs and sledges. On this day, the 9th July, observations were obtained—lat. $69^{\circ} 1'$, long. $137^{\circ} 35'$.

On the following morning the Eskimos returned to the encampment, bringing with them pieces of dressed sealskin, sealskin boots, etc., which they were delighted to exchange for hatchets, files, ice-chisels, fire-steels, Indian awls, and fish-hooks. Presents of beads, pins, needles, and thimbles were also liberally distributed among them, and were received with noisy demonstrations. Franklin remarked that "there was in the party a great proportion of elderly persons, who appeared in excellent health, and were very active. The men were stout and robust, and taller than Augustus, or than those seen on the east coast by Captain Parry. Their cheek bones were less projecting than in the representations given of the Eskimos on the eastern coast, but they had the small eye and broad nose which ever distinguish that people. Except the young persons, the whole party were affected with sore eyes, arising from exposure to the glare of ice and snow. . . . Every man had pieces of bone or shells thrust through the septum of his nose, and holes were pierced on each side of the under lip, in which were placed circular pieces of ivory, with a large blue bead in the centre, similar to those represented in the drawings of the natives on the north-west coast of America, in Kotzebue's Voyage." Further, these natives were furnished with steel knives of Russian manufacture, and from this circumstance, as well as from their somewhat Tartar-like cast of features, as also from the facts that their style of facial decoration resembled that which was in vogue among the natives of the extreme north-west of America, seen by Kotzebue, and that they were in possession of knives of Russian manufacture, Franklin arrived at the conclusion, which to him was of vast importance under the circumstances, that communication along the shores of the Polar Sea, between the mouths of the Coppermine and Mackenzie Rivers to Icy Cape and those western shores in the neighbourhood of Kotzebue Sound, was not only possible, but was in a measure, constant and regular.

An eastern wind prevailed on the 11th, driving the loose pieces of ice on the land, while an unbroken ice-field extended to the west and formed an effectual barrier towards the west. On the morning of the 12th, heavy rain commenced, and under its effects the ice gradually loosened from the land.

In the afternoon the rain ceased and was followed by a south wind that carried the ice off-shore, and opened a sea-way westward, of which Franklin took advantage on the following morning; but after a few hours' sail, and the discovery of a wide inlet, to the headlands of which the commander gave the names of Points Sabine and King, progress was again stopped by ice. A land breeze prevailed on the 16th, and opened a passage for the boats; but was found to close after being followed up for a few hours. "The night was calm," writes Franklin, "and the ice remained in the same fixed state until six in the morning of the 17th, when, perceiving the pieces in the offing to be in motion, we launched the boats, and by breaking our way at first with hatchets, and then forcing with the poles through other streams of ice, we contrived to reach some lanes of water, along which we navigated for four hours." On the same evening the explorers reached Herschel Island, and found it inhabited by Eskimos. The strait between this island and the main shore was the only place the explorers had seen since leaving the Mackenzie in which a ship could find shelter—and even this channel was much interrupted with shoals. Lat. of island, $69^{\circ} 33\frac{1}{2}'$, long. $139^{\circ} 3'$. For a number of days after this date progress toward the west was exceedingly difficult, and on the 20th the lat. was still $69^{\circ} 38'$, and the long. $140^{\circ} 51'$. On the 2d August observations were taken in lat. $69^{\circ} 43'$, long. $141^{\circ} 30'$; and on the 4th in lat. $70^{\circ} 5'$, long. $143^{\circ} 55'$. Canning River was discovered and named on the 5th; on the following day Flaxman's Island, in lat. $70^{\circ} 11'$, long. $145^{\circ} 50'$, and on the 10th Foggy Island, in lat. $70^{\circ} 16'$, and long. $147^{\circ} 38'$, were discovered and named. Leaving the latter dreary island on the following day, the explorers set out and rowed on a northern course; but so thick was the fog that they were obliged to pause and finally to return to the island. The fog clearing off for a time in the afternoon, a second attempt was made to push on; but the same cause drove them back to the same spot—the men declaring that Foggy Island must be an "enchanted" spot. During these dark days the men were constantly wet from exposure as well as exhausted from continuous and arduous labour. "Fog," writes Franklin, "is, of all others, the most hazardous state of the atmosphere for navigation in an icy sea, especially when it is accompanied by strong breezes, but particularly so for boats where the shore is unapproachable. If caught by a gale, a heavy swell, or drifting ice, the result must be their wreck, or the throwing the provisions overboard to lighten them, so as to proceed into shoal water." Upon the enchanted island the weather continued foggy till the morning of the 16th August, when the weather becoming clear after sunrise, the explorers embarked in the highest spirits, exulting at the prospect of escaping for good from this detestable island of fogs. Passing Point Chandos, eight miles west of Foggy Island, land was lost sight of, the fog returned, and the wind freshened. As the safest measure under

such conditions, Franklin gave orders to stand out to seawards—his object being to obtain shelter by making fast to some large piece of ice. Sailing with this view, he was surprised to find himself soon among gravelly reefs, and, arriving at the same time in smooth water, he effected a landing on one of the reefs—a patch of gravel about five hundred yards in circumference, destitute of water, and with no more driftwood on it than a few willow branches sufficient to make one fire.

"The period had now arrived," writes Franklin, "when it was incumbent on me to consider whether the prospect of our attaining the object of the voyage was sufficiently encouraging to warrant the exposure of the party to daily increasing risk by continuing on. We were now only half-way from the Mackenzie River to Icy Cape; and the chance of reaching the latter depended on the nature of the coast that was yet unexplored, and the portion of the summer that yet remained for our operations." As to the conditions of navigation, he had little to expect from the remainder of a season that had been marked—as this one had been—by a succession of fogs and gales; while even already (16th August) the mean temperature of the atmosphere had shown a rapid decrease, and the approach of winter was evident from the ice of considerable thickness that now formed upon the sea every night, and from the flocks of geese that were seen hourly pursuing their course to the southward. "Till our tedious detention at Foggy Island," writes Franklin, "we had no doubt of ultimate success; and it was with no ordinary pain that I could now bring myself even to think of relinquishing the great object of my ambition, and of disappointing the flattering confidence that had been reposed in my exertions. But I had higher duties to perform than the gratification of my own feelings; and a mature consideration of all the above matters forced me to the conclusion, that we had reached the point beyond which perseverance would be rashness, and our best efforts would be fruitless." But independently of his own feelings in the matter, Franklin was not a free agent in the case; for a clause in his official instructions directed him in a manner that admitted of no misinterpretation, to commence his return on the 15th or 20th of August, "if, in consequence of slow progress, or other unforeseen accident, it should remain doubtful whether he should be able to reach Kotzebue's Inlet the same season." Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, Franklin wisely resolved to return to his winter quarters on Great Bear Lake. The return voyage was accordingly commenced, and concluded without serious mishap on the 21st September, on which date the commander and his party reached Fort Franklin, where they had the happiness of finding that Dr Richardson, Mr Kendall, and the members of the eastern party, had also concluded their expedition, and had returned to winter quarters safe and well.

CHAPTER VIII.

DR RICHARDSON'S NARRATIVE OF EXPLORATION EASTWARD FROM MACKENZIE RIVER.

THE exploring party, to the command of which Franklin had appointed his old comrade and brother officer, Dr Richardson, and the object of which was to examine the southern coast of the Arctic Sea eastward from the mouth of Mackenzie River, consisted of twelve men, in the "Dolphin" and "Union." We have already traced their progress to the mouth of the Mackenzie, the point at which they parted company from Franklin and back to commence independent exploration, on the 4th July 1826.

From day to day Richardson conducted his voyage successfully and prosperously from the Mackenzie to the mouth of the Coppermine, along shores that had never previously been seen except by savage men. At this distance of time, however, and especially in consideration of the fact that for the last thirty years the interest of Arctic exploration has removed from this to another and a distant quarter of the Polar regions, it is impossible to regard the incidents of the voyage as worthy of more than merely cursory notice. These incidents were almost wholly confined to almost daily intercourse with the Eskimos who inhabited numerous and sometimes large and regularly built villages along the shore. But in all essentials Dr Richardson's Eskimos were identical with those whom Franklin met, and as we have perhaps had enough of these "dim populations" in the narrative of Franklin's westward voyage, any detailed account of Richardson's experiences among them would involve an amount of repetition, which, at this time of day, would be unendurable. The incidents that befell the "Dolphin" and the "Union" were similar to those that happened to the "Lion" and the "Reliance." The former like the latter were pestered with fleets of Eskimo kayacks, bringing savages whose chief characteristic was their intemperate greed, and who, had they not been frightened by an occasional display of fire-arms, would certainly have made a murderous attack upon the explorers. Occasionally, however, the Eskimos showed some ingenuity in their mode of pilfering. "Thus," says Richardson, "one fellow would lay hold of the boat with both hands; and while the coxswain and I were disengaging them, his

comrade on the other side would make the best use of his time in transferring some of our property into his canoe, with all the coolness of a practised thief." Another good example is given of the manner in which the Eskimos could act in concert. Three days after setting sail, Richardson had to search for a passage amongst islands, there being no longer water enough near the main shore to float his boats. The natives undertook the office of guides, and, either through accident or design, led the boats into a shallow channel where they presently grounded on a sandbank. Soon afterwards one of the natives made a forcible attempt to come into the "Dolphin," under the pretext of bartering two large knives which he held in his hands; and the dexterity he showed in getting into Richardson's boat was highly creditable. There were three kayacks between his own and the British boats, and on his giving a signal, the Eskimos in the three kayacks laid their broad paddles across from one to the other, thus bridging over the canoes and forming them into an extempore platform, across which the native darted with the agility of an acrobat, and sprang into the stern seat of the "Dolphin." His cleverness was not appreciated, however, for he was immediately emptied out again into the water. Judging from the boldness of this fellow's behaviour, and the general tenor of the conduct of the natives, Dr Richardson thought that, as a precautionary measure, it would be as well to buy up their bows, which are their most powerful weapons, and this, after some difficulty, was done. "The Eskimo bows," says Richardson, "are formed of spruce-fir, strengthened on the back by cords made of the sinews of the reindeer, and would have been prized even beyond their favourite yew, by the archers of Sherwood. They are far superior to the bows of the Indians, and are fully capable of burying 'the goose-wing of a cloth-yard shaft' in the heart of a deer." An instance is given in the course of the narrative of the force of an Indian arrow having been sufficient to break the shoulder-bone of a deer. "The jagged bone-head of the arrow was buried in the flesh, and its copper point bent up where it had struck the bone."

Dr Richardson followed the usual practice of giving names to the more striking bays, headlands, and islands of the coast as he proceeded along eastward. Many of these names still retain their places upon the last issued Admiralty Chart of the North Polar Sea—of which the map in the first part of the present work is an exact reproduction on a slightly diminished scale. The chief of these are Liverpool Bay, Cape Bathurst, Franklin Bay, Cape Parry, Dolphin and Union Strait, and Cape Krusenstern. The last-named point, in lat. $68^{\circ} 23'$, long. $113^{\circ} 45' W.$, was the most eastern part of the mainland which Richardson coasted. "By entering George IV.'s Coronation Gulf at Cape Krusenstern," says Richardson, "we connected the discoveries of this voyage with those made by Captain Franklin on his former

expedition, and had the honour of completing a portion of the North-West Passage, for which the reward of £5000 was established by his Majesty's Order in Council; but as it was not contemplated, in framing the order, that the discovery would be made from west to east, and in vessels so small as the 'Dolphin' and 'Union,' we could not lay claim to the pecuniary reward." Cape Krusenstern was discovered and named on the 7th August, "and," continues Dr Richardson, "embarking early on the 8th, and passing through several loose streams of ice, some pieces of which were 24 feet thick, we landed at nine o'clock on a bold cape to prepare breakfast. It is formed of columnar greenstone, reposing on slaty limestone, and rising precipitously from the sea to the height of 350 feet. I named this well-marked point Cape Kendall, after my highly-esteemed friend and companion, and had the pleasure of pointing out to him from its summit, the gap in the hills at Bloody Fall (a point nine miles above the mouth of the Coppermine, from which Franklin, after parting with the Indians, set out on his first voyage on the Polar Sea—page 164) through which the Coppermine River flows. Mr Kendall, having taken the necessary bearings and sketches for the completion of his chart, we descended the hill to announce to the men that a short traverse would bring us to the mouth of the Coppermine River. As we were aware of the disappointments which often spring from the premature excitement of hope, we had not previously acquainted them with our near approach to the termination of our voyage—fearing that an unfavourable bending of the coast, or an intervening body of ice, might protract it some days longer than we had expected. The gratifying intelligence that we now conveyed to them was therefore totally unexpected, and the pleasure they experienced found vent in heartfelt expressions of gratitude to the Divine Being for His protection on the voyage. At noon the latitude of Cape Kendall was ascertained to be $67^{\circ} 58' N.$, and its longitude by reckoning was $115^{\circ} 18' W.$ " Re-embarking on the same day, the explorers set sail for Coppermine River, which they soon reached. They encamped on a spot within a hundred yards of the position of Captain Franklin's tents before commencing the fatal march across the Barren Grounds in his former expedition. They traced the old spot, and recognised the remains of the fires that had been made in some half-burnt wood that had lain here ever since, undisturbed.

Dr Richardson's voyage was now at an end, and the only part of his instructions that remained yet unfulfilled was that which referred to his conducting his party overland to the winter quarters at Great Bear Lake. This return journey would naturally lead them for a considerable distance up the channel of the Coppermine; but as this river, a few miles above its mouth, was totally impracticable for boats drawing more than a few inches of water, it was necessary to leave the "Union" and "Dolphin" behind, together with

all the stores, etc., not absolutely necessary for the journey. After distributing to each man his load, Dr Richardson caused the "Dolphin" and "Union" to be drawn up on shore, out of reach of any flood; and the remainder of the articles that he had brought to give the Eskimos, he packed into boxes and placed in the tents that they might be readily found by the first party of natives that passed this way. The stores consisted of "fish-hooks, lines, hatchets, knives, files, fire-steels, kettles, combs, needles, thread, blue and red cloth, gartering and beads, sufficient to serve a considerable number of Eskimos for several years." The tents were securely pitched, and the Union Jack hoisted, partly for the purpose of attracting the attention of the natives, and partly to show them the mode of erecting the tents, which might prove to be very useful in their summer journeys. On the following morning the men were marched down to take a last look of the boats, after which the march to Great Bear Lake was at once begun. On Friday 18th August 1826, his journey was completed, and after waiting for a few days for means of transport across the lake, the party arrived safely at Fort Franklin on the 1st September, "after an absence of seventy-one days, during which period we had travelled by land and water 1709 geographical or 1980 statute miles."

It will not be out of place to introduce at the close of Dr Richardson's narrative a pleasing passage which will serve to indicate the relations in which that officer stood toward the commander of the expedition. Dr Richardson had for three days been coasting along a large bay, and on the 22d July, having fully examined it, he named it Franklin Bay. "In bestowing the name of Franklin upon this remarkable bay," he says, "I paid an appropriate compliment to the officer under whose orders and by whose arrangements the delineation of all that is known of the northern coast of the American continent has been effected, with the exception of the parts in the vicinity of Icy Cape discovered by Captain Beechey. It would not be proper, nor is it my intention, to descant on the professional merits of my superior officer; but after having served under Captain Franklin for nearly seven years, in two successive voyages of discovery, I trust I may be allowed to say, that however high his brother officers may rate his courage and talents, either in the ordinary line of his professional duty, or in the field of discovery, the hold he acquires upon the affections of those under his command, by a continued series of the most conciliating attentions to their feelings, and a uniform and unremitting regard to their best interests, is not less conspicuous. I feel that the sentiments of my friends and companions, Captain Back and Lieutenant Kendall, are in unison with my own, when I affirm that gratitude and attachment to our late commanding officer will animate our breasts to the latest period of our lives."

The work of Captain Franklin's second land expedition was now complete, and a narrative of his enforced residence at Fort Franklin during the

severe weather of the mid-winter of 1826-27—the incidents of which differed little from those of the previous year—need not detain us. That this winter weather was severe may be believed from the fact that “on the evening of the 4th of January (1827) the temperature being $52^{\circ} 2'$ below zero, Mr Kendall froze some mercury in the mould of a pistol bullet and fired it against a door at the distance of six paces. A small portion of the mercury penetrated to the depth of one-eighth of an inch, but the remainder only just lodged in the wood.” The lowest temperature, however, that Franklin experienced at his fort, was -58° , which was registered on the 7th February.

On the 20th February Franklin set out with five men of the expedition and two Indians to travel through the woods to Fort Simpson, where he arrived in safety on the 8th March. Departing from Fort Simpson on the 15th March, he arrived at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake on the 26th. On the 12th April he arrived at Fort Chipewyan on Athabasca Lake. “Here,” says Franklin, “we welcomed the appearance of two of the large-sized swans on the 15th April as the harbingers of spring; the geese followed on the 20th; the robins came on the 7th May; the house-martins appeared on the 12th, and in the course of the week were busily employed repairing their nests; the barn or forked-tail swallows arrived on the 20th; and on the same day, the small-sized swans were seen, which the traders consider the latest of the migratory birds.” Continuing his homeward journey, and providing as he proceeded for the comfortable transport of the remaining officers and men of the expedition, Franklin reached Cumberland House on the 18th June. He thence proceeded through Canada to New York, whence he embarked with Dr Richardson in a packet-ship for Liverpool, where he arrived on the 26th September. Back, Kendall, and Drummond, with the rest of the British party, arrived at Portsmouth on the 18th of October.

CHAPTER IX.

SUBSIDIARY VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN LYON AND CAPTAIN BEECHY.
LYON'S VOYAGE TO REPULSE BAY.

BEFORE concluding that part of our work which concerns itself with the expeditions of Parry and Franklin, 1821-27, it will be necessary, in order to preserve the continuity of our narrative, to sketch briefly the results of Captain Lyon's expedition to Repulse Bay, and Captain Beechey's voyage to Icy Cape. Of these two enterprises the former was intended to supplement the work done by Captain Parry in his third expedition, while the latter was undertaken for the purpose of taking up Captain Franklin and his party in the event of their being successful in forcing a passage westward along the north coast of the American continent to Icy Cape.

It will be remembered that Captain Lyon commanded the "Hecla" in Parry's second voyage for the discovery of the North-West Passage, and that the first important labour performed by that expedition was the examination of Repulse Bay. It had long been hoped that this forbidding inlet was not land-locked, but that a sea-way might exist running from the head of the inlet westward, and thus affording a "passage" in the desired direction into the Polar Ocean. The thorough survey of the bay by Captains Parry and Lyon, however, proved that it was completely surrounded by land, and that if a passage was to be found at all, it must be sought farther to the north. But in the course of their intercourse at Winter Island with the friendly and intelligent Eskimos, among whom the "wise woman" Iligliuk was the chief figure, the explorers were informed that by travelling inland from Repulse Bay for three days, a great sea would be reached. The tract of land to be crossed was the narrow isthmus (Rae Isthmus) which connects Melville Peninsula with the mainland of North America, and the sea, on the opposite side of the isthmus from Repulse Bay, was naturally supposed to be, as it really is, an arm or inlet of the Arctic Ocean. It was conceived to be an object of great interest to trace the connection of the shores of this sea with Point Turnagain, the farthest point reached by Franklin on his first expedition. If it be supposed for a moment that such

a connection had been established, then the most difficult, or rather the least known, half of the North-West Passage for which England had been seeking for three hundred years would be discovered, and the riddle of ages read. It was for the purpose of ascertaining whether such a connection between the western coast of Melville Peninsula and Point Turnagain existed, that Captain Lyon was appointed commander of the "Griper" early in 1824, and of a new Arctic Expedition.

Captain Lyon's official instructions were to the effect that he was to proceed to Repulse Bay, which he, in company with Parry, had explored in 1821-23, and there to place the "Griper" in secure quarters for the winter; and that in the spring of the following year he was to set out with a sufficient party and outfit, cross the peninsula—the three days' journey of the Eskimos—and to "proceed by land or water, as circumstances may admit, until he should arrive at Point Turnagain."

Accordingly, with forty-one officers and men all told, Captain Lyon in the "Griper" was towed down from Deptford to Greenlythe on the 10th June 1824. After a tolerable passage across the Atlantic, he entered Hudson's Strait early in August, and on the 20th he had reached the western extremity of the strait. When Parry found himself in the same position in the summer of 1821 (see page 208), he carefully weighed the comparative advantages of the two routes, by which it was possible from this point to reach Repulse Bay. The first, most direct, and by far the shortest route, was in a straight line west-north-west, across the north-east shores of Southampton Island, and through Frozen Strait into the bay; the second was round Southampton Island by the south-west, and up Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, between Southampton Island on the east, and the mainland on the west. Parry, as we have seen, chose the short and direct route north-west, and into Frozen Strait. On this expedition Captain Lyon sailed with Parry as commander of the "Hecla," and must no doubt have been fully informed by his superior officer of the causes which induced him to resolve to take the short and direct route to Repulse Bay. Yet we find Captain Lyon, after an interval of three years, deliberately resolving to follow the long and indirect route instead of the short and direct one which Parry had so successfully followed out from the western extremity of Hudson's Strait to Repulse Bay. *Why* Captain Lyon should have chosen the long, round-about route, remains to this day a mystery; but it is certain that this unlucky choice led him into a series of misfortunes which all but proved fatal to the expedition. It was only rational to suppose that what had been done so easily, and with such complete success by Parry and Lyon in 1821, might have been accomplished by Lyon in 1824. Yet, although the previous voyage had given him experience of navigation in these seas, the captain of the "Griper" elected to pursue an unknown route, of the dangers of which

he could form no estimate, instead of following a known route, the dangers of which he himself had measured.

The last ten days of the month of August were spent in coasting along the east and south shores of Southampton Island. Towards the close of the month, much heavy weather was experienced. During the night of the 29th Captain Lyon stood to the south-south-west, but the wind coming round in the morning and blowing from that direction, he put the ship about and stood to the north-west by north. At four A.M., the land of Southampton Island, forming a lee-shore, was seen in the distance on the north-east. On the 30th observations were taken, and the latitude found to be $61^{\circ} 50'$, while the longitude was $84^{\circ} 2'$. With a light wind but a heavy sea from the south-west, Captain Lyon continued to sail north-north-west, and had regular soundings between seventy and fifty fathoms over the spot which according to earlier charts was occupied by Cape Southampton. At midnight the wind came fresh from the westward with rain, and as Captain Lyon feared running over a spot where land is laid down as having been discovered, he lay to until daybreak of the 31st. At ten P.M. his soundings gave thirty fathoms, but after two A.M. on the 1st September he shoaled to nineteen fathoms. At dawn land was discovered bearing north-north-west, and as he had been running for fifty miles in this direction, he feared being run into shallow water, and kept right away intending to pass the land at the distance of five or six miles. At seven A.M., observing by the whiteness of the water that he was on a bank, he rounded to and tried to anchor, but the stiff breeze and heavy sea caused the anchor to part, and he again drove to the north-east. Finding, however, that he came suddenly into seven fathoms, and that the ship could not possibly work out again to sea, he brought her up with three bower-anchors, but not before the water had shoaled to five and a half fathoms. This was between eight and nine A.M.—the ship pitching bows under, and a tremendous sea running. At noon the starboard bower-anchor parted.

There was now every reason to fear the fall of the tide, which Captain Lyon knew to be from twelve to fifteen feet on this coast, and as in this event, the total destruction of the ship was all but inevitable, the long-boat with the four smaller ones was hoisted out to be stored with a quantity of arms and provisions. "The officers," writes Lyon, "drew lots for their respective boats, and the ship's company were stationed to them. The long-boat having been (previously) filled full of stores which could not be put below, it became necessary to throw them overboard, as there was no room for them on our very small and crowded decks, over which heavy seas were constantly sweeping. In making these preparations for taking to the boats, it was evident to all that the long-boat was the only one which had the slightest chance of living under the lee of the ship, should she be

wrecked, but every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident that, had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur. In the afternoon, on the weather clearing a little, we discovered a low beach all around astern of us, on which the surf was running to awful height, and it appeared evident that no human powers could save us. At three p.m. the tide had fallen to twenty-two feet (only six more than we drew), and the ship having been lifted by a tremendous sea, struck with great violence the whole length of her keel. This we naturally conceived was the forerunner of her total wreck, and we stood in readiness to take the boats and endeavour to hang under her lee. She continued to strike with sufficient force to have burst any less fortified vessel at intervals of a few minutes, whenever an unusually heavy sea passed us. And as the water was so shallow, these might almost be called breakers rather than waves, for each in passing burst with great force over our gangways, and as every sea 'topped' our decks, we were continually and often deeply flooded. All hands took a little refreshment, for some had scarcely been below for twenty-four hours, and I had not been in bed for three nights. Although few or none of us had any idea that we should survive the gale, we did not think that our comforts should be entirely neglected, and an order was therefore given to the men to put on their best and warmest clothing, to enable them to support life as long as possible. Every man therefore brought his bag on deck and dressed himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me, I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. The officers each secured some useful instrument about them for the purposes of observation, although it was acknowledged by all that not the slightest hope remained. And now that everything in our power had been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should, in all probability, soon appear before our Maker, to enter His presence as men resigned to their fate. We then all sat down in groups, and, sheltered from the wash of the sea by whatever we could find, many of us endeavoured to obtain a little sleep. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship, when all hope of life had left us. Noble as the character of the British sailor is allowed to be in cases of danger, yet I did not believe it to be possible, that amongst forty-one persons not one repining word should have been uttered. The officers sat about wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect calmness. Each was at peace with his neighbour and all the world, and I am firmly persuaded that the resignation, which was

then shown to the will of the Almighty, was the means of obtaining His mercy." As the darkness came down, the vessel ceased to strike the ground—not, however, before the repeated concussions dislodged the rudder, breaking the after lockers. An examination resulted in the gratifying discovery that no water was being made, and after dark, heavy rain fell, drenching everybody but also beating down the terrific gale. A light air sprang up from the northward, the vessel kept off ground all night in five fathoms water, and the exhausted crew obtained a little rest.

Captain Lyon named the anchorage on which he had spent this trying night the "Bay of God's Mercy," and a brief glimpse of the sun enabled him to determine its lat. in $63^{\circ} 45'$, long. $86^{\circ} 32'$. Subsequently the progress of the "Griper" up Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, in the direction of Repulse Bay, was continuously disastrous. The only variations in the fearful weather were when gale rose into hurricane, and when hurricane tempered down into gale. On the night of the 12th September, Captain Lyon states that "the hurricane blew with such violence as to be perfectly deafening; and the heavy wash of the sea made it difficult to reach the main-mast, where the officer of the watch and his people sat shivering, completely cased in snow, under a small tarpaulin before which ropes were stretched to preserve them in their places. I never beheld a darker night, and its gloom was increased by the rays of a small dark lantern, which was suspended from the mizzen-stay to show where the people sat. At dawn on the 13th, thirty minutes after four A.M., we found that the best bower-cable had parted, and as the gale now blew with terrific violence, there was little reason to expect that the other anchors would hold long. . . . At six A.M., all doubts on this particular account were at an end, for, having received two overwhelming seas, both the other cables went at the same moment, and we were left helpless, without anchors or any means of saving ourselves, should the shore, as we had every reason to expect, be close astern. And here again I had the happiness of witnessing the same general tranquillity, as was shown on the 1st of September. There was no outcry that the cables were gone, but my friend Mr Manico, with Mr Carr the gunner, came aft as soon as they recovered their legs, and in the lowest whisper, informed me that the cables had all parted. The ship, in tending to the wind, lay quite down on her broadside, and as it then became evident that nothing held her, and that she was quite helpless, each man instinctively took his station, while the seamen at the leads, having secured themselves as well as was in their power, repeated their soundings, on which our preservation depended, with as much composure as if we had been entering a friendly port." The wind providentially came round to north-north west (*along* the land), and the "Griper's" head fell off to north-east or seaward. Two trysails were set, for the ship could bear no more, and even with that her lee gunwale lay in the water.

In a quarter of an hour the vessel was in seventeen fathoms. The decks were now so thickly covered with frozen snow and freezing sea-water, that it was impossible, while the ship lay over so much, to stand on them; and, as all hands were wet, half frozen, and half starved from want of refreshment for many hours, their situation was miserable indeed. With her head still bearing north-east, the "Griper" soon deepened the water. But at the same time there was an increase of sea and wind. So violent had the latter become that it stove in the larboard waist-boat against the sides of the ship, and also damaged the boat on the quarter. Shortly afterwards a wave filled and swept away the starboard waist-boat with her davits and her swinging boom.

"In the afternoon," writes Captain Lyon, "having well weighed in my mind all the circumstances of our distressed situation, I turned up the hands and informed them that, having now lost all our bower anchors and chains, and being therefore unable to bring up in any part of the Welcome; being exposed to the sets of a tremendous tide-way and constant heavy gales, one of which was now rapidly sweeping us back to the southward; and being yet above eighty miles from Repulse Bay, with the shores leading to which we were unacquainted; our compasses useless, and it being impossible to continue under sail with any degree of safety in these dark twelve-hour nights, with the too often experienced certainty that the ship would not beat off a lee-shore, even in moderate weather—I had determined on making southing to clear the narrows of the Welcome, after which I should decide on some plan for our future operations." Accordingly the return voyage was at last finally resolved upon, and as soon as the wild weather moderated, the "Griper" was turned south. Many days were spent in beating about the Welcome at the mercy of the incessant gales—the disabled ship being driven about helplessly in whatever direction the wind happened to blow. After many ineffectual attempts Captain Lyon ran into the Atlantic with a fair and moderate breeze on the night of the 30th September. The voyage across the Atlantic was long and trying, and it was not till the 10th November that Captain Lyon passed the Needles, running for Portsmouth Harbour. The "Griper" was paid off on the 13th December.

Thus ends the story of the subsidiary voyage of the "Griper," undertaken to supplement the work done in the expeditions of Franklin and Parry in 1821-27. Captain Lyon never reached Repulse Bay, which was to have been the scene of the commencement of his explorations, so that the actual work of the expedition was not even begun. Had Captain Lyon chosen the direct route to the bay through Frozen Strait, there is reason to believe that the enterprise would have had a more fortunate result.

CHAPTER X.

CAPTAIN BEECHEY'S VOYAGE IN THE "BLOSSOM," 1825-28.

WHEN Captain Franklin proposed to connect his important discoveries at the mouth of the Coppermine River with the farthest known point on the western side of America, by descending the Mackenzie and sailing west, and thus achieving the North-West Passage, from the Polar Sea to the Pacific by Behring Strait, Captain Beechey was appointed to the command of the "Blossom," and commissioned to sail through Behring Strait, and, pushing on to Icy Cape, take up Franklin there, and convey him to England. Captain Beechey received his appointment on 12th January 1825. The crew of the "Blossom" numbered over a hundred persons, and among her officers were Lieutenants Peard, Edward Belcher, and John Wainwright. A boat, rigged as a schooner, and decked and fitted in the most complete manner, was carried by the "Blossom" to act as tender; and all preparations having been completed, her commander weighed from Spithead on the 19th May 1825, and steered out of the channel with a fair wind.

Captain Beechey was instructed to proceed, in the first instance, to Rio Janeiro, afterwards to round Cape Horn, to steer for and survey the Society Islands, to visit Otaheite, Pitcairn's Island, and Owhyhee, and to be at the appointed rendezvous at Behring Strait not later than the 10th July 1826. With his voyage across the Atlantic and among the islands of the Pacific we are not here concerned. After touching at Kamtschatka, on the Asiatic continent, Beechey set sail north-eastward for his destination. On the 17th July the "Blossom" was close off the western extremity of St Lawrence Island, at the southern entrance to Behring Strait. On the 19th they passed King's Island, and entered Behring Strait. "We approached the strait that separates the two great continents of Asia and America," says Beechey, "on one of those beautiful still nights, well known to all who have visited the Arctic regions, when the sky is without a cloud, and when the midnight sun, scarcely his own diameter below the horizon, tinges with a bright hue all the northern circle. Our ship, propelled by an increasing breeze, glided

rapidly along a smooth sea, startling from her path flocks of linnets and dovekies, and other aquatic birds, whose flight could, from the stillness of the scene, be traced by the ear to a considerable distance. . . . As we proceeded, the land on the south side of St Lawrence Bay made its appearance first, and next the lofty mountains at the back of Cape Prince of Wales, then hill after hill rose alternately on either bow, curiously refracted, and assuming all the varied forms which that phenomenon of the atmosphere is known to occasion. At last, at the distance of fifty miles, the Eastern Cape of Asia and the Diomed Islands rose above the horizon of our mast-head," and on the following morning the explorers found themselves almost alongside this group. The "Blossom" was now in the middle of Behring Strait—the famous channel through which the waters of the Pacific enter the Arctic Ocean. The strait is about fifty miles in width, and its depth in the neighbourhood of the Diomed Islands was found by Captain Beechey to be between twenty-five and twenty-seven fathoms. In the evening the fog that had prevailed in the early part of the day cleared away, and a strange and striking spectacle was revealed to the explorers. The extremities of the two great continents were distinctly seen. East Cape, the extreme point of Asia, has, from most points of view, the appearance of an island. It, together with many parts of the Atlantic shore, was entirely covered with snow, while on the mountains on the American side the snow was seen only in streaks.

Steering north-east, Beechey closed with the American shore a few miles to the northward of Cape Prince of Wales, and found the coast low, with a ridge of sand extending along it, on which a number of Eskimo huts was seen. Continuing on a north-east course, Beechey entered Kotzebue Sound—the first great inlet on the American coast, after passing northward through Behring Strait—on the 22d July. The appearance of the land around the sound was scarcely recognisable, from the distorting effects of mirage; but this peculiar phenomenon having disappeared, Beechey discovered a deep inlet in the northern shore of the sound, which he named Hotham Inlet. Chamisso Island, at the head of the sound, now became the station of the "Blossom" for a few days, and here regular intercourse was carried on between the explorers and the native Eskimos. The Eskimos of the north-western shores of America resemble those met with by Parry at Winter Island, Melville Peninsula, etc., and those with whom Franklin and Richardson had transactions on the shores east and west from the mouth of the Mackenzie River. Over Beechey's minute account of the North-West American Eskimos, in regions visited by himself for the first time, we cannot afford to linger. Once for all, however, we give his account of the native tribes met with on the shores of Kotzebue's Sound:

"We were visited by several baidars (the name given to their large boats

by the Eskimos of the North-West), containing from ten to thirteen men each, whose object was to obtain articles in exchange. They were in every respect similar to the natives of Schismareff Inlet (between Behring Strait and Kotzebue's Sound), though rather better-looking, and were all, without exception, provided with labrets—lip ornaments—either made of ivory and blue beads (as before described), of ivory alone, or of different kinds of stone, as steatite, porphyry, or greenstone. . . . One or two had small strings of beads suspended to their ears. The articles they brought off were, as before, skins, fish, fishing-implements, and knick-knacks. Their peltry consisted of the skins of the seal, of the common and Arctic fox, the common and musk rat, the marten, beaver, three varieties of ermine—one white, one with a light-brown back and yellow belly, and the third with a grey back, spotted white and yellow—the American otter, the white hare, the Polar bear, the wolf, the deer, and the badger. Their fish were salmons and herrings; their implements, lances, either of stone or of a walrus tooth fixed to the end of a wooden staff; harpoons precisely similar to the Eskimos (of Melville Peninsula, etc.); arrows and drills. . . . On the outside of these instruments there were etched a variety of men, beasts, and birds, etc., with a truth and character which showed the art to be common among them. The reindeer were generally in herds: in one picture they were pursued by a man in a stooping posture in snow-shoes; in another, he had approached nearer to his game, and was in the act of drawing his bow. A third represented the manner of taking seals with an inflated skin of the same animal as decoy; it was placed upon the ice, and not far from it a man was lying upon his belly with a harpoon, ready to strike the animal when it should make its appearance. Another was dragging a seal home upon a small sledge; and several baidars were employed harpooning whales which had been previously shot with arrows; and thus, by comparing one device with another, a little history was obtained, which gave us a better insight into their habits than could be elicited from any signs or intimations. The natives also offered us for sale various other articles of traffic, such as small wooden bowls and cases, and little ivory figures, some of which were not more than three inches in length, dressed in clothes, which were made with seams and edgings precisely similar to those in use among the Eskimos. . . . The people themselves, in their persons as well as in their manners and implements, possessed all the characteristic features of the Eskimos—large, fat, round faces, high cheek-bones, small hazel eyes, eyebrows slanting like the Chinese, and wide mouths. . . . The western Eskimos appear to be intimately connected with the tribes inhabiting the northern and north-eastern shores of America—in language, features, manners, and customs. They at the same time resemble the (Asiatic) Tschutschi, from whom they are probably descended. . . . They are a nation of fisher-

men, dwelling upon or near the sea-shore, from which they derive almost exclusively their subsistence. They construct yourts or winter residences upon those parts of the shore which are adapted to their convenience, such as the mouths of rivers, the entrances of inlets, or jutting points of land, but always upon low ground. They form themselves into communities, which seldom exceed one hundred persons; though, in some few instances, they have amounted to upwards of two hundred. . . . Their yourts or winter residences are partly excavated in the earth and partly covered with moss laid upon poles of driftwood. The natives reside in these abodes during the winter, and when the season approaches at which they commence their wanderings, they launch their baidars, and, taking their families with them, spread along the coast in quest of food and clothing for the ensuing winter. An experienced fisherman knows the places which are most abundant in fish and seals, and resorts thither in the hope of being the first occupier of the station. Thus almost every point of land and the mouths of all the rivers are taken possession of by the tribe. Here they remain and pass their time, no doubt very happily, in the constant occupation of taking salmon, seals, walrus, and reindeer, and collecting peltry (of which the beaver skins are of very superior quality), or whatever else they can procure, which may prove useful as winter store."

In his instructions, Captain Beechey was desired to await the arrival of Captain Franklin at Chamisso Island in Kotzebue Sound, but a private agreement had been made between the two commanders that Beechey in the "Blossom" should proceed northward and survey the coast in the neighbourhood, while one of his officers, taking with him a rescue crew in the barge, should keep well inshore, looking out for Franklin's party, erecting signal posts with directions, etc. Accordingly, on the 30th July, the "Blossom," attended by the barge, weighed from Chamisso Island and steered northward out of Kotzebue Sound. Having cast off the barge to attend to the special service of watching for the land party, Beechey did little more on the 1st August but drift along the coast with the current, which was always found setting to the north-west at the rate of from half-a-mile to a mile and a half per hour. On the 2d, Cape Thomson, in lat. about $68^{\circ} 8'$, and Point Hope, in lat. about $68^{\circ} 20'$, were discovered and named. Cape Lisburn of Captain Cook was shortly afterwards passed, but progress was so slow that Beechey was still in sight of it till the 9th. In the middle of the month Beechey reached Icy Cape, the farthest point reached by Captain Cook. When discovered by Cook it was much encumbered with ice, but was free from it on the occasion of the voyage of the "Blossom." The cape itself was found to be low, and the mainland north of it to Wainwright's Inlet, and south of it to Cape Beaufort, half way between Icy Cape and Cape Lisburn, is flat and covered with swampy moss.

To have prosecuted the northward voyage in the "Blossom" beyond Icy Cape would have been to expose the vessel unnecessarily to damage from passing ice or to being surrounded by, and beset in, it. But any serious accident to the vessel would have compelled Captain Beechey to leave those northern seas at once, and prevented him returning in the following year. He resolved, therefore, to send Mr Elson in advance northward in the barge to search for Captain Franklin and his party. For this kind of service the barge, from its smaller dimensions, was specially adapted. Accordingly, on the 17th August, Mr Elson parted company and went off on his own expedition. Meantime Beechey, who, in the "Blossom," had accompanied the barge for some distance, continued to steer northward, until on the 18th he saw the main body of the ice—the pack extending from east to south-west in lat. about 71° . It was loose at the edge but close within, and consisted of heavy floes. There were no living creatures near it except a few tern and kittiwakes. The temperature was about the freezing point. "At noon," says Beechey, "the sun broke through, and we found ourselves in lat. $70^{\circ} 18' N.$, and by the soundings, about twelve miles from land, which was not seen. By this we discovered that instead of gaining twenty miles to the eastward we had lost four, by which it was evident that a current had been running S. $58^{\circ} W.$, a mile an hour." This circumstance was unfavourable to the prospect of much farther progress. At about this time, too, the weather, which had hitherto been fine, appeared to have broken for the season; and the dark nights beginning to lengthen, and a series of westerly gales to set in, making the whole of the coast a lee-shore, and compelling Captain Beechey to keep his ship at a distance from the land, brought home to the commander the conviction, that in order not to miss the land expedition, in event of its success, he would require to return to the rendezvous in Kotzebue Sound. The "Blossom" was consequently put about; on the 27th August Cape Krusenstern was passed, and on the following evening the vessel was again anchored off Chamisso Island to await the return of the barge.

On the 10th September Captain Beechey had the gratification of seeing the barge coming down Kotzebue Sound under a press of canvas, and the most lively anticipations were formed until she approached near enough to show that the appointed signal of success was wanting at her mast-head. The barge had been successful in penetrating to a point of the north-west coast of America in lat. $71^{\circ} 23' N.$, and long. $156^{\circ} 21' W.$, or to within 150 miles of Return Reef, where Franklin, finding it impossible to continue his westward voyage, had commenced his return to the Mackenzie. The farthest tongue of land which the barge had reached, and the most northerly point then discovered on the continent of America, was named Point Barrow. "It lies," says Beechey, "126 miles to the north-east of Icy Cape, and is

only 146 miles from the extreme of Captain Franklin's discoveries in his progress westward from the Mackenzie River." A bay to the eastward of Cape Barrow was named Elson's Bay in honour of the officer commanding the barge, and the extreme point discovered on the voyage a mile or two east of Point Barrow was named Franklin Extreme. Mr Elson's expedition in the barge added about seventy miles of coast (or, in addition to the new shores discovered by the "Blossom," 126 miles in all) to the geography of the Polar regions.

From this point it is needless to trace the discoveries and adventures of Captain Beechey in the "Blossom" during the years 1825-28. He was sent out to take up Franklin and his party in the event of that famous explorer being successful in performing the voyage from the Mackenzie River round the Polar shores to Kotzebue Sound. We know from the record of Franklin's second expedition that he was unsuccessful in this object, and that he commenced his return to Great Bear Lake on the 16th August 1826. It was now the middle of September, and the "Blossom," with her barge, was still cruising about in the neighbourhood of the appointed rendezvous, awaiting the arrival of Franklin, who by that time was far on his return voyage. Captain Beechey remained in Kotzebue Sound till the middle of October, when, convinced at last that Franklin had failed in his object, he weighed anchor, steered out of the sound, and stood away to the south through Behring Strait into the warm waters of the Pacific. From this point his voyage loses the character of an Arctic Expedition, and consequently ceases to be of direct interest to us. He returned, certainly in the summer of the following year to the north-west shores of America; but, so far as Arctic discovery is concerned, this second visit was unproductive and resultless.

PART VI.

EXPEDITIONS OF PARRY AND ROSS, 1827-33.

CHAPTER I.

PARRY'S LAST ARCTIC VOYAGE—THE HIGHEST LATITUDE EVER REACHED BY ANY EXPLORER.

THE narrative we have just concluded of the "Expeditions of Parry and Franklin, 1821-27," and of the subsidiary voyages of Captain Lyon up Rowe's Welcome in the "Griper," and of Captain Beechey through Behring Strait to Icy Cape in the "Blossom," brings us to the close of a well-defined period in Arctic exploration. Since 1819 the efforts of the great English navigators had been exclusively directed to the object of opening a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific along the north shores of the American continent. With this view the voyages of Ross, Parry, Franklin, Lyon, and Beechey, had been undertaken, and thousands of miles of coast-line had been discovered. But though these various expeditions were conducted with the utmost courage and determination, and though hundreds of miles of a passage had been tracked, the great feat of sailing from the one ocean to the other had not been accomplished. The period had now come when these endeavours were to cease for a time, and when great attempts with other objects in view were to be made. We have now, therefore, to close the narrative of exploration along the southern shores of the Polar seas and to follow Parry on his last and most famous Arctic voyage—his extraordinary attempt to reach the North Pole on sledge-boats by the Spitzbergen route, in which he carried his ensigns to a point nearer the Pole than was ever reached before, or has been since, his time.

Arrived in England—after his third voyage for the discovery of the North-West Passage—in October 1825, Captain Parry, in the spring of 1826, laid before Viscount Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, a plan by which he proposed to reach the North Pole, "by means of travelling with sledge-boats over the ice, or through any spaces of open water that might occur." The hopes he had formed of being able to attain this object, and the plan

which he now suggested for putting it into execution, had their origin in a proposal made by Captain Franklin, several years previously, suggesting the same means to arrive at the same object. Franklin had offered to command the enterprise himself; but, as he was now engaged exploring the north coast of America, his services were not available, and Captain Parry was appointed to the command of the expedition—his commission, to the old "*Hecla*," being dated 11th November 1826.

The scope and purpose of the expedition will be readily understood from the following passage in the official instructions, handed to him a few days before setting sail: "On your arrival at the northern shores of Spitzbergen, you will fix upon some safe harbour or cove, in which the '*Hecla*' may be placed; and, having properly secured her, you are then to proceed with the boats, whose requirements have, under your own directions, been furnished expressly for the service, directly to the northward, and use your best endeavours to reach the North Pole; and having made such observations as are specified in your instructions for your former voyages in the northern regions, and such as will be pointed out to you by the council of the Royal Society, added to those which your own experience will suggest, you will be careful to return to Spitzbergen before the winter sets in, and at such a period of the autumn as will ensure the vessel you command not being frozen up, and thus obliged to winter there."

During the summer of 1826 the refitting of the "*Hecla*," to prepare her for the always-trying cruise in the Spitzbergen seas, was actively proceeded with, while the boat-sledges, in which a bold push was to be made for the North Pole across a waste of ice that always previously proved unpenetrable, were also constructed with great care. The latter were constructed at Woolwich under Parry's superintendence. They resembled what are called "troop-boats," having the floor flat, and the extreme breadth carried well forward and aft. Their length was twenty feet, and their extreme breadth seven feet. The timbers were made of tough ash and hickory, and the outside of the frame or skeleton was covered with Mackintosh waterproofing—the outer surface coated with tar. A layer of very thin fir planking, a sheet of stout felt, and over all a very thin planking of oak, were afterwards bolted on to the timbers. "On each side of the keel, and projecting considerably below it, was attached a strong 'runner,' shod with smooth steel, in the manner of a sledge, upon which the boat entirely rested when on the ice." . . . "A 'span' of hide-rope was attached to the forepart of the runners, and to this were affixed two strong ropes of horse-hair, for dragging the boat—each individual being furnished with a broad leathern shoulder-belt, which could be readily fastened to or detached from the drag-ropes. The interior arrangement consisted of only two thwarts, a locker at each end for the nautical and other instruments, and for the smaller

stores; and a very slight framework along the sides for containing the bags of biscuits and our spare clothes. A bamboo mast nineteen feet long, a tanned duck sail, answering also the purpose of an awning, a sprat, one boat-hook, fourteen paddles, and a steer-oar, completed each boat's equipment." Two officers and twelve men were selected for each. Captain Parry was to command in one boat, and Lieutenant James Ross in the other. Such were the frail boats and the slender crews who were destined to make one of the most daring and adventurous voyages known in the annals of navigation.

On the 23d October 1826, Captain Parry married Isabella, fourth daughter of Sir John Stanley, afterwards Lord Stanley of Alderley, and on the occasion of the nuptials, a silk ensign, worked by the bride, was hoisted on the church tower, from which it was afterwards hauled down, not to be again unfurled, it was fondly hoped, until it should be raised to signalise the arrival of the expedition at the North Pole.

All preparations having been completed, the "*Hecla*" was towed down the Thames on the 25th March 1827; on the 4th she weighed from the Nore and got fairly to sea, and on the 17th she had reached the island of Soroë on the Lapland coast. Within this island lies the port of Hammerfest, and here Parry had been instructed to call for the purpose—a strange one, it seems to us, in these days—of taking on board a number of tame reindeer to draw the boats over the ice. On the 5th May the first straggling mass of ice was met with in lat. $73^{\circ} 30' N.$, long. $7^{\circ} 28' E.$, and at five on the morning of the 14th, Parry had arrived off the extreme north-west of Spitzbergen, had passed Magdalena Bay, and by ten o'clock had made Hakluyt's Headland. Acting according to his instructions, Parry now commenced to seek for a suitable harbour in which the "*Hecla*" might lie safely at anchor during the absence of the boats. This search proved long, tiresome, and vexatious. A number of suitable bays were passed, but it was impossible to reach them from the large fields of thick ice that covered them close in to the shore. At length, after beating eastward along the north coast of Spitzbergen for about a month, Parry arrived on the 18th June in a deep indentation on the north coast of New Friesland, named Treurenburg Bay. "On the following morning," writes Parry, "I proceeded to examine the place, accompanied by Lieutenant Ross in a second boat, and, to our great joy, found it a considerable bay, with one part affording excellent land-locked anchorage, and, what was equally fortunate, sufficiently clear of ice to allow the ship to enter. Having sounded the entrance and determined on the anchorage, we returned to the ship to bring her in; and I cannot describe the satisfaction which the information of our success communicated to every individual on board. The main object of our enterprise now appeared almost within our grasp, and everybody seemed anxious to make up,

by renewed exertions, for the time we had unavoidably lost. The ship was towed and warped in with the greatest alacrity, and at 1.40 A.M., on the 20th, we dropped anchor in Hecla Cove."

No time was now lost. On the afternoon of the 25th the two boat-sledges, named respectively the "Enterprise" and the "Endeavour"—were ready to start for the north. Parry resolved to take with him only seventy-one days' provisions, which, including the weight of the boats, etc., made up a weight of 260 lbs. per man. From what he had been able to see from the crow's-nest, the ice away to the north was exceedingly rough, and he therefore resolved to leave the reindeer behind, as they could afford no assistance among "hummocky" ice. Everything being now ready, the boats commenced their voyage at five P.M. on the 21st (having received the usual salutation of three cheers from those they left behind), and paddled away northward in open water. The boat-sledges rowed heavily with their loads, but proved perfectly safe and very comfortable. Progress was satisfactory, and Low Island and Walden Island were successively reached and passed. The land-ice, which adhered to the Seven Islands, was reached on the 23d, and Parry rowed along its margin to Little Table Island, where he arrived at ten P.M. "The prospect to the northward at this time was very favourable," writes the commander, "there being only a small quantity of loose ice in sight; and the weather still continuing calm and clear, with the sea as smooth as a mirror, we set off, without delay, at half-past ten, taking our final leave of the Spitzbergen shores, as we hoped, for at least two months. Steering due north, we made good progress, our latitude by the sun's meridian altitude at midnight being $80^{\circ} 51' 13''$." It was only on the first and second days that the expedition advanced so pleasantly. At noon on the 23d the boats were stopped by the ice, and from this time onwards progress was made chiefly by dragging the boats over the rough and broken ice—a labour demanding great physical strength and endurance, and that cheerfulness of spirit and complete discipline for which the British navy has always been distinguished.

The plan of travelling and the daily routine observed from day to day, varied little throughout the whole of the excursion. And as the conditions under which Parry and his comrades were now existing—surrounded by ice, unsupported by the confidence which being in a ship would inspire them, bound northward in a general way in search of the North Pole, with their faces towards a vast and completely unknown region of the earth's surface—were singular, not to say alarming, it will be interesting to know what was their usual mode of proceeding after they had fairly entered upon the ice. It was Parry's intention to travel at night exclusively, and to rest by day—there being, of course, constant daylight in these regions in the summer season. The advantages of so doing were that in travelling at night the more intense and oppressive glare of the sun, producing the inflammation of the eyes

known as "snow-blindness," was avoided; that the warmer hours of the twenty-four were those devoted to sleep and to the drying of clothes which were almost constantly wet when in use; and that the snow, being somewhat harder at night than during the day, presented a firmer surface to the runners of the sledges. But this travelling by night and sleeping by day inverted the natural order of things, and led to the most confused notions. The men declared that they never knew night from day during the whole excursion, and even the officers and the commander, though they were furnished with pocket chronometers, were often confused as to the time of day.

"When we rose in the evening," writes Parry, "we commenced our day by prayers, after which we took off our fur sleeping-dresses, and put on those for travelling—the former being made of camblet lined with racoon skin, and the latter of strong blue box-cloth. We made a point of putting on the same stockings and boots for travelling in, whether they had dried during the day or not; and I believe it was only in five or six instances at the most that they were not either still wet or hard-frozen. This indeed was of no consequence, beyond the discomfort of first putting them on in this state, as they were sure to be thoroughly wet in a quarter of an hour after commencing our journey; while, on the other hand, it was of vital importance to keep dry things for sleeping in. Being rigged for travelling, we breakfasted upon warm cocoa and biscuit, and after stowing the things on the boats and on the sledges, so as to secure them as much as possible from wet, we set off on our day's journey, and usually travelled from five to five and a half hours, according to circumstances. After this we halted *for the night*, as we called it, though it was usually early in the morning, selecting the largest surface of ice we happened to be near, for hauling the boats on, in order to avoid the danger of its breaking-up by coming in contact with other masses, and also to prevent drift as much as possible. The boats were placed close alongside each other, with their sterns to the wind, the snow or wet cleared out of them, and the sails, supported by the bamboo masts and three paddles, placed over them as awnings, an entrance being left at the bow. Every man then immediately put on dry stockings and fur boots, after which we set about the necessary repairs of boats, sledges, or clothes; and after serving the provisions for the succeeding day, we went to supper. Most of the officers and men then smoked their pipes, which served to dry the boats and awnings very much, and usually raised the temperature of our lodgings 10° or 15°. This part of the twenty-four hours was often a time, and the only one, of real enjoyment to us; the men told their stories and 'fought all their battles o'er again,' and the labours of the day, unsuccessful as they too often were, were forgotten. A regular watch was set during our resting-time, to look out for bears or for the ice breaking-up round us, as well as to attend to the drying of the clothes—each man alter-

nately taking this duty for one hour. We then concluded our day with prayers, and having put on our fur dresses, lay down to sleep with a degree of comfort, which perhaps few persons would imagine possible under such circumstances; our chief inconvenience being that we were somewhat pinched for room, and therefore obliged to stow rather closer than was quite agreeable. The temperature while we slept was usually from 36° to 45° , according to the state of the external atmosphere; but on one or two occasions, in calm or warm weather, it rose as high as 60° to 66° , obliging us to throw off a part of our fur dress. After we had slept seven hours, the man appointed to boil the cocoa roused us when it was ready, by the sound of a bugle, when we commenced our day in the manner before described."

It was on the 24th June 1827 that Parry, with his twenty-three companions in the two sledge-boats, set out to cross over an unknown sea covered with detached and drifting masses of ice to reach the extreme north latitude of 90° . Nothing could surpass the daring of the undertaking, except the unsupportably laborious means by which the explorers sought to accomplish it. At the outset, over the Polar Sea to the north of Spitzbergen, the pieces of ice were found to be of small extent and very rugged, and the party were obliged to make three and sometimes four journeys from point to point, and to launch the boats several times across narrow pools of water, in order to keep their stores, clothing, etc., together. This hard work, however, was no more than they expected to have to go through, until they had crossed the margin of the ice, and every man of the party exerted himself to his utmost in the hope of coming upon easier ground after getting upon the main or "field" ice. After a most exhausting day's work, the explorers stopped to dine at five o'clock in the morning of the 25th, "*after having made about two miles and a half of nothing.*" The early dinner having been despatched, they set off again—floundering through the pools, scrambling across the chasms between the ice-blocks, clambering up the hummocks, and by main force dragging the boats after them, and returning to the point from which they set out, again and yet again, for the bags of pemmican, the cocoa, biscuit, clothes, etc.—until eleven A.M. Their day's work was now done, and their evening had now come, and they halted to sleep—their last operation before closing their eyes being to take an observation at noon, by which they ascertained that they had reached the high latitude of $81^{\circ} 15' N.$, or 525 geographical miles in direct line from the North Pole. Aroused at eight o'clock at night by an outrageous blast on the bugle, blown by some brawny tar who, no doubt, indulged his humour by astonishing his "mates" with a *reveille*, such as never before had been extracted from any known brass instrument, this singularly situated "company of adventurers" commenced their morning's work at half-past nine at night. "We found our way," says Parry, in his blunt and simple fashion—

too grimly earnest to be conscious of any such trifling matter as literary style—"to lie over nothing but small, loose, rugged masses of ice, separated by little pools of water, obliging us constantly to launch and haul up the boats, each of which operations required them to be unloaded, and occupied nearly a quarter of an hour. It came on to rain very hard on the morning of the 26th, and finding we were making very little progress (having advanced not more than half-a-mile in four hours), and that our clothes would be soon wet through, we halted at half-past one and took shelter under the awnings. The weather improving at six o'clock, we again moved forward, and travelled till a quarter-past eleven, when we hauled the boats upon the only tolerably large floe-piece in sight. The rain had very much increased the quantity of water lying upon the ice, of which nearly half the surface was now covered with numberless little ponds of various shapes and extent." The journey was resumed at half-past nine at night.

Parry states it as a remarkable fact that, in the course of this summer expedition, more rain fell than had fallen during the whole of the seven previous summers which he had passed in the Arctic regions *taken together*, although he had passed these seven seasons in latitudes from 7° to 15° lower than the tract in which he now found himself. This fact is corroborative of the statement made by all recent Arctic navigators, that the climate of the most remote north Polar regions hitherto reached is really milder than it is in those more southern tracts between Lancaster Sound and the northern shores of the American continent, in which, for the last three and a half centuries, we have been seeking a North-West Passage into the Pacific. He also observed that much of the ice over which he passed from day to day took a peculiar formation, owing, as he believed, to the action of the rain. The ice referred to was composed, on its upper surface, of "numberless, irregular, needle-like crystals, placed vertically, and nearly close together; their length varying in different pieces of ice, from five to ten inches, and their breadth in the middle about half an inch, but pointed at both ends. The upper surface of ice having this structure sometimes looks like greenish velvet; a vertical section of it, which frequently occurs at the margin of floes, resembles, while it remains compact, the most beautiful satin-spar. . . . At this early part of the season, this kind of ice afforded pretty firm footing, but as the summer advanced, the needles became more loose and movable, rendering it extremely fatiguing to walk over them, besides cutting our boots and feet, on which account the men called them 'pen-knives.' It appeared probable to us that this peculiarity might be produced by the heavy drops of rain piercing their way downwards through the ice, and thus separating the latter into needles of the form above described, rather than to any regular crystallisation when in the act of freezing."

After travelling all night the party came, on the morning of the 28th

June, to a floe, which rose in several successive tiers and was covered with high and rugged hummocks. No sooner did the explorers surmount one icy ridge than another presented itself. "Over one of these," writes Parry, "we hauled the boats with extreme difficulty by a 'standing pull,' and the weather being then so thick that we could see no pass across the next tier, we were obliged to stop at nine A.M. While performing this laborious work, which required the boats to be got up and down places almost perpendicular, James Parker, my coxswain, received a severe contusion in his back, by the boat falling upon him from a hummock; and the boats were constantly subject to very severe blows, but sustained no damage. The weather continued very foggy during the day, but a small lane of water opening out at no great distance from the margin of the floe, we launched the boats at eight in the evening, among loose drift-ice, and after some time landed on a small floe to the eastward, the only one in sight, with the hope of its leading to the northward. It proved so rugged that we were obliged to make three, and sometimes four journeys with the boats and provisions, and this by a very circuitous route, so that the road by which we made a mile of nothing was full a mile and a half in length, and over this we had to travel at least five and sometimes seven times. Thus, when we halted to dine at two A.M., and after six hours' severe toil and much risk to the men and boats, we had only accomplished about a mile and a quarter in a north-north-east direction. After dining we proceeded again till half-past six, and then halted, very much fatigued with our day's work, and having made only two miles and a half of nothing." Such was the stupendously laborious manner in which the expedition crept northward from day to day.

But to ensure even the most moderate progress many precautions had to be observed. As soon as the party had crossed over a pool or a channel to a floe-piece, Captain Parry and Lieutenant Ross usually went on ahead to select the easiest route for the boats, which in the meantime were being hauled up from the water on to the ice. After these leaders came a party dragging small sledges extemporised out of a number of snow-shoes which Parry had brought with him, but which could not be put to their legitimate use owing to the rugged and broken character of the ice. Upon these small sledges provisions, etc., were carried. A fair track was thus marked out across the snow and ice, and the road was in a manner made for the sledge-boats, which were dragged along on their "runners" of steel. The incidents of one day's travel, however, were repeated with hardly any variation on the next, and the painful monotony oppressed the travellers. Often Parry and Ross mounted the highest hummocks which rose to fifteen and twenty feet above the sea, to survey this singular "country," where the only "ground" was represented by loosely floating blocks and fields of ice. But the dreariness which such a view presented was beyond anything the travellers had ever before

conceived. "The eye wearied itself in vain to find an object but ice and sky to rest upon; and soon the latter was often hidden from our view by the dense and dismal fogs which so generally prevailed. For want of variety, the most trilling circumstance engaged a more than ordinary share of our attention—a passing gull, or a mass of ice of unusual form, became objects which our situation and circumstances magnified into ridiculous importance; and we have often smiled to remember the eager interest with which we regarded many insignificant occurrences. It may well be imagined, then, how cheering it was to turn from this scene of inanimate desolation, to our two little boats in the distance—to see the moving figures of our men winding with their sledges among the hummocks, and to hear once more the sound of human voices breaking the stillness of this icy wilderness."

On the 2d July the weather was calm, the sun oppressively warm, and the glare of the unsetting sun was thrown up from the snow so dazzlingly as to produce a most painful sensation in the eyes, and rendered it necessary to halt, to avoid being blinded. Advantage was taken of the warm weather to allow the men to wash themselves and dry their clothes. When the march was resumed after an hour or two, the snow was found to be so soft that the travellers sank into it to above the knees at every step. A halt was called till midnight, after which the snow was firmer but still so soft as to make the travelling very fatiguing. At first the route lay across a number of small loose pieces of ice, from five to twenty yards apart, or just sufficiently separated to render the launching and hauling up of the boats necessary without affording any facilities for making progress by water. In other cases where the chasms between the pieces were less than twenty feet wide, the boats were laid across as bridges, on which the men creased with their baggage. On the morning of the 3d, a floe a mile in width was reached, on the level parts of which there was a layer of five inches of half-frozen snow, overlying a depth of four or five inches of snow water; "but the moment we approached a hummock," says Parry, "the depth to which we sank increased to three feet or more, rendering it difficult at times to obtain sufficient footing for one leg, to enable us to extricate the other. The pools of water had now also become very large, some of them being a quarter of a mile in length, and their depth above our knees. . . . On this kind of road we were, in one instance, above two hours in proceeding a distance of one hundred yards! We halted at half-past six A.M. to dine, and to empty our boots and wring our stockings, which to *our* feelings was almost like putting on dry ones; and again set in an hour, getting at length into a 'lane' of water one mile and a quarter long, in a north-north-east direction. We halted for the night at half-an-hour before midnight, the people being almost exhausted with a laborious day's work, and our distance made good to the northward not exceeding two miles and a quarter. We allowed ourselves

this night a hot supper consisting of a pint of soup per man, made of an ounce of pemmican each, and eight or ten birds which we had killed in the course of the last week—and this was a luxury which persons thus situated could perhaps alone duly appreciate." The animals seen on this long day's journey were a few rotges, a dovekie, a loon, a mallenucke, and two or three very small seals.

On the night of the 3d July heavy rain fell, and on setting out on the night of the 4th, the explorers found themselves surrounded by loose drift-ice, without a floe, much less an ice-field, in sight. The rain had produced a greater effect than the sun in softening the snow. Parry and Ross, in performing their pioneer duty, were often so beset in the snowy sludge, that sometimes, after trying in vain to extricate their legs, they were obliged to sit quietly down among the freezing liquid for a short time to rest themselves, and then make another attempt; while the men, in dragging the sledges by means of the shoulder-strap and rope, were often obliged "to crawl upon all-fours to make any progress at all." Observations taken on the 5th showed that latitude $81^{\circ} 45'$ had been reached. Rising at five p.m. on this day, Parry found the weather clear and fine, with a moderate breeze from the south. No land was in sight from the highest hummocks—all round to the horizon the wide white plain was full of loose, broken ice. The explorers hauled up their boats across several pieces scarcely large enough to bear the weight, and in these cases, they were careful to divide the baggage, so that, in case of the ice breaking or turning over, they should not lose the whole of it at once. The farther the party proceeded, the smaller were the pieces into which the ice was broken. The ice-blocks were much smaller in this high latitude than at any point between the position in which the explorers now were and the edge of the "pack" on which they had entered immediately after leaving the "Hecla." Amid this broken ice the men led a sort of amphibious existence for many days, and their labours were exhausting and severe in the extreme. But they bore up against their hardships and difficulties with great cheerfulness and goodwill—always hoping soon to reach the "main ice" to the northward of Spitzbergen, which Captain Lutwidge (of Phipps' expedition) had described as "one continued plain of smooth, unbroken ice, bounded only by the horizon."

On the 8th the ice met with was of a kind still lighter than any they had yet seen. On the 9th there was much rain; but in spite of it, the boats started at half-past seven p.m., crossing the loose masses, much of the surface of which consisted of the vertical needles or "penknives" already mentioned. After pushing on amid the rain, and through the melted snow, for an hour, "we halted," says Parry, "to save our shirts, which were the only dry clothes belonging to us." Soon after midnight, the rain being succeeded by one of the thickest fogs Parry ever saw, the travellers again proceeded, groping

their way almost yard by yard from one small detached mass to another. At half-past two A.M. on the 10th they reached a floe, which appeared at first a level, and a large one, but was found to be covered with immense ponds or rather small lakes of fresh water, too deep for wading. So great was the difficulty of getting forward with boats, baggage, etc., on this floe, that the party had to traverse some parts of it five times over. Halting at six A.M., after a most laborious day's journey of only one mile and three-quarters' distance in a north-north-west direction (in making which, however, many miles had been traversed), the latitude was found to be $82^{\circ} 3' N.$, the longitude $23^{\circ} 17' E.$

Heavy rain fell on the 11th, but could not keep back the party, who, having discovered a lane of water, launched the boats and rowed half-a-mile, when, the rain becoming much heavier, a halt was called, and the men got under the cover of the awnings to keep their shirts dry—"which was the more necessary," says Parry, "as we had only one spare one between every two individuals." After a slight refreshment of a little rum and a mouthful of biscuit, travelling was resumed until half-past seven the following morning, when the party stopped to take supper, and have their day's sleep. As the explorers advanced northward, the birds became scarcer, and on this last day's march only one kittiwake and a boatswain (*Lestris parasiticus*) were seen. Setting off again on the evening of the 11th in the midst of a thick, wet fog, which obliged them to put on their travelling clothes dripping wet as when they had put them off before retiring to sleep, the explorers pushed on over the floes till midnight, when they halted to dine, and obtained the altitude of the sun, which placed them in latitude $82^{\circ} 11'$. The following day was clear and fine, the thermometer standing at about 36° in the shade, and the sky delightfully bright after the recent rains and fogs. A start was again made at seven in the evening over a floe that was so intersected by ponds and by streams running into the sea, that travelling in anything like a straight line was impossible. But if anything could have compensated for the delay thus occasioned, it would have been "the beautiful blue colour peculiar to these super-glacial lakes, which is certainly one of the most pleasing tints in nature." A resting-place was reached at six A.M. on the 13th, after "having gained only two miles and a half of nothing, over a road of about four, and this accomplished by ten hours of fatiguing exertion." The latitude was now $82^{\circ} 17'$. On again over the broken ice at seven in the evening! Besides being much broken, and thus obliging the men to be constantly launching and hauling up the boats, much of the ice was so thin that it was dangerous to place any heavy package upon it, "and," says Parry, "it was often a nervous thing to see our whole means of existence lying on a decayed sheet, having holes quite through it in many parts, and which the smallest motion among the surrounding masses might have

instantly broken into pieces. There was, however, no choice except between this route and the more rugged though safer hummocks, which cost ten times the labour to pass over. Mounting one of the highest of these at nine P.M., we could discover nothing to the northward but the same broken and irregular surface; and we now began to doubt whether we should at all meet with the solid fields of unbroken ice which every account had led us to expect in a much lower latitude than this."

The night of the 13th was remarkably clear, with the most regular and beautiful "mackerel" sky Parry had ever seen. No land or indication of land was to be seen from the loftiest hummocks, some of which rose to forty feet in height; and a strong yellow ice-blink overspread the whole northern horizon. After five hours' unceasing labour, the explorers stopped to dine at half-an-hour past midnight, having only advanced a mile and a half due north, though they had traversed at least ten miles, making circuits and going over a great part of the ground three times with loads of stores. In this five hours' journey they had launched and hauled up the boats four times, and dragged them over twenty-five separate pieces of ice. The same kind of travelling was resumed after the midnight dinner. Many of the ice-masses were separated from each other about half the length of the boat-sledges, and in crossing from one to another the officers were stationed at the dangerous places to see that no precaution was omitted to secure the safe transport of the provisions. More than once, on the 14th, the men were obliged to ferry their provisions across a pool or channel upon a small piece of ice—the situation being such as to preclude making use of the boats. On such an occasion, had any accident occurred, such as the breaking, sinking, or overturning of the ice-piece, the provisions must have been irretrievably lost, and the whole party must have perished of want. The anxiety, therefore, with which this ferrying process was conducted, was altogether beyond description. Wherever the boats could be hauled across with the provisions in them, this mode of transport was preferred. While this was being done, on one occasion, the ice on which the boat rested began to sink, and then turned over on one side, almost upsetting the boat with the provisions in her. The moment was critical, and had not a number of the men instantly jumped upon the ice, and restored the balance by their weight, they might have been left entirely without provisions far out in the Polar Sea.

At six at night the expedition was again moving, but was delayed for twelve hours by heavy rain. "I had never before seen any rain in the Polar regions to be compared to this, which continued, without intermission, for twenty-one hours, sometimes falling with great violence and in large drops." On the 16th the weather was clear and fair, and, climbing to the top of a hummock forty feet in height, Parry was unable to see anything but ice,

with small patches of water. On this day the floes traversed were larger and the ice heavier than any the explorers had yet seen on the voyage. Their thickness did not generally exceed nine or ten feet, which is not more than the usual thickness of the floes in Baffin's Bay and Hudson's Strait, while it is a great deal less than the ordinary dimensions of the ice about Melville Peninsula, and not half the thickness of that which Parry had seen on the shores of the western extremity of Melville Island, "though," says the commander, "these places lie from eight to twenty degrees south of our present latitude." Towards midnight on the 18th there were smart showers of rain, with "dry, clear intervals between them, just as on an April day in England. This kind of weather, which continued for several hours, harassed the men very much, as it was too warm for working with their jackets on, and they wetted their shirt sleeves when they took them off. I think the blue sky between the clouds this night was as transparent and almost of as deep a blue as I ever saw it." Indeed the whole of the evidence adduced by Parry during this expedition, on the question of climate, goes to prove that in this, the most northern region of the Polar Sea ever visited by civilised man, the temperature of the air and of the sea were considerably higher, the ice lighter, and the climate milder than in much lower latitudes on the eastern coasts of the American continent.

From day to day the explorers continued, with noble perseverance, to push on towards the north, in the hope that, though it was now impossible they should be able to reach the North Pole during what remained of the open season, they would at least be able to reach a latitude considerably higher than had been attained by any previous expedition. On the morning of the 20th July, however, Parry made a discovery which clouded his hopes and caused him much vexation and disappointment. At noon on the day named he ascertained, by observation, that his latitude was only $82^{\circ} 36'$, "being less," he says, "than *five* miles to the northward of our place at noon on the 17th, since which time we had certainly travelled *twelve* miles in that direction." On the 21st the latitude was only $82^{\circ} 39'$, being but two miles and a quarter to the northward of the preceding day's observation, or four and a half miles to the southward of Parry's reckoning. On the 22d the expedition advanced between ten and eleven miles in a north-north-east direction; but what was the commander's disappointment to find that he had only reached latitude $82^{\circ} 43'$, or not quite four miles to the northward of the latitude observed on the preceding day, instead of the ten or eleven miles which had been actually traversed! The discouraging truth was now only too apparent. The travellers during their eight hours of daily rest and sleep *were being drifted to the southward* by the current prevailing in this part of the Polar Sea and by the north and north-west winds against which they had to contend. Though this fact was now sufficiently apparent to the com-

mander and his officers, the men were still unaware of it, and commenced their labour every day with the greatest cheerfulness and goodwill, though they were often heard to exclaim, laughingly—"We are a long time getting to this 83° !"

On the 23d four miles and a half were made in a north-north-east direction, over a road of seven and a half miles, most of which was traversed as usual three times, and the only notice of animal life in the journal for the day, is an entry to the effect that the travellers had "*heard* a rotge" or little auk. On the 24th two miles and three-quarters had been made, and when the travellers halted "for the night," at two A.M. on the 25th, so small was the ice around them, that it was with some difficulty a piece could be found sufficiently large to trust the boats upon while they rested. "Such," says Parry, "was the ice in the latitude of $82^{\circ} 45'$." On the evening of the 25th an attempt was made to resume the journey; but a snowstorm coming on, orders were given to stop, to put the awnings over the boats. At noon on the 26th, the weather having improved, Parry obtained the meridian altitude of the sun, by which he found himself in latitude $82^{\circ} 40'$; "so that," says the leader of the expedition, "since our last observation we had lost, by drift, no less than thirteen miles and a half; for we were now more than three miles to the southward of that observation, though we had certainly travelled between ten and eleven miles due north in this interval! Again, we were but one mile to the north of our place at noon on the 21st, though we had estimated our distance, made good, at twenty-three miles. Thus it appeared that for the last five days we had been struggling against a southerly drift exceeding four miles a day!"

The time had now come for Captain Parry to review the situation in which he found himself as the commander of a party of twenty-four persons, who had made their nightly bivouac for weeks upon floating ice-floes, who had now reached a sea over which no keel had ever ploughed, who had no resources except the provisions they carried with them, and of which any of the accidents to which they were constantly liable might deprive them at any moment, and whose daily efforts to push on northwards were all but neutralised by a southward drift. For some time past it had been evident to himself and his officers that the ice with which they had to contend was so broken and rough, and its drift to the southward so great, that they could not hope for anything but a very moderate share of success in travelling to the northward. Still, they had been anxious to reach the highest latitude possible under the circumstances; and with this view—although the great object of the expedition, the attainment of the latitude of 90° , had long been regarded as hopeless—they had continued their northern journeys for thirty-five days, or until half their resources were expended and the middle of the season reached. "For the last few days," says Parry, "the eighty-third

parallel was the limit to which we had ventured to extend our hopes ; but even this expectation had become considerably weakened since the setting in of the last northerly wind, which continued to drive us to the southward during the necessary hours of rest, nearly as much as we could gain by eleven or twelve hours of daily labour. Had our success been at all proportionate to our exertions, it was my full intention to have proceeded a few days beyond the middle of the period for which we were provided. But this was so far from being the case that I could not but consider it as incurring useless fatigue to the officers and men, and unnecessary wear and tear for the boats, to persevere any longer in the attempt. I determined, therefore, on giving the people one entire day's rest, which they very much needed, and time to wash and mend their clothes, while the officers were occupied in making all the observations which might be interesting in this latitude ; and then to set out on our return on the following day." These intentions were communicated to the men, who, though much disappointed in learning how unavailing had been their exertions, cheerfully set about their preparations for the return voyage.

The interest of Parry's last Arctic voyage reaches its climax at the time when the expedition attained its northernmost point. "This," says the commander himself, "was probably at seven A.M. on the 23d, when, after the midnight observation, we travelled, by our account, something more than a mile and a half, which would carry us a little beyond $82^{\circ} 45'$." This is the highest latitude ever actually reached by any Arctic explorer down to the present date, so that the name of Parry still heads the list of the explorers in Arctic seas. In lat. $82^{\circ} 45'$ the explorers had reached a point only 172 miles distant from the "Hecla," but in reaching this point they had traversed 292 miles, of which about 100 were performed by water previously to entering on the ice ; and as by far the greater part of the distance on the ice was travelled over three, and not unfrequently five, times, the entire distance travelled may be set down at 580 geographical, or 688 statute, miles—or about the entire distance from the position of the "Hecla" to the Pole in a direct line.

The day set apart for rest previous to commencing the return voyage was warm and pleasant. The explorers displayed their ensigns and pendants during the day ; "and," says Parry, "sincerely as we regretted not having been able to hoist the British flag in the highest latitude to which we had aspired, we shall perhaps be excused in having felt some little pride in being the bearers of it to a parallel considerably beyond that mentioned in any other well-authenticated record."

The return journey was commenced on the 27th at 4.30 P.M., and Parry states, that "dreary and desolate as were the scenes we were about to leave, we never turned homewards with so little satisfaction as on this occasion."

We cannot share in the commander's generous regret. He was not returning from the discovery of another Lancaster Sound, or from exploring the shores of a new Regent's Inlet (and thus bringing previously unknown regions within the compass of geographical knowledge, and pointing out new fishing grounds, in which our whalers have reaped splendid harvests for half a century), as he had done on earlier voyages; but he had carried the British flag to remoter regions than had ever been reached before, and thus conferred a lustre upon the naval renown of his country which has remained undimmed down to the present day.

It has not been our practice to describe return voyages in detail. Exploration usually terminates, and the interest of a voyage of discovery culminates, at the point where the explorers find it necessary to steer for home. Besides, the return from an Arctic enterprise is generally conducted with as much expedition as possible, and as hunger usually spurs the energies of the retreating navigator, there is but little time spent in making observations of any kind. Parry's party were not without this wholesome incentive to activity on their retreat to the "*Hecla*." On the 7th August, while the men were detained in the boats by rain, a fat she-bear crossed over a lane of water to visit them, and approaching the boats within twenty yards, was killed by Lieutenant Ross. "The scene which followed," says Parry, "was laughable even to us who participated in it. Before the animal had done biting the snow, one of the men was alongside of her with an open knife, and, being asked what he was about to do, replied that he was going to cut out her heart and liver to put into the pot, which happened to be then boiling for our supper. In short, before the bear had been dead an hour, all hands of us were employed, to our great satisfaction, in discussing the merits, not only of the said heart and liver, but a pound per man of the flesh; besides which, some or other of the men were constantly frying steaks during the whole day over a large fire made of the blubber." On the 11th, open water was reached, and the sea was found dashing with heavy surges against the outer masses of ice on the southern edge of the pack. On one of these masses the boats were drawn up, and the last meal the explorers were to eat on the ice upon which they had lived for forty-eight days was prepared. The boats were then launched, and sail was made for Table Island, which was reached in safety next day. On the 21st Parry and his companions reached the "*Hecla*" without mishap, after an absence of sixty-one days, and after travelling 1127 statute miles.

The homeward voyage of the "*Hecla*" commenced on the 28th August. The weather was beautifully fine, and the sun was seen by Parry, for the first time for four months, to dip his lower limb into the sea at midnight and then at once to rise again. All around the northern coast of Spitzbergen, where in May and June not a hole of clear water had been found,

not a single mass of ice was now to be seen in any direction. The voyage was prosperous and uneventful, and on the 23d September the "Hecla" reached the Orkney Isles, whence Captain Parry took passage in the revenue cutter "Chichester" to Inverness. On the 29th the famous navigator reported himself arrived, at the Admiralty, London. By a singular coincidence Captain Franklin had arrived from his second expedition to the Polar Sea on the same day as Parry, and the two great seamen, arriving at the Admiralty within ten minutes of each other, were not more surprised than delighted at this most remarkable and unexpected *rencontre*.

The "Hecla" was paid off on the 1st November, and for the last time Parry hauled down his pendant. His work as an Arctic explorer was done, although to his latest years he continued to take the greatest interest in Arctic enterprises, and continued to afford the Admiralty the most valuable advice and assistance in equipping subsequent expeditions. It is gratifying to reflect that the value of the work he had accomplished was amply and generously appreciated by all classes of his countrymen. For months after his return he was received with enthusiasm wherever he went. Distinctions were showered upon him both at home and on the Continent. He received a most generous letter from Lord Melville, the head of the Admiralty, in which his own extraordinary exertions and those of his boats' crews were duly acknowledged. The remainder of his professional career was distinguished, and some time after his death, 8th July 1855, the *Times*, in speaking of his services, said, with a truth that remains unimpeachable to the present day: "No successor on the path of Arctic adventure has yet snatched the chaplet from the brow of this great navigator. Parry is still the champion of the North!"