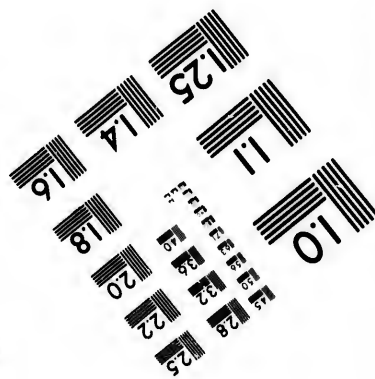
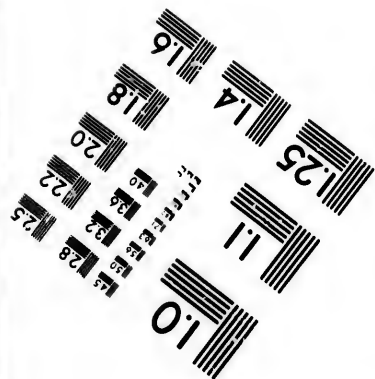
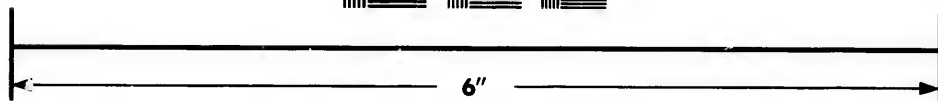
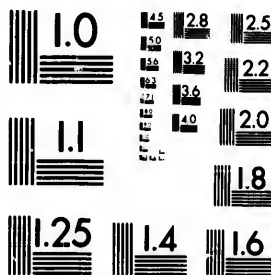


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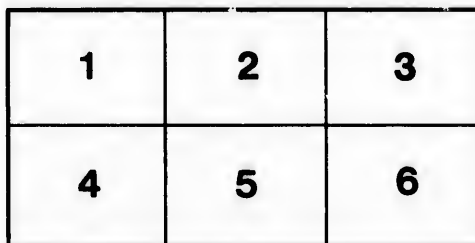
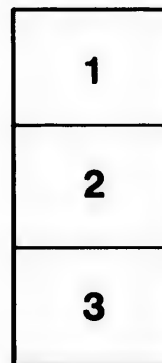
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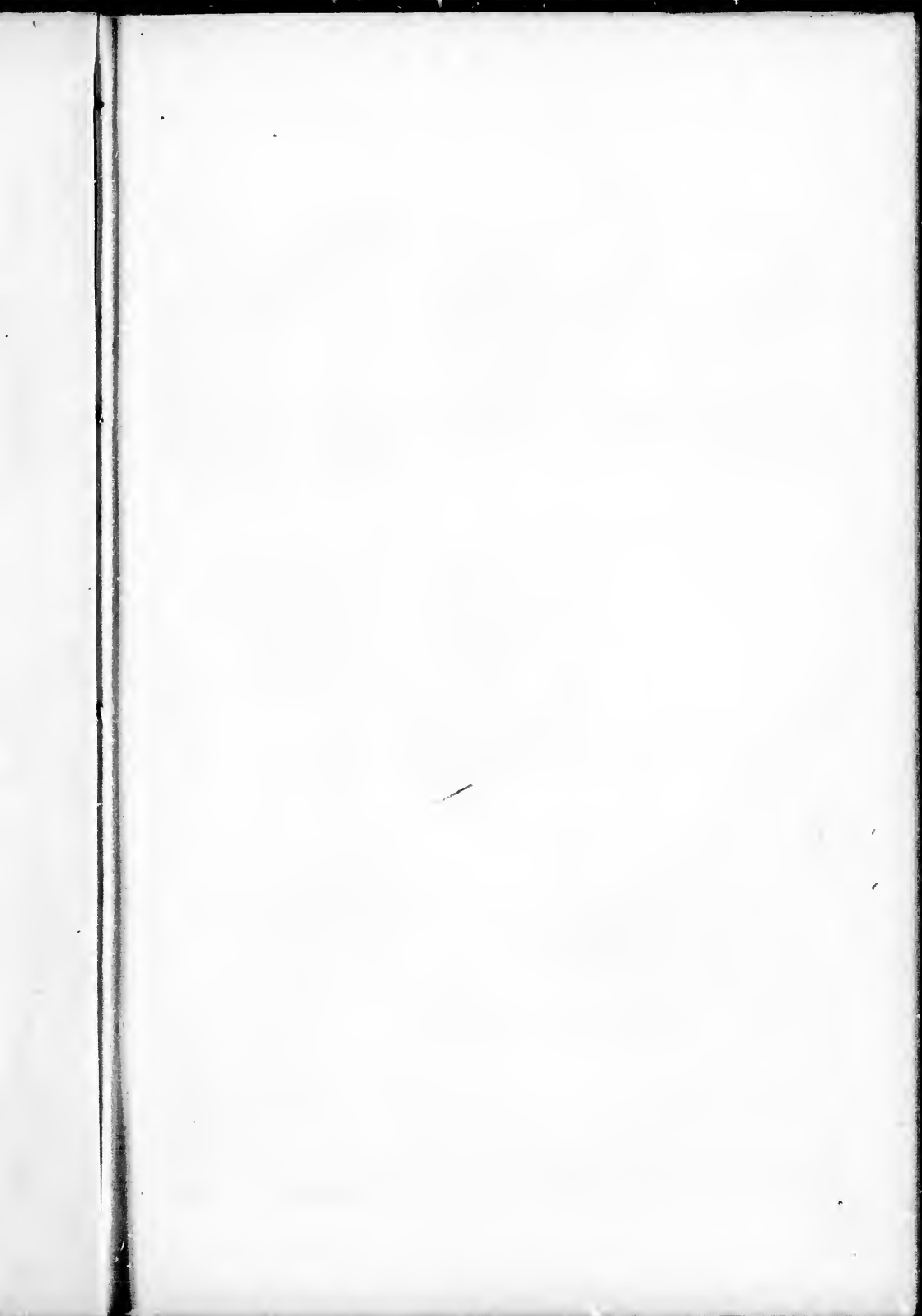
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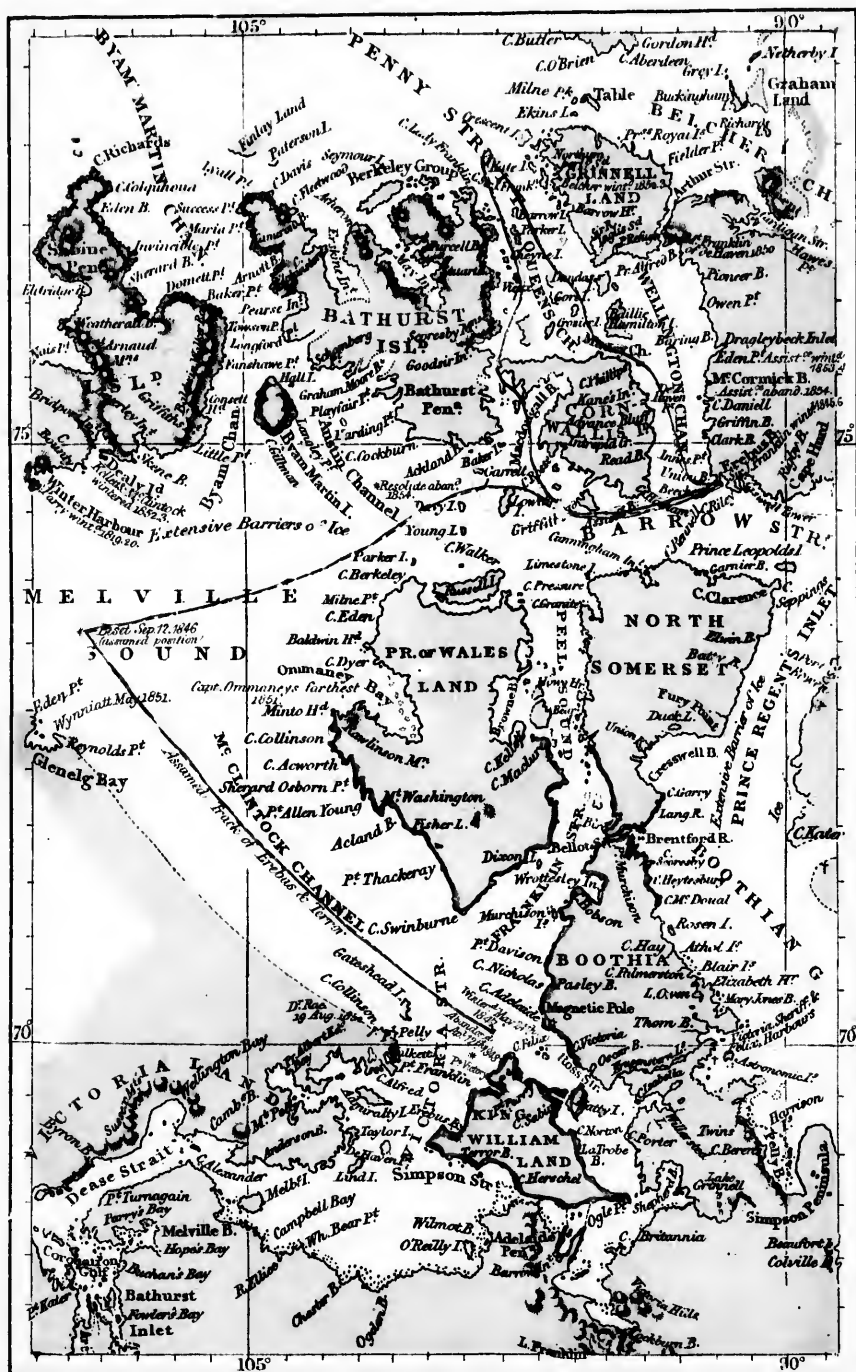
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A SEQUEL
TO THE
NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.





A SEQUEL
TO THE
NORTH-WEST PASSAGE,
AND THE
PLANS FOR THE SEARCH
FOR
SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

A Review.

BY JOHN BROWN, F.R.G.S.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES OF COPENHAGEN.

"A mighty maze! but not without a plan."—POPE.

"Here, on a single plank thrown safe ashore,
I hear the tumult of the distant throng."—YOUNG.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY E. STANFORD,
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1860.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN the Preface to the former edition of the "North-West Passage, and the Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin," we felt it our duty, in following out the subject of the Search for the Franklin Expedition, strenuously to urge the imperative necessity for renewed exertion, if we would clear the mystery clouding the movements and the fortunes of our long-missing countrymen.

We did so under a sincere conviction, that that which was wrapt in darkness and gloom—the mystery—was a creation of our own; it was therefore the more our duty to unravel and dispel it. It had already been seen that the spirit of the original Plan of Sir John Barrow, and the Instructions (of 1845) based upon it, for Sir John Franklin's guidance, had been departed from; they no longer ruled as the text on which to found our measures for the recovery of the Expedition. On the contrary, they were altogether ignored, their intent set aside—why? To give place to chimeras of the brain. *Imagination*, wayward, assumptive and unsteady, reigned: the sad results we know; could other be expected? The lost were not found, and yet the search was not complete. To let the subject rest was incompatible with the nation's honour. We felt, in short, that it was England's duty to persevere to the end. These considerations, from their very seriousness, induced us earnestly in our Work to recall attention to the primary object and plan of the voyage; we pointed out the area yet to be searched, its circumscribed limits, its

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

casiness of access, and its inexpensive cost; and over and above all, we observed that it was in the true direction involved in the intent of Sir John Franklin's Instructions. The Government declined to act—"Enough had been done." That Government, which had with such prodigal pertinacity directed the Search in a *wrong* direction, now refused all pecuniary aid to complete that which it had left incomplete in a right one. It was left to the high-minded English wife—Lady Franklin—to do it, if to be done at all. With pious hope, and undespairing energy, Lady Franklin and her friends made the attempt, and have succeeded. Her Final Expedition has uplifted the mysterious veil. To record and perpetuate her noble conduct, the talent, the daring, and the energy of M'Clintock, Young, Hobson, and the other officers, and gallant little crew of the "*Fox*," this Sequel is published.* Their conduct, shown in their deeds, tells us that the chivalrous spirit of our ancestors, the "Old Worthies," still animates us as a nation. May this spirit be ever cherished; for by it England became great, and with it will continue so to the end.

J. B.

SCALEBY LODGE, CAMDEN ROAD,
August, 1860.

* We here would acknowledge our obligation to Mr. JOHN MURRAY, the eminent Publisher of Albemarle Street, for the fac-simile of the precious Record found at Point Victory. On our application, he, with a most kind and generous feeling, at once acceded to our request, and permitted us to have the number of copies we required. We have had, on another occasion, to thank Mr. Murray for his liberality.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN the Introduction to the First Edition of the "North-West Passage, and the Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin," in referring to the Relics found and brought home by Dr. Rae and Captain Collinson, R.N., we pointed out that while "they indicated the probable locality of the Franklin Expedition, its weal or woe was as inexplicable as ever," and "we thought they had not received sufficient attention." In that work we endeavoured to trace whence these relics came, and in the course of doing so proved that a Strait must exist running out of Melville or Parry Sound to the S.E., in the direction of King William Island. Looking to the original Plan and Instructions for the voyage, and there being no evidence to show that Sir John Franklin was unable to complete the object for which he was sent, we suggested the route he would take, the probable position in which the *Erebus* and *Terror* would be found; and on the *charts* appended to the work, this assumed track is laid down. The existence of the Strait has since been confirmed by Captain Allen Young, and is now distinguished by the name of the enterprising and talented commander of the *Fox*, M'Clintock Channel; and the soundness of our views regarding the position of the ships has also been verified by the recovery of the precious Record at Point Victory by Lieutenant (now Commander) Hobson, clearly proving that all search by the North was, as we expressed it, "the pursuit of a myth." The Record does indeed tell us that Franklin

really did ascend the Wellington Channel—no doubt from finding his passage West and South obstructed—but this we can only regard as an experiment. His subsequent route, there is as little doubt, was in the line of his Instructions. Surprise has often been expressed that no notices or records of the Franklin Expedition have been found by the searching squadrons. If we calmly reflect on the route he was directed to take, abundant reasons will be afforded in answer:—First, Beechey Island is on the North side of Barrow Strait, and Franklin's route lay along the South side; he would conclude, therefore, that he would not be looked for on the North, and to leave a record unnecessary. Secondly, his first point for leaving such document would be Cape Walker: but that Cape has never been found accessible by water,—it may not have been accessible to him; and, to avoid loss of time, he would pass on to the westward. His course would then lie to the S.W., and this would take him clear of the Parry Group; hence no traces have been found on the *South* sides of those Islands. After this, he would have no chance of leaving a record on any then known land until, being beset, he had drifted through M'Clintock Channel down on to King William Island, and hereabouts the first records are found. We regret the unknown space between Gateshead Island and Wynniatt's furthest was not examined, for here our hope rests that more information regarding the Expedition will be found. Captain M'Clintock had intended to have examined this space, but from circumstances—finding the Record, &c.—he did not deem it necessary; for these various reasons we find no previous records or indications of the movements of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. We have felt it our duty, in justice to the memory of the great and good Franklin, to say thus much.

The voyage of the *Fox* has set at rest the fate of Sir John Franklin and part of the officers and crews—we would that we knew the end of the remainder, and that the journals, &c., had been recovered; about these, and whether Franklin was enabled to realize the plan of the voyage, there is yet mystery. We conscientiously believe he did, to the letter.

We have ever advocated *Arctic Facts over Arctic Opinions*, hence we

find ourselves in the present case differing from high Arctic authority as to the route the *Erebus* and *Terror* took to arrive at their known position; we have no doubt it was *by Melville Sound and M'Clintock Channel, and not by Peel Sound and Franklin Channel.*

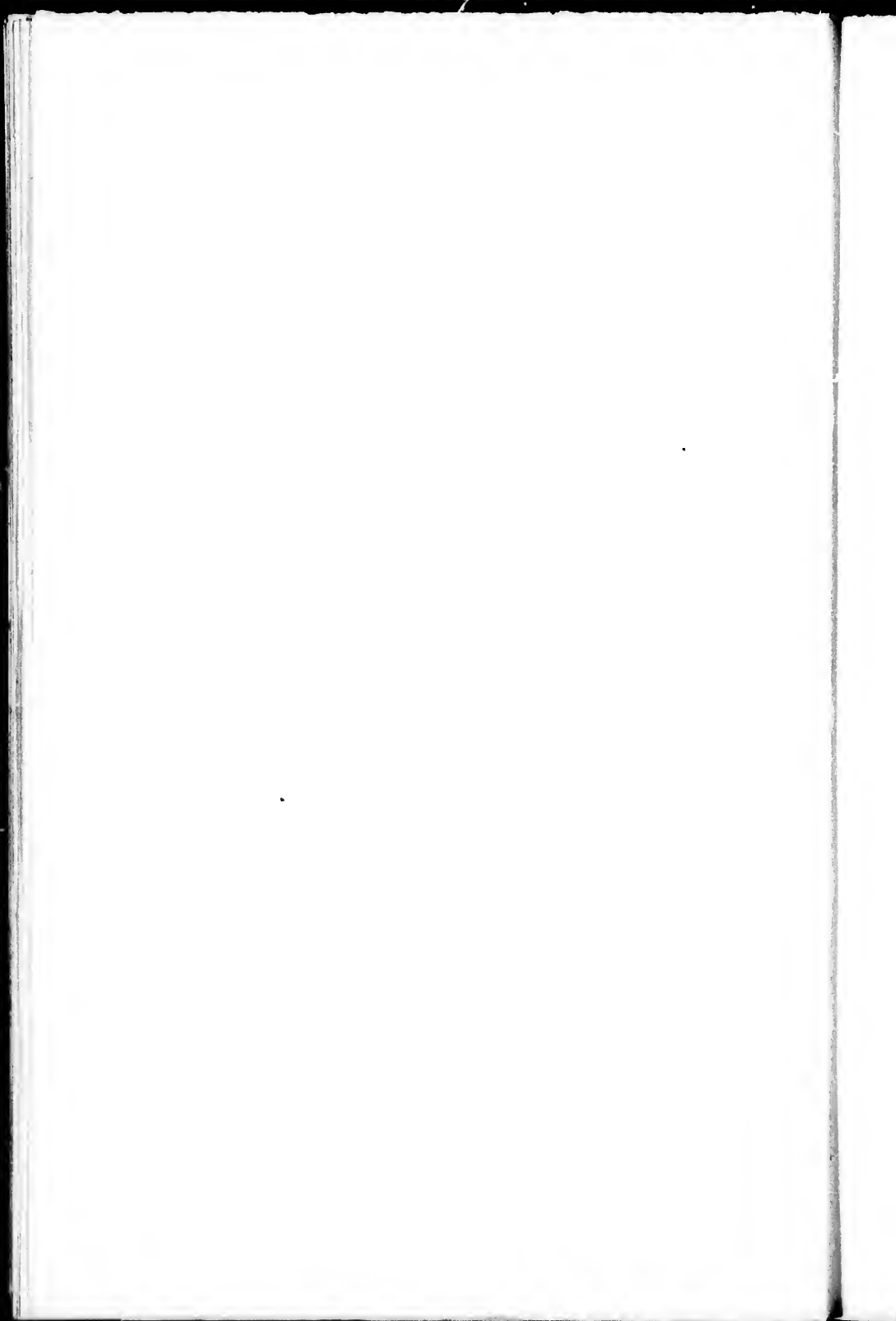
It cannot but be regretted that the search should have been made by the North. Time was lost, and labour, suffering, and suspense uselessly endured, while Melville Sound was altogether neglected.

During our inquiries into the various plans and results we have expressed our opinions frankly, but we hope without prejudice, much less malice: our object was Truth. Here, again, we would repeat our admiration of our Arctic officers and men, founded on the sincere conviction that, with rare exceptions, they have nobly done their duty, and deserve well of their country.

We feel that the history of Arctic enterprise has yet to be written; the mass of facts our Arctic Expeditions have gathered, have yet to be collected and recorded. Proud should we be if the materials we have brought together could be made available, and contribute to so desirable an end.

J. B.

SCALEBY LODGE, CAMDEN ROAD,
August, 1860.



A SEQUEL, ETC.

CHAPTER XX.

FINAL EXPEDITION—LADY FRANKLIN'S INSTRUCTIONS—M'CLINTOCK—YOUNG—HOBSON—CREW—THE OLD SPIRIT—DR. RINK—SPIRIT MANIFESTATION—GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—COLLINSON—LETTERS—FOX BESET—DRIFT—LETTERS, POND'S BAY—DR. HAYES, U.S. EXPEDITION—ARRIVAL OF FOX—REPORT—BEECHY ISLAND—PEEL SOUND—BELLOT STRAIT—PORT KENNEDY—DEPOTS—CAPE VICTORIA—ESQUIMAUX—A SHIP CRUSHED—SPRING JOURNEYS—SLEDGE PARTIES START—ESQUIMAUX REPORT—A SECOND SHIP LOST—FATE OF CREW—M'CLINTOCK AND HOBSON PART—M'CLINTOCK DOWN THE EAST SIDE OF KING WILLIAM ISLAND—HOBSON FOR THE WEST SIDE—MONTREAL ISLAND—BACK'S FISH RIVER—M'CLINTOCK RETURNS TO KING WILLIAM ISLAND—SKELETON—CAPE HERSCHEL—NOTE FROM HOBSON—POINT VICTORY—RECORD LEFT BY GORE—DEATH OF FRANKLIN, ETC.—SHIPS ABANDONED, 1848—105 MEN LANDED—BOAT AND TWO SKELETONS—RETURN TO SHIP—YOUNG RETURNS FROM PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND—NEW STRAIT—EFFECTS ON YOUNG AND HOBSON—FOX RETURNS TO ENGLAND—M'CLINTOCK'S REMARKS—RECEPTION—LADY FRANKLIN—SUCCESS OF FINAL EXPEDITION—MISS CRACROFT—M'CLINTOCK—RESULTS OF VOYAGE—SERVICES RECOGNIZED BY THE QUEEN—KNIGHTED—DUBLIN MELTING—FREEDOM OF LONDON—GEOGRAPHICAL MEDALS AWARDED TO LADY FRANKLIN AND M'CLINTOCK—REWARDS—COPY OF RECORD—REMARKS ON IT.

1857.—WE closed our last chapter with the departure of Lady Franklin's Final Expedition, the *For*, to search out and bring back her husband, and the long-sought officers and crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, or ascertain their fate—that last sacrifice of conjugal devotion. The only Instructions Capt. M'Clintock could prevail on Lady Franklin to give him are comprised in the following letter, dated Aberdeen, June 29, 1857:—

"My dear Capt. McClintock,

"You have kindly invited me to give you 'Instructions,' but I cannot bring myself to feel that it would be right in me in any way to influence your judgment in the conduct of your noble undertaking; and indeed, I have no temptation to do so, since it appears to me that your views are almost identical with those which I had independently formed before I had the advantage of being thoroughly possessed of yours. But had this been otherwise, I trust you would have found me ready to prove the implicit confidence I place in you by yielding my own views to your more enlightened judgment; knowing, too, as I do, that your whole heart also is in the cause, even as my own is. As to the objects of the Expedition, and their relative importance, I am sure you know that the rescue of any possible survivor of the *Erebus* and *Terror* would be to me, as it would be to you, the noblest result of our efforts.

"To this object I wish every other to be subordinate; and next to it in importance is the recovery of the unspeakably precious documents of the Expedition, public and private, and the personal relics of my dear husband and his companions.

"And lastly, I trust it may be in your power to confirm, directly or inferentially, the claims of my husband's Expedition to the earliest discovery of the Passage, which, if Dr. Rae's report be true (and the Government of our country has accepted and rewarded it as such), these martyrs in a noble cause achieved at their last extremity, after five long years of labour and suffering, if not at an earlier period.

"I am sure that you will do all that man can do for the attainment of these objects; my only fear is that you may spend yourselves too much in the effort; and you must therefore let me tell you how much dearer to me, even than any of them, is the preservation of the valuable lives of the little band of heroes who are your companions and followers.

"May God in His great mercy preserve you all from harm amidst the labours and perils which await you, and restore you to us in health and safety as well as honour! As to the honour I can have no misgiving. It will be yours as much if you fail (since you *may* fail, in spite of every effort) as if you succeed; and be assured, that, *under any and all circumstances whatever*, such is my unbounded confidence in you, you will possess and be entitled to the enduring gratitude of

"Your sincere and attached friend,

"JANE FRANKLIN."

The steam yacht *Fox*, 177 tons, Capt. F. L. McClintock, with its noble little band of twenty-five souls, did not really get away from Aberdeen to pursue her *lone voyage*, until July 2nd, 1857, having grounded on the bar going out, but escaped unhurt;—ill omen of the future, but, like omens, false as absurd. We have said *lone voyage*, but though alone, few vessels have ever sailed freighted with greater hope, notwithstanding the previous nine years' fruitless search; or bearing with them such sincere good wishes, such kind sympathies, as did the gallant inmates of the *Fox*. As to Lady Franklin, every one felt that she had, in her self-devotion and sacrifice of fortune,

indeed done her duty; and deep was the commiseration and solicitude for her—many a prayer was then offered up that her *final effort* might be crowned with success, and succour extended, if only *to one of the survivors of that ill-fated Expedition*: all hoped and trusted that it might please Him to bless it, *as the Final Expedition*. This experience of public opinion, says her gallant Commander, “confirmed my own impression, that the glorious mission entrusted to me was in reality a *great national duty*.”* An Expedition would seem to imply the employment of one or more vessels on an arduous service, especially when directed to realms of everlasting ice—adamantine rocks afloat!—frost, and storm, where danger lurks on every side; but *the little Fox was to pursue her way alone*. The Government, whose prodigal but misdirected efforts had ended in useless results, refused its aid; and the Admiralty, “unwilling to incur fresh responsibility,” *turned aside to let her pass*. *Isolated, she* passed to fulfil her sacred mission; and that which was the nation’s duty was left to be executed by the devotion, energy, and pecuniary sacrifice of an anxious, sorrow-stricken woman. “I could not but feel,” says Capt. M’Clintock, “that the effort became still more remarkable, and worthy of approbation, when its means were limited to one little vessel, equipped and provisioned more according with the limited resources of a private individual than with those of the public purse. The less the means, the more arduous I felt was the achievement. The greater the risk—for the *Fox* was to be launched alone into the turbulent seas from which every other vessel had long been withdrawn—the more glorious would be the success, the more honourable even defeat, if defeat awaited us.”† But who are the noble-hearted fellows—who the leaders of this forlorn hope, who, for the achievement of a national object, unaided by the Government, dare think they can do without it—who each by their own act doth “*disable himself from all demands for his salary, and paines taking, if he discover not?*” Who? Capt. F. L. M’Clintock, R.N.‡—Who? Capt. Allen Young,§ the “merchant-sailor.”—Who? Lieutenant Hobson,

* See the “Voyage of the *Fox* in the Arctic Seas,” by Capt. now Sir Leopold M’Clintock, R.N., p. 11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 12.

‡ See the preface to the above, by Sir R. I. Murchison, pp. ix—xi, and pp. 7, 8; and the “Dublin University Magazine,” February, 1860, p. 208. See “Plans,” &c., p. 441.

§ Capt. Allen Young gave his services, and £500 contribution, to the “Final Search.”

R.N.*—Who? Dr. Walker.†—And last, not least, who? Petersen.‡ And the more humble of this distinguished band, M'Clintock, says,—"I cheerfully accepted the command; my whole heart was in the cause. How could I do otherwise than devote myself to save at least the record of faithful service, even unto death, of my brother officers and seamen? I could not willingly resign to posterity the honour of filling up even the small remaining break upon our maps." Let it suffice. The Commander, and Hobson, and Petersen, had been nursed amid ice and storm, and were distinguished: and where not so reared, an ardent but sound experience, gathered from the oceans of other climes, *sans* fear, joined with a noble generosity; these claimed for Allen Young a post among this select but noble *little band*, as did also the scientific attainments of the accomplished surgeon, Dr. Walker. For the rest let M'Clintock speak:—"Many worthy old shipmates, my companions in the previous Arctic voyages, most readily volunteered their services, and were as cheerfully accepted; for it was my anxious wish to gather around me well-trying men, who were aware of the duties expected of them. Hence, out of the twenty-five souls composing our small company, seventeen had previously served in the Arctic search." "Expeditions of this nature," he adds, "are always popular with seamen, and innumerable were the applications—still more abundant were the offers to "serve in any capacity," which poured in from all parts of the country, from people of all classes, many of whom had never seen the sea. It was, of course, impossible to accede to any of these latter proposals; yet, for my own part, I could not but feel gratified at such convincing proofs that the *spirit* of the country was favourable, and that the ardent love of hardy enterprise still lives amongst Englishmen as of old; to be cherished, I trust, as the most valuable of our national characteristics—as that which has largely contributed to make England what she is,"§ at once the pride and envy of the world.

The *Fox* sailed. With such a band of "heroic" spirits what might not hope anticipate! "How busy, how happy, and how full of hope, we all were then!"|| says M'Clintock. "Our views and opinions as to the course Franklin took, and the position of the Expedition at this time, were well known,¶ as well also our ideas

* Hobson had served in the Arctic search in Behring's Straits.

† Dr. Walker, scientific and accomplished.

‡ Petersen was with Penny and Kane.

§ "Voyage of the *Fox*," pp. 4, 7, 8.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¶ See "Plans," &c., pp. 364–368; 438 *et* 443.

of the routes by which the important area to be searched might be reached, and its thorough examination accomplished. Thus ended 1857.

1858.—Pursuing our plan, we shall jot down every fact connected with Arctic enterprise, touching the elucidation of the fate of our unfortunate countrymen, the unhappy sufferers on board the *Erebus* and *Terror*. April 12th, at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, Dr. N. Shaw read a paper from Dr. Rink, of Copenhagen, "on the supposed discovery of the North Coast of Greenland, and an open Polar Sea, by Dr. E. K. Kane, U.S.N." After some observations on glaciers, especially the "Humboldt Glacier" of Dr. Kane, he says, "It is really nothing more than what may be noticed in most upper Greenland fiords." He opposes Kane's theory of a Polar Sea, throws great doubt on Morton's statements, and points out the errors of the northern positions, arising from Kane's having taken the mean of meridional observations and dead reckoning.*

In May, one of the oracles of spiritualism, or spirit manifestation, declared he had had frequent intelligence from Sir John Franklin up to May 2nd, 1858, when he died; and by some this monstrous absurdity was believed. Its falsehood we know now, as will be seen hereafter. We should not have noticed this, but to show the visionary notions afloat in our day, and their evil tendency.

May 24th.—The Royal Geographical Society presented their Founder's Gold Medal to Capt. Richard Collinson, R.N., for his valuable services in the Arctic regions. Never was medal more appropriately awarded.

In August, letters were received from Capt. M'Clintock,† dated Holstenborg, May 6th, and Disco, May 24th, 1858; the substance of which we give. The *Fox*, in attempting to cross Melville Bay, to reach the north water, was stopped by the ice, August 18th, 1857, and ultimately frozen in; drifting southward with the pack, she did not get clear of her icy cradle until April 25th, 1858. She was beset in lat. $75\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and drifted, in 242 days, to $63\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., long. $58^{\circ} 25'$ W. = 1,194 geographical or 1,385 statute miles. The whole period of this lengthened winter drift was one of painful suspense; and the day she broke her icy fetters must have been one of fearful anxiety to the mind-worn M'Clintock; he says, "After yesterday's experience I can under-

* See "Plans," &c., p. 398; also, "Arctic Explorations by Dr. Kane, U.S.N.," p. 388, Position li.; and "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. ii., No. iv., p. 195.

† See *Times*, August 26th and 28th.

stand how men's hair has turned grey in a few hours. Had self-reliance been my only support, and my hope, it is not impossible but I might have illustrated the fact. But we have been brought safely through, and are truly grateful, I hope and believe."* This intelligence was disheartening to the friends at home, still, no ways daunted, McClintock writes cheerfully on:—"The vessel has behaved admirably in the struggle, and is unscathed." "Should I," he adds, "ever have to pass through such an ice-covered, heaving ocean again, let me secure a passage in the *Fox*." Satisfied with the original plan, his vessel and his crew, provisions, &c., the gallant officer resolves at once again to return to the north to carry out the great object of the voyage—the succour of Franklin and his crews. He only regrets the inevitable delay; the suspense of another year to Lady Franklin; and the unavoidable expense of wages. The press now generally advocated the cause of the suffering, devoted wife.

October 4th, 1858.—Letters were again received from the *Fox* by the *Diana*, steam whaler, Capt. J. Gravill, Jun.† On the 28th July, Capt. McClintock was in the north part of Pond's Bay, and was last seen on the 3rd August plying up to it to make inquiry about a wreck he had heard of. He had thus happily passed the much dreaded Middle Ice. The little *Fox*, in ascending to the north, had grounded on a rock near Buchan, or Cone Island, and great apprehensions for a time prevailed for her safety; but fortunately she got off easily, and without injury. The natives still adhere to the report of ships visited in 1819; but it was two, not four as was understood at the time.‡ They had got 1,500 rotchies in addition to their provisions.

December 16th, 1858.—In a paper read before the Geographical and Statistical Societies of New York, Dr. Isaac J. Hayes, surgeon of the second Grinnell Expedition, under the late lamented Dr. Kane, U.S.N., detailed the plan of his proposed expedition up Smith's Sound with the object of confirming Dr. Kane's discoveries, especially that of the existence of Morton's Polar Sea.§ He intended to proceed along Grinnell's Land as far north as practicable with the vessel, and winter; from thence to the north and establish depots, and then on north again by a boat mounted on sledges, to the open sea. He expected to find the open water in lat. 80° N. By taking the western side of the channel, he hoped to avoid the difficulties that beset Dr.

* "Voyage of the *Fox*," pp. 108, 109.

† See *Times*, Oct. 4th and 5th. Letters of John Barrow, Esq., and Captain Collinson, R.N.

‡ See "Plans," &c., p. 96.

Ibid., pp. 397, 398.

Kaue, experience having shown that the hummocky ice was set down on the eastern or Greenland shore, while on the other it was free. He thought he should be able to reach near Cape Frazer in his vessel, and in a favourable season even to the open water of Kennedy Channel; he combated the strictures of Dr. Rink on Morton's observations,* &c., and insisted that an open sea always existed. The proposed expedition to consist of a vessel 100 tons and 12 men, and he hoped to start in the spring of 1860.

1859.—The cheering intelligence of last year that the *Fox* had passed the middle ice of Ballin's Bay, and had reached Pond's Bay in safety, gave assurance that the limited area for search on which so much auspicious hope and sound reason rested would be reached, rigidly searched, and the mystery solved as to the fate of the lost ones. No further intelligence could be expected for months, unless involving failure—its absence, then, augured favourably for the ultimate success of this deeply interesting Expedition. The friends of the hapless Franklin and his associates, although with heads bowed, still looked to, still rested on the future. All had the greatest confidence that what it was possible to do would be done; and surely if ever there was good reason—under Him—to rely on the efforts of man, it was here, on M'Clintock and his gallant, now sorely-tested, little band. At this time all was propitious; we had only one misgiving, and that was lest the predilection in favour of Peel Sound might lead to delay and difficulty for reasons we have before assigned.† *June*.—We may mention incidentally, "The Last Journals of Capt. FitzJames, R.N., of the Last Polar Expedition," were now published.‡ How much it is to be regretted this was not done before, deeply interesting and valuable as they are; they seem "as if they had not been."

September 21st, 1859.—Capt. M'Clintock arrived and landed at Portsmouth from the little *Fox*, having discovered a most important Record (the first) and other relics of the long-mourned missing Expedition, tending greatly to elucidate the mystery so long enveloping it. Capt. M'Clintock proceeded at once to London, and reported his arrival at the Admiralty; the *Fox* continued her course up Channel, and arrived in the East India Docks on the 23rd. We shall now refer to the proceedings of the *Fox* and her earnest little crew. This document, so M'Clintock-like, like all that have emanated from this talented officer, is most valuable. After incidentally alluding

* See "Plans," &c., pp. 338 et 415.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 362 et seq., and 443.

‡ Edited by Wm. Cunningham, Esq., M.P. Pamphlet, 8vo. Brighton: Pearce.

to their winter's ice drift of 1857-58, their arrival at Holstenborg, their departure thence (18th May, 1858) for the north, their visiting Godhaven, Upernavik, Cape York, Cape Warrender, and Pond's Bay, and ascertained from the natives there that the rumoured wrecked ships did not belong to the Franklin Expedition, but were whalers—in short, that “no rumour of the Lost Expedition had reached them,” they left Pond's Bay 6th August, 1858, and on the 11th reached Beechey Island; here they landed the marble tablet to the memory of the lost crew of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, sent out by Lady Franklin. Having supplied themselves with some coals and stores, they sailed—touched at Cape Hotham on the 16th, and sailed down Peel Strait on the 17th. Unable to get down further than twenty-five miles, their passage south being barred by unbroken ice, Capt. McClintock determined to make at once for Bellot Strait, touching on the 19th at Port Leopold. He found Prince Regent's Inlet unusually free from ice, and very little was seen during their run down to Brentford Bay, which they reached the 20th August. They found Bellot Strait, notwithstanding the doubts that had arisen, really to exist, and communicating with the western sea, averaging one mile in width by seventeen or eighteen miles in length. When they arrived, it was “filled with drift ice; but as the season advanced it became perfectly clear.” Tides strong, running six or seven miles at the springs. On September 6th, they passed through the strait without obstruction, and secured the ship to fixed ice across its western outlet. Here they remained to the 27th, constantly watching the movements of the ice in the western sea or channel; after many ineffectual attempts to get through, they returned to the eastward, selecting a snug port at the eastern entrance of the strait, which was named Port Kennedy, after the original discoverer of the strait. The ice in the western sea was observed in mid-channel broken up and drifting about; gradually the water increased, until at length the ice which intervened was reduced to three or four miles in width, but still firmly held fast by numerous islets, and withstood the autumn gales. “It was tantalizing beyond description,” says the Commander, impatient of delay, “thus to watch from day to day the free water which we could not reach, and which washed the rocky shores a few miles to the southward of us.” “During the autumn, attempts were made to carry out dépôts of provisions towards the Magnetic Pole, but these almost entirely failed, in consequence of the disruption of the ice to the southward,”—“on one occasion, to the imminent peril of Lieutenant Hobson and his party, the ice on which they were

encamped having during a north-east gale become detached and drifted off the shore; but after two days they fortunately gained the land." The winter appears to have been unusually long and stormy, and the resources of the country during eleven and a half months only yielded eight reindeer, two bears, eighteen seals, and a few waterfowl and ptarmigan. Arrangements were completed during the winter for carrying out their intended plan of search. Capt. McClintock purposed visiting the Great Fish River, and making the circuit of King William Island. To Lieutenant Hobson was allotted the search of the western shore of Boothia to the Magnetic Pole, and from Gatesend Island westward to Wynniatt's furthest; and Capt. Allen Young was to trace the shore of Prince of Wales Land from Lieutenant Brown's furthest to the south-westward to Lieutenant Osborn's furthest, and also to examine the coast from Bellot Strait northward to Sir James Ross's furthest. The early spring journeys were commenced on the 17th February, 1859, Capt. Young carrying his dépôt across to Prince of Wales Land, while Capt. McClintock and Mr. Petersen, with a quartermaster, went southwards towards the Magnetic Pole, with the hope of communicating with the Esquimaux.

On the 28th February, this latter party, when near Cape Victoria, met with a small party of natives, increased subsequently to about forty-five. Remaining four days with them, many relics were obtained, and the information "that several years ago a ship was crushed by the ice off the north shore of King William Island, but all her people landed safely, and went away to the Great Fish River, where they died. This tribe was well supplied with wood, obtained, they said, from a boat left by the white men on the Great Fish River." They reached the vessel after twenty-five days' absence, in good health, but reduced by sharp marching and severe weather: the mercury for several days after starting continued frozen.

April 2nd.—Their long-projected spring journeys commenced. Capt. McClintock was accompanied by Lieutenant Hobson as far as Cape Victoria. Before separating they met two Esquimaux families living out upon the ice in snow huts. "From them we learned," says Capt. McClintock, "that a second ship had been seen off King William Island, and that she drifted on shore at the fall of the same year. From her they had obtained a vast deal of wood and iron." Directions were now given to Lieutenant Hobson to search for the wreck, and to follow up any traces he might find upon King William Island, but, failing to find any, to carry out the original

plan of searching Victoria Land between Collinson's and Wynniatt's furthest. Capt. M'Clintock, with his party, now searched along the east shore of King William Island, occasionally passing deserted snow hats, but without meeting any natives, till the 8th of May, when, off Cape Norton, they arrived at a snow village containing about thirty inhabitants. They evinced no fear or shyness, although none had ever seen living white people before; they were willing to communicate all their knowledge and barter all their goods, but would have stolen everything. Many more relics were obtained. They could not carry away all they might have purchased. "They pointed to an inlet we had crossed," says Capt. M'Clintock, "the day before, and told us that one day's march up it, and thence four days overland, brought them to the wreck. None of these people had been there since 1857-8, at which time little remained. Most of our information was received from an intelligent old woman; she said it was in the fall of the year that the ship was forced ashore; many of the white men dropped by the way as they went towards the Great Fish River; but this was only known to them the winter following, when their bodies were discovered. They all assured us that we should find natives upon the south shore of the Great Fish River, and some of the wreck, but this was not the case; only one family was met with off Point Booth, and none at Montreal Island, or any place subsequently visited. Point Ogle, Montreal Island, and Barrow Inlet, were searched without finding anything, except a few scraps of copper and iron in an Esquimaux hiding-place." They now recrossed the Strait (Simpson's) to King William Island, and examined its southern shore without success, until the 24th of May, when, about ten miles eastward of Cape Herschel, a bleached skeleton was found, around which lay fragments of European clothing, and a small pocket-book containing a few letters; these, although much decayed, may yet be deciphered. "Judging," observes Capt. M'Clintock, "from the remains of his dress, this unfortunate young man was a steward or officer's servant, and his position exactly verified the Esquimaux's assertion, that they dropped as they walked along."

On reaching Cape Herschel next day, Simpson's Cairn was examined; the central stores had been removed, leaving the impression that records were deposited there by the retreating crews, and subsequently removed by the natives. After parting from Capt. M'Clintock at Cape Victoria, Lieutenant Hobson made for Cape Felix; at a short distance westward of it he found a very large cairn, and close to it three small tents, with blankets, old clothes, and other relics of

a shooting or a magnetic station; but although the cairn was dug under, and a trench dug all round it at a distance of ten feet, no record was discovered. A piece of blank paper folded up was found in the cairn, and two broken bottles, which may perhaps have contained records, lay beside it. The most interesting of the articles discovered here, including a boat's ensign, were brought away. About two miles further to the south-west a small cairn was found, but nothing was obtained. About three miles north of Point Victory a second small cairn was examined, but only a broken pickaxe and empty canister found. "On the 6th of May," continues the Proceedings, "Mr. Hobson pitched his tent beside a large cairn upon Point Victory. Lying among some loose stones which had fallen from the top of this cairn was found a small tin case containing a record, the substance of which is briefly as follows:—This cairn was built by the Franklin Expedition upon the assumed site of Sir James Ross's Pillar, which had not been found. The *Erebus* and *Terror* spent their first winter at Beechey Island, after having ascended Wellington Channel to lat. 77° N., and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island. On the 12th of September, 1846, they were beset in lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, and long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$ * Sir John Franklin died on the 11th of June, 1847. On the 22nd of April, 1848, the ships were abandoned five leagues to the N.N.W. of Point Victory, and the survivors, 105 in number, landed here under the command of Capt. Crozier. This paper was dated April 25, 1848, and on the following day they intended to start for the Great Fish River. The total loss by death in the Expedition up to this date, was nine officers and fifteen men. A vast quantity of clothing and stores of all sorts lay strewed about, as if every article was thrown away which could possibly be dispensed with,—pickaxes, shovels, boats, cooking utensils, ironwork, rope, blocks, canvas, a dip-circle, a sextant engraved 'Frederick Hornby, R.N.,' a small medicine chest, oars, &c. A few miles southward, across Back Bay, a second record was found, having been deposited by Lieut. Gore and Mr. Des Vœux in May, 1847; it afforded no additional information. Lieutenant Hobson continued his search until within a few days' march of Cape Herschel without finding any traces of the wreck or of natives." He left full information of his important discoveries for Capt. McClintock; therefore, when returning northward by the west shore of King William Island, he had the advantage of knowing what had already been found. After leaving Cape Herschel, the

* Is not this a misreading of the Record?

traces of natives became less numerous and less recent, and after rounding the west point of the island they ceased altogether. The shore here is extremely low and almost destitute of vegetation; numerous banks of shingle and low islets lie off it, and beyond these Victoria Strait is covered with heavy impenetrable ice. When in lat. $69^{\circ} 9' N.$ and long. $99^{\circ} 27' W.$, they came to a large boat discovered by Lieutenant Hobson a few days previously. This boat had been intended for the ascent of the Fish River, but was abandoned apparently upon a return journey to the ships, the sledge on which she was mounted being pointed in that direction. A large quantity of clothing was found in her, also two human skeletons; one of these lay in the after part of the boat under a pile of clothing; the other, which was much more disturbed, probably by animals, was found in the bow; five watches, a quantity of silver spoons and forks, and a few religious books, were found, but no journals, pocket-books, or even names upon any article of clothing. Two double-barrelled guns stood upright against the boat's side, precisely as they had been placed eleven years before; one barrel in each was loaded and cocked: there was ammunition in abundance, also thirty or forty pounds of chocolate, some tea, and tobacco. Fuel was not wanting, a drift tree lay within 100 yards of the boat; many very interesting relics were brought away by Lieutenant Hobson, and some few by Capt. M'Clintock.

On the 5th June Capt. M'Clintock's party reached Point Victory, without having found anything further. The clothing, &c., was again examined for documents, note-books, &c., without success, a record placed in the cairn, and another buried ten feet due north of it. Nothing worthy remark occurred on their return to the ship, which they reached on the 19th of June, five days after Lieutenant Hobson. The shore of King William Island between Capes Crozier and Felix, observes Capt. M'Clintock, has not been visited by Esquimaux since the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, as the cairns and articles lying strewed about, which are in their eyes of priceless value, remain untouched. If the wreck still remains visible, it is probable she lies upon some of the off-lying islets to the southward, between Capes Crozier and Herschel.

On the 28th June, Capt. Young and party returned, having completed their portion of the search, by which the insularity of Prince of Wales Land was determined, and the coast line intervening between the extreme points reached by Lieutenants Osborn and Browne discovered, also between Bellot Strait and Sir James Ross's

furthest in 1849. "Having sent back four of his men, for forty days (remarks Capt. M'Clintock) he journeyed on through fogs and gales with but one man and the dogs, . . . building a snow hut each night: but few men could stand so long a continuance of labour and privation, and its effect on Capt. Young was painfully evident. . . . Lieutenant Hobson was unable to stand without assistance upon his return on board; he was not in good health when he commenced his long journey, yet he also most ably completed his work. Such facts will more clearly evince the unflinching spirit with which the object of our voyage has been pursued than any praise of mine. We were now all on board again; as there were some slight cases of scurvy, all our treasured resources of Burton ale, &c., were put into requisition, so that in a comparatively short time all were restored to sound health." The summer proved warm, and they were able to start on their homeward voyage 9th August. They were six days closely beset near Fury Point; but, a change of wind removing the ice, their voyage was continued, almost without interruption, to Godhaven, in Disco, where they arrived 27th August, and on 1st September they sailed for England. Capt. M'Clintock says,—“From all that can be gleaned from the Record Paper, and the evidence afforded by the boat, and various articles of clothing and equipment discovered, it appears that the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror* had been deliberately arranged, and every effort exerted during the third winter to render the travelling equipments complete. It is much to be apprehended that disease had greatly reduced the strength of all on board,—far more, perhaps, than they themselves were aware of. The distance by sledge route from the position of the ships when abandoned to the boat is sixty-five miles; and from the ships to Montreal Island, 220 miles. The most perfect order seems to have existed throughout.” He concludes,—“This report would be incomplete did I not mention the obligations I have been laid under to the companions of my voyage, both officers and men, by their zealous and unvarying support throughout; a feeling of entire devotion to the cause which Lady Franklin has so nobly sustained, and a firm determination to effect all that men could do, seems to have supported them through every difficulty. With less of this enthusiastic spirit and cheerful obedience to every command, our small number, twenty-three in all, would not have sufficed for the successful performance of so great a work.” Here ends Capt. M'Clintock's Report of his Proceedings.

Thus terminated the voyage of Lady Franklin's Final Expedition,

the "lonely *Foe*." Rarely has a voyage commenced under more untoward circumstances, and ended with more success—the recovery of the priceless Record. It alone is worth all the anxiety and cost of the Expedition; for it not only proved that Lady Franklin and the projectors of the plan of the voyage were right as to the direction in which the search should be made; but showed also that the spot selected for search was wisely chosen, being within the limits of reason, and concluding that Franklin, if only enabled but partially to fulfil the first clause of his Instructions, would be brought within the influence of the south-east drift in Melville Sound.* But in proportion to the great credit reflected on Lady Franklin and her friends by the important discoveries resulting from this voyage, so was the discredit attaching to the Admiralty and the Government for withholding assistance at such a juncture. One knows not which to condemn, the heartlessness, ignorance, or meanness that ruled. It was indeed a pious object that led to the original intent of the voyage, and ought to have been respected. It was not; and but for the persistent self-sacrificing spirit of that devoted wife, the fate of the Franklin Expedition, so far as it has been revealed to us, would probably never have been known. Her conduct is a practical illustration of what an active undespairing woman's love can accomplish. How much more is it to be admired than that soul-enslaving supine faith, that, mire-kneeling, attempts nothing. Her energetic spirit has never rested, never relaxed. She may, at moments when intense feeling, with its exciting theories, prevailed and disturbed, have vibrated to the pressure; but the restraint withdrawn she ever reverted, "faithful as the needle to the north," to that true quarter that held her hapless husband and his gallant followers in ice-girt captivity. It has pleased Almighty God to bless her efforts. The veil hanging over the fate of the Franklin Expedition has been partially rent. We know now that the gallant Franklin died—died at his post. "That death was a noble ending to a glorious life." He died, too, in peace. So far, though *sad* the revelation, there is cause for thankfulness, for it relieves her from that intense withering anxiety, compared with which the painful reality is a chastened joy. He has blessed her efforts. Her husband is not restored, but his end is known. "The great navigator died in no sudden shock or great disaster; he was crushed by no iceberg; he did not starve miserably on some wandering ice floe; nor did he drift away in storm and ice-haze, which cast a veil so thick around him that the survivors can only say, 'After that

* See Map at the end of the "Plans," &c.

we never saw him more.' No; he died surrounded by messmates and friends, and in the discharge of his duty." * "The brave old man has found a not inappropriate grave in the region which is indissolubly connected with his early fame," "and a nation's sympathies and condolences await the widow. Even now there is but one sentiment among the people of England—Honour for the gallant veteran who, in the fulfilment of his mission as a pioneer of discovery, died valiantly at his post, and tender sympathizing reverence for his noble-hearted widow, who, in the depth of her true woman's love, was daunted by no obstacles until she had placed his fate beyond the reach of doubt, and paid the last tribute of sorrowing affection to his nameless grave." † Let her, then, take comfort. Will she? We trust she will. But her heart, so wrapped in all that concerns the gallant companions of her husband's glory, we fear will prevent, with her, for a while the repose she needs so much. They were her children. "If I am bereaved of my children, I am bereaved." Would that the whole secret were laid open. But, alas! this knowledge is denied even to her. We must bow. She should, too. For the future she may countenance, she may even aid, but should *no longer lead*. It is now fitting that she takes rest, and this she may, in the abiding comforting conviction, so justly her's, that as an English woman, as a sailor's wife and friend, *she has indeed nobly done her duty*. ‡ "When the world grows wiser, it will learn to recognize the great truth that such men as Franklin and his brave companions are the true Heroes who make a Nation's Glory."

The voyage of the *Fox* terminated, having achieved the great object of its intent as far as its limited means, and the uncontrollable, perverse mishaps that attended its early stage, permitted. This is altogether due, under Providence, to the enthusiastic feeling, and united, firm determination pervading this glorious little band of twenty-five souls. The difficulties that beset them at the offset were extreme. Who can contemplate the 242 days of helpless ice-drift, cold, cheerless, and monotonous, and yet full of anxiety, without participating in the disheartening influence it must have had over those

* *Times*, 23rd September, 1859.

† *Morning Star*, 24th September, 1859.

‡ Here let us not omit to mention Miss Cracroft, the niece, the cheerful companion, assistant, and fast friend of Lady Franklin, the ready writer, the never-failing indefatigable advocate for search to the end. All who have had the honour to know and converse with Miss Cracroft must have appreciated in no common degree the excellences of her head and heart; her information embraced every branch of the Great Question, and she was wholly devoted to the Holy Cause.

to whom the destinies of the "little *Fox*" were entrusted? But Lady Franklin had made a wise selection in the choice of her commander; the result proved her accurate discernment. Capt. F. L. M'Clintock had, by his Arctic antecedents, established for himself a name worthy to be enrolled among those of the "worthies" of old; hence much was expected of him: he had given promise of great deeds, and nobly has he realized the sacred confidence reposed in him. He may have been depressed by the obstacles that met his advance, but he was not disheartened. With a firm resolve *he* faced them; combatted, and in the end overcame every difficulty.

"To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield,"

seems to have ruled him; and "Hope on, hope ever!"* his motto. It has not been given to him entirely to solve the strange mystery, but he has rent the veil, and unfolded to us the fate of the great commander, Sir John Franklin; of the manly Gore, and of seven other officers and fifteen men. He has told us of the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and their subsequent loss; of the safe landing at Point Victory of Captains Crozier and Fitzjames, with the remaining officers and crews—105 souls. Has confirmed again, by other tribes of Esquimaux, the truth of Dr. Rae's report of the landing and supposed loss of a party of forty whites at Montreal Island and on the shores of the entrance of the Great Fish River. He has traced the line of march of those poor wanderers to the southward by the western side of King William Island, bringing to light the deaths of three others, and has brought home numerous precious relics, *derelicta* of that fearful exodus;† has followed their track on its southern side until all further trace was lost, obliterated by the Esquimaux's appropriation of every chance vestige dropped by the way, of priceless value to them: and, over and above all, he has established beyond all reasonable controversy, *that to Sir John Franklin is due the priority of discovery of the North-West Passage,—that last link, to forge which he sacrificed his life.* The "lonely *Fox*," notwithstanding her year's detention in the ice, and her limited means, has done more towards developing the fortunes and the fate of our unfortunate countrymen, than all the well-equipped argosies that have been sent on this melancholy mission over eleven years. The Government might well be proud of such success, if such had been their's. Added to these

* M'Clintock's mottoes seem selected to govern him:—1st. His flag, a white star on a blue field, and motto, "Lead Thou us on." Again, "Persevere to the end." There is a mind and a chivalry about them quite his own.

† These are now deposited in the United Service Museum.

are the valuable geographical discoveries made by Capt. McClinton and his indefatigable officers. The existence of Belot Strait, before doubtful, has been confirmed. The west coast of Boothia, and the east and west coasts of King William Island, have been traversed; also the coast line between Osborn and Brown's furthest, by which the insularity of Prince of Wales Land is proved, and the truth of our induction as to the existence of a strait running north-west and south-east, communicating with Melville Sound, between that island and Victoria Land, has been established.* Sir James Ross's farthest down Peel Sound has been connected with Belot Strait; and the mistaken conclusions of Kennedy and Belot regarding Peel Sound, now proved to be a strait (Franklin Channel), continuous with the Victoria Strait of Rae, rectified;† and (although it has not been much noticed) he has discovered, by the east side of King William Island, a third North-West Passage; and, besides these, large contributions have been added to science. Altogether, in whatever light this voyage is viewed, it cannot but be considered as one of the most remarkable and complete on record. It has saved England from reproach. But with unity of purpose and unanimity of feeling, guided by a McClinton, backed by a Young and a Hobson, and a gallant little band of Die-Hards, one cannot contemplate any undertaking, however fraught with risk and danger, but must succeed. "Fortune favours the brave." In the case before us she has rewarded with realization the plans which reason, courage, and perseverance framed. All these are the glorious results of Lady Franklin's "Final Expedition."‡

The intelligence of the arrival of the *Fox*, with certain information as to the fate of the Franklin Expedition, spread like a wild cry throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland. The cry was taken up by the press (to its honour), and perpetuated in all forms and in all types: thousand of pages were devoted to record it. Science wore a glad smile. The learned and the elegant in literature embalmed the glorious theme in undying language; and the poet sung pæans exultant, in every number of which verse is capable. The ephemeral at a penny, and the portly quarterly, up to six shillings, all alike joined the general exultation. It was taken up by our colonies, and re-echoed triumphantly back on the mother country.

* See "Plans," &c., pp. 364—369.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 261 et 362.

‡ "The extent of coast-line explored by Capt. A. Young amounts to 380 miles, whilst that discovered by Hobson and myself amounts to nearly 420 miles; making a total of 800 geographical miles of new coast laid down." See "Voyage of the *Fox*," p. 339.

The United States, in the warm expression of her citizens, showed how earnestly, how deeply she sympathized and rejoiced with the "fair mother." France, Germany, Russia; in short, all Europe—we may say, all the world—for the interest was universal; all were touched with feeling—regret for the departed, and gratification that at last the lost Expedition had been found. Let no man say, the spirit of our fathers, the "old worthies," no longer animates and warms us: the love of adventure and of daring enterprise is, notwithstanding the *cui bono* wail so characteristic of this utilitarian age, as strong as ever; it is felt by all classes—in the hut and in the palace; by the peasant, and by her who now graces the British throne.

No greater proof can be adduced of the old spirit prevailing within us, than in the reception and hearty greetings given to Capt. M'Clintock and his companions since his arrival. They were hailed everywhere with expressions of welcome and delight. Her Majesty, by an Order in Council, dated October 22nd, 1859, was pleased, "in consideration of the important services performed by Capt. M'Clintock, in bringing home the only authentic intelligence of the death of the late Sir John Franklin, and of the fate of the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*," to sanction the time during which he was in the Arctic Regions—viz., from June 30th, 1857, to September 21st, 1859—to reckon as time served by a captain in command of one of Her Majesty's ships; and, soon after, was further pleased to confer on him the honour of knighthood. The Universities of Dublin, Cambridge, and Oxford, conferred honorary degrees upon him. At a grand meeting held in the City of Dublin, on November 12th, the Lord Mayor presiding, a national address was presented to him, and steps taken for inaugurating a testimonial in his favour. Other recognitions of his merit emanated from various other places in Ireland. On May 19th, 1860, the City of London presented him with its Freedom in a gold mounted oaken box, value fifty guineas: and on May 28th, the Royal Geographical Society, desirous to commemorate in an especial manner the Arctic Researches of Sir John Franklin, and of testifying to the fact that his Expedition was the first to discover a North-West Passage, awarded the Founder's Gold Medal to his widow, Lady Franklin, in token of their admiration of her devoted conduct, in persevering until the fate of her husband was finally ascertained: at the same time they adjudicated to Sir F. L. M'Clintock, R.N., the Patrons' Gold Medal for his unflinching fortitude and skill, by which the precious Record unveiling the fate of Sir J. Franklin and the abandonment of the *Erebus* and *Terror* was recovered, and for his

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1848. This being Terra and Esby were discovered on the 29th April. 5 leagues N.N.W. of this being been best since 12 Sept. 1846. The Officer & Crews consisting of 105 souls - under the Command of R. M. Coggin. Land was here in Lat. 59° 33' 22" Long 98° 24' 11" W. Paper was found by the doing under the Chair supposed to have been buried by Sir James Ross in 1831 - where it had been deposited. Sir James Ross's journal has not been brought to this position which Sir John Franklin died at the 11 June 1847.

James Fitzgibbon (Captain) 11-11-47
 Capt. J. Ross 26
 Mr. (Fitzgibbon) 26
 Mr. (Fitzgibbon) 26
 Mr. (Fitzgibbon) 26

H. M. S. ship Erebus and Terra
 Wintered in the Ice in
 28 of May 1847 { Lat. 70° 5' N Long. 98° 23' W

Having wintered in 1846 - at Beechey Island
 in Lat 74° 43' 28" N. Long 91° 59' 15" W after having
 ascended Wellington Channel to Lat 77° and returned
 by the West side of Cornwallis Island.

Commander.
 John Franklin commanding the Expedition.
 All well.

WHOEVER finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, with a note of the time and place at which it was found: or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.

QUINCONQUE trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu ou il l'aura trouvé, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secetaire de l'Amirauté Britannique à Londres.

CUALQUIERA que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario del Almirantazgo, en Londres, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en donde se halló.

EEN ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzogt, om het zelve, ten spoedigste, te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota, inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

FINDEREN af dette Papiir ombedes, naar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nærmeste Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Støedit hvor dette er fundet ønskes venskabeligt paategnet.

WER diesen Zettel findet, wird hier-durch ersucht denselben an den Secretair des Admiralitets in London einzusenden, mit gefälliger angabe an welchen ort und zu welcher zeit er gefunden worden ist.

Party consisting of 2 Officers and 6 men
 left the ship on Monday 24th May 1847
 G. M. York Lieut
 Chas. Des Voeux Mate.

Aug 24
1844

1844

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the number of sheep on the 11th June 1844 and the total loss

geographical discoveries,—a graceful tribute to Arctic enterprise. We rejoice to see Lieutenant Hobson promoted. Capt. Allen Young, not being of the navy, cannot be; but is there no way by which the noble generosity and energetic services of the "merchant sailor" can be recognized, and deference shown to the genius of commerce, to whom England owes so much? Again, there is the accomplished and scientific Dr. Walker. The Arctic medal has, we hear, been awarded to each officer and man of the *Fox*, and we are delighted to find that the Civil Service estimates contain the following votes, besides others in the cause of science—£2,000 for a monument to the memory of Sir John Franklin, and his officers and crews; and £5,000 to Sir F. L. M'Clintock, and the officers and crew of the *Fox*. In granting these sums, the Government recognizes, not only the never-despairing fidelity and devotion of Lady Franklin, but also the talent, unflinching daring and perseverance, of Sir F. L. M'Clintock, and every officer and man of that noble little band engaged in the "Final Search." In doing this, the Government does honour to itself and to England.

We now give a copy of the precious Record found at Point Victory. Long has such a document been sought; but where? Alas! anywhere but where we ought to have looked for it. Let that pass.

"Yet pity weeps; yet sympathy complains."

How full of information is this document! Well may it be called precious!

"28th of May,
1847.

"H.M. ships *Erebus* and *Terror* wintered in the ice,
"in lat. 70° 05' N., long. 98° 23' W.

"Having wintered, in 1846-7,* at Beechey Island, in lat. 74° 42' 28" N., long. 91° 32' 15" W., after having ascended Wellington Channel to lat. 77°, and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island.

"Sir John Franklin commanding the Expedition.

"All well.

"Party, consisting of two officers and six men, left the ships on Monday, 24th May, 1847.

"G^m. GORE, Lieut.

"CHA^s. F. DES VŒUX, Mate."

Round the margin of the Record is written:—

"April 25th, 1848.—H.M. ships *Erebus* and *Terror* were deserted on the 22nd of April, five leagues N.N.W. of this; having been beset since 12th Sept., 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under the command of Capt. F. R. M. Crozier, landed in lat. 69° 37' 42"; long. 98° 41'. This paper was found

* There is an error here; the correct dates should be 1845-6. See the dates at the top and bottom of the record.

The vessel's position was on the 11 June 1847 and the total loss of the ship was 100 men.

by Lieutenant Irving, under the cairn supposed to have been built by Sir James Ross, in 1831, four miles to the northward, where it had been deposited by the late Commander Gore, in June, 1847. Sir James Ross' has not, however, been found; and the paper has been transferred to this position, which is that in which Sir James Ross' pillar was erected. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June, 1847, and the total loss by death in the Expedition has been, to this date, nine officers and fifteen men.

"F. R. M. CROZIER,
"Captain and Senior Officer.

"JAMES FITZJAMES, Captain
"H.M. ship *Erebus*.

"And start to-morrow, 26th, for Back's Fish River."

From the above it will be seen that the Expedition ascended the Wellington Channel to lat. 77° ; that it returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island, and wintered, 1845-6, at Beechey Island; that after leaving Beechey Island the ships were beset on September 12th, 1846,—where is not given,—and continued so, wintering in the ice until May 24th, 1847, when they were in lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$, on which day, Lieutenant Gore and Mr. Des Vœux, with six men, left the ships. All well.

On May 28th, the record is deposited in Sir James Ross's cairn (of 1831), by Lieutenant Gore. The marginal writing says it was deposited in June. May is first written, and afterwards crossed out, and June substituted, both by the same hand; it may be, therefore, that May 28th is the date of deposit going out, and June the date of return to the ships. The record is afterwards found by Lieutenant Irving, and transferred to Point Victory, where further information is added by Capt. Fitzjames—that Sir John Franklin died, June 11th, 1847; that the ships were deserted on April 22nd, 1848, five degrees to the N.N.W. of Point Victory; the officers and crew, consisting of 105 souls, landed on April 25th. Up to that date, the total loss by death had been nine officers and fifteen men, and they intended to start to-morrow (26th) for Back's Fish River. The record is then again deposited on the site of Sir James Ross's pillar, where it was found, May 6th, 1859, by Lieutenant Hobson, detached to search in that direction by Capt. McClintock.

Here we end the voyage of the *Erebus* :—

"Hope, too long deferred, became despair;
Yet one true heart still hoped the lost restored—
Lady that well deserved her absent lord;
Her every thought on his dear weal intent :—

* * * * *

Yet fruitless all; no power of mortal man
May change one tittle of the Eternal Plan."*

* Prize Poem, Oxford, June 16, 1858; by F. Law Latham, Brazenose College.

CHAPTER XXI.

REFLECTIONS—FRANKLIN UP WELLINGTON CHANNEL—CORNWALLIS AND BATHURST ISLANDS—GOODSIR AND M'DOUGALL—BEECHEY ISLAND DEPARTURE—BY WHICH CHANNEL DID THE SHIPS REACH KING WILLIAM'S ISLAND?—BELLOT STRAIT?—REMARKS—PEEL SOUND?—REMARKS—KENNEDY AND BELLOT—M'CLINTOCK CHANNEL?—OUR INVESTIGATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS—YOUNG CONFIRMS THEM—NEW YORK JOURNAL OF COMMERCE—OBSERVATIONS BY THE GRINNELLS—ON "THE PLANS FOR THE SEARCH"—OBJECTIONS TO THE WESTERN ROUTE ANSWERED—THE RECORD MISCONSTRUED—DATES MISPLACED—REMARKS—BEECHEY ISLAND, WHEN DID FRANKLIN LEAVE IT?—DATE ESTIMATED—DISTANCES OBTAINED IN BARROW STRAIT BY PARRY AND KELLETT—ESTIMATE—MELVILLE SOUND AND M'CLINTOCK CHANNEL, THEIR TREND—CURRENT AND DRIFT—FRANKLIN'S ROUTE BY MELVILLE SOUND—THE ESTIMATED TIME AND DISTANCES APPLIED—CONCLUSIONS—ALSO THE ESTIMATED TIME AND DISTANCES APPLIED TO THE ASSUMED PLACE OF BESETMENT IN THE CHART AND PLANS, ETC.—CONCLUSIONS—ERROR FOLLOWS ERROR.

IN offering our reflections on this voyage of the *Fox*, we would have it distinctly understood that, so far from wishing to detract from the merits of Capt. M'Clintock, or Young, or Hobson, or the gallant little band forming her crew, we say at once that they each and all have nobly done their duty, and each and all have our most sincere respect and admiration; for from such *stuff as these* are made of, England owes her greatness. Their heroism, their perseverance, and their fortitude, is above all praise; and as it has been truly remarked, their "endurance is supremely" their own. It has been said of England that her children "know not when they are beaten;" "truth to tell, they are beaten so seldom, that their ignorance may surely be excused. It arises entirely from want of experience."*

* See the talented article in "Sharpe's London Magazine," Nov., 1859, by Joven, p. 242.

So with Lady Franklin, and Capt. McClintock, so with the officers and crew of the *Fox*,—"they knew not when they were beaten." That fearful drift of 242 days, and 1,194 miles, knocked them down, but did not dishearten them; they got up, "turned to" again, and succeeded. In offering reflections, then, we separate *their heroic deeds* entirely from their opinions. Their deeds are their own. No honourable person will filch from or dispute them. Their opinions are open to the world.

Taking the data afforded by the Record, we will follow the Expedition. There is much in it that invites reflection. By it, it now appears that Sir John Franklin really did ascend the Wellington Channel, and that to the 77th parallel; returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island, and wintered at Beechey Island, 1845-6, showing thereby that he adopted the alternative given him by the Section 6 of his Instructions. We have always contended that Franklin would adhere rigidly to his Instructions; we believe he did so, even now. "You will not stop to examine any opening to the northward or southward in that (Barrow) Strait" (Section 5); and this apparent departure from them can be accounted for only on the assumption that he was barred out from the west by the accumulation of ice between Cornwallis and Griffith Island; and the latter and North Somerset; and finding the Wellington Channel open. In the absence of positive information, we can arrive at no other conclusion, unless we assume that he departed from his Instructions at the very offset, which we cannot admit. We consider the ascent of this forbidden channel as merely tentative. The Expedition appears to have been fortunate, both in its advance up Wellington Channel, and in its return. The Record says he returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island. This surprises us, as that island and Bathurst Island were said to be joined by a narrow isthmus. Messrs. Goodsir and Marshall (of Penny's ships), in their journey "along the north shore of Cornwallis Island, as far west as 99°," "found drift wood in a bay on the north side of a narrow isthmus which connects Cornwallis and Bathurst Islands,"* and state, "The land between Points Decision and Disappointment is about 100 feet high, with a steep slope of snow down to the sea; from Disappointment Bay, westward, it is higher. Cape Austin is a high, bluff headland, and from that point much lower to their 'furthest,' beyond which it is very low indeed, so as to make it doubtful, in some parts, which was ice and

* Sutherland's Journal of Captain Penny's Voyage, vol. ii., p. 106.

which was land." * Still they passed over it. Mr. McDougall, second master of the *Resolute*, having reported these islands to be connected, Capt. (now Admiral) Austin directed "that the whole extent should be accurately laid down;" and he was appointed to this duty. In his report, June 8th, 1851, he says:—"I had the satisfaction of tracing the land all round, with the exception of a gap, four miles in width, and this, I am inclined to think, forms the mouth of a bay, or inlet, of no great depth; the circuitous nature of the surrounding coast-line being, in my opinion, a sufficient warranty for such a supposition;" and in a side-note adds:—"The most distant points forming the gap were estimated to be twenty-five miles distant." †

Again, Commander (now Capt.) Sherard Osborn (Sir Edward Belcher's Expedition), from the north, in his endeavour to connect his own with Goodsir's furthest, advanced as far east as 98° W., thereby overlapping the latter's furthest west. The land about Drift Wood Bay he describes as "less indented and extremely low;" and at Foul Weather Bay says, "The back land on the north side recedes more, with intervening terraces, than it does on the south side; at the bottom of the bay there is a flat valley between the hills, having a very tortuous course north-westerly. On the south side, near the middle, there is a series of small cliffs, fifty or sixty feet high." ‡ "A round-topped hill, eleven miles south of his position, he thinks is probably the Wood Island of McDougall, and that Goodsir made a more northerly course than he supposed." From all this it would seem there must be some mistake somewhere.

Rejecting all unworthy rumours as to misappropriation, still we cannot but think there may yet exist some unfound record on Beechey Island. We cannot imagine Sir John Franklin would winter there and not leave some notice of his having done so. It is improbable that 134 officers and men should be fixed to one spot for ten or eleven months and not leave some note of their presence, unless under the impression that they would not be looked for on that, the north side of Barrow Strait, as they were ordered to the south-west; or the more prevalent idea that the Arctic seas were navigable even to the Pole, and therefore not necessary, as they would be *followed*. We now know they made the trial of the Wellington Channel and returned.

* See Blue Book, "Further Correspondence," &c., 1852, p. 114.

† *Ibid.*, "Additional Papers," &c., 1852, page 281.

‡ *Ibid.*, "Further Papers," January, 1855, pp. 246-8.

May they not have left a record as they passed to the north, and under this feeling have taken it up on their return?

But we leave Beechey Island, and would follow the course of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. All the talk of disaster there, or loss at Cape York on their return voyage, the Record found at Point Victory has, after eleven years of unavailing search, set at rest; we now know with certainty the position the ships reached, and when and where they were abandoned, viz., five leagues to the N.N.W. of that Point. But the question then arises, and a most important one it is, by what channel did they reach this position? There are three passages open to them from the north, as now known,—Bellot Strait *viâ* Prince Regent's Inlet; Peel Sound and its continuation by the now Franklin Channel; and Melville Sound, and by our strait, now M'Clintock Channel. Now, as Sir John Franklin was specially ordered "not to stop to examine any openings to the *northward* or *southward* in Barrow Strait, but to *push to the westward* till he had reached Cape Walker," and "from that point to use every effort to penetrate to the southward and westward;" and as the coasts between Cape Clarence and Fury Beach, and the former and Cape Walker, including Peel Sound, on both sides have been rigidly examined, and yielded not a particle of evidence to show that he passed to the southward by Regent's Inlet or Peel Sound, or was shut out from the west by the presence of ice, by what train of reasoning can we assume that he was unable to follow his instructions? But let us examine these various channels, and weigh the facilities they each afford for the passage of ships of 300 or 400 tons; and in connection with the fruitless search that has been made, test the probability of their having done so.

First. Bellot Strait was not known when the lamented Franklin sailed; still he may,—but we doubt it,—have become acquainted with it subsequently. Capt. M'Clintock, with the full power and command of steam, which Franklin had not, made six attempts to push through and failed. He says,—“An unsparing use of steam and canvass forced the ship eight miles further west, half way through Bellot Strait;” “at the turn of tide we were carried back to the eastward; every moment our velocity was increased. We were very quickly swept past it (the grounded ice) at the rate of nearly six miles an hour, within 200 yards of the rocks and instant destruction. The ice masses were large, and dashed violently against each other, and rocks lay at some distance off the southern shore.” “Bellot Strait is about twenty miles long, and scarcely a mile wide in the narrowest part;

and there, within a quarter of a mile of the north shore, the depth was 400 feet." "The great rapidity of the tides accounts for the open water." "*The flood comes from the west.*" "Considerable augmentations (of ice) were seen drifting in from the western sea." "We had been coquetting with huge rampant masses, that wildly surged about, or dashed through boiling eddies, and almost grazed the tall cliffs." "The Strait eastward of us is perfectly free, whereas in the direction we wish to proceed, there is nothing but packed ice, or water which cannot be reached. Bitterly disappointed we are; nothing but strong hope of success induced me to encounter such dangerous opposition." On a fifth attempt the *Fox* was made fast to the ice across its *western entrance, two miles from the shore.* "This ice is in large, stout fields, of more than one winter's growth, apparently immovable, in consequence of the numerous islets and rocks which rise through and hold it fast." And again, on a sixth, "The ice, hemmed in by islets, has not moved. There is now (September 1:), much water in the offing, only separated from us by the belt of islet-girt ice, scarcely four miles in width. My conviction is that a strong east wind would remove this remaining barrier." Here they remained until the 28th, and "had considerable difficulty" in returning to the eastward.* Yet Capt. McClintock is hopeful. Still, from all that has been adduced, it would seem that although, under a favourable season, a small steamer such as the *Fox*, of 170 tons, might get through into that western sea, it is most improbable that with ships of the size of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, with their limited steam power of three knots, even were Bellot Strait known to Franklin, that he would make the attempt, or, making it, would be likely to succeed. But all speculation on this point is set at rest by the fact of the stores at Fury Beach remaining untouched, which would not be the case if the Expedition had passed down Regent's Inlet, en route to Bellot Strait.

We must look elsewhere, then. The next opening offering a chance of getting south is Peel Sound. Capt. McClintock tried to get down it, but was stopped at the end of twenty-five miles, by ice similar to that described by Lieutenant Browne (Ommaney's division), 1851. *Peel Sound has never been known to be open, or free of ice.* Eminent Arctic authorities think Franklin adopted this route; but with every feeling of respect and admiration for Capt. McClintock, and those who think with him, we cannot join in this opinion. Peel Sound was known to Franklin only as Parry left it, "a seeming gap of about forty miles wide." It is true that distinguished navigator spoke

* See "*Voyage of the Fox*," pp. 181-187, et 195-6, et 201.

favourably of it; he says,—“There is no part of this sea in which we were more likely to get to the southward than immediately westward of Cape Bunny;”^{*} but how far it was navigable or extended southward, no one knew; the only inducement it held out to Franklin was the hope of its turning out a strait, connected with Dease and Simpson’s discoveries, and leading him down on the American coast, the scene of his own; but more than 300 miles intervened entirely unknown. With his Instructions unfulfilled but inviolate, unless barred out from the west, we cannot see any reason for his adopting in preference the Peel Sound route to get south by, as they pointed to the more extended and therefore more favourable opening westward of Cape Walker.

All along relying on the accuracy of vision of Kennedy and Bellet, joined with other Arctic authorities, we have strenuously opposed the idea that Peel Sound was anything otherwise than a sound. In this we must acknowledge ourselves in error; but must plead we have been led into it by those who, being on the spot, ought to be most competent to form an opinion. We thought “seeing was believing,” but in the case before us, as with the isthmus joining Cornwallis and Bathurst Islands, already adverted to, it seems even the eye may mislead, and even Arctic explorers may make mistakes. We regret it, for only on the data they furnish to us can we reason; if these are false, the fabric falls, but they alone are to blame.[†] We now know, through the indefatigable exertions of Capt. Allen Young, that Peel Sound is a strait running southward, in the direction of King William Island, and named, on the assumption that the Franklin Expedition passed down it to the position in which the ships were abandoned, “Franklin Channel;” but where is the evidence in proof? As usual, there is none. The entrances out of Barrow Strait, and both sides, have been thoroughly examined, and yielded not a vestige to support the assumption. This entire absence of all traces of their passage down affords strong negative evidence that Sir John Franklin did not adopt this route, or we should have found some record deposited at the entrance at Cape Walker, or other prominent headland on the western side, or at Cape Bunny or Possession Point on the eastern; but neither of these, or the whole long line of coasts between Capes Walker and Swinburne on the one hand, or Capes Bunny and Adelaide on the other, yielded an atom to reward the explorers. Surely if the ships passed by it some floating or other *débris* would have been

^{*} See “Parry’s Voyage,” 1819-20, p. 264.

[†] “Plans,” &c., pp. 261 *et* 264.

found, indicative of their presence; and being within 100 miles of Fury Beach, with its life-preserving stores, we should have expected to find that it had been visited, for, looking at the characteristics of "Franklin Channel," a quick passage, preventing delay, seems unlikely. But let us inquire whether a passage by it is practicable. It will be seen by the chart that it is very tortuous; that while, on the one hand, "the land is low fringed for a distance of ten miles to seaward, with an ancient land-floe,"* on the other, "it is marked with deeply indented jagged shores," intersected by islands, and bordered "with islets and rocks" along its whole course nearly down to 71° N.; it is in consequence very narrow in some places, not more than ten or twelve miles wide, and therefore specially calculated for keeping ice *in situ*, or arresting and detaining its floating drift. Here we give the evidence of an eyewitness—M'Clintock has eyes—from the summit of the loftiest hill (1,600) overlooking Cape Bird. He says,—"To the northward Four River Point was at once recognized; my present view confirmed the impression of a wide channel leading southward; the outline of the western land appears to be limestone, is of uniform elevation, and slopes gradually down to the strait. Our side of the strait or sea is primary rock, fringed with islets and rocks. Now for the ice. Although broken up, it lies against this shore in immense fields; there is but little water, or room for ice movement; no appearance of disruption about Four River Point, or in the contracted part of Peel Strait. We have nothing to hope for from that quarter, neither is there any evidence of current or pressure."† With these facts before us, we cannot but deem this strait impracticable to ships such as the *Erebus* and *Terror*. The ice is reported as not so heavy in Franklin Channel as that coming from the north-west by our Strait, now proved to exist,‡ and named after the gallant McClintock: but of this more anon. Still, admitting the ice is less heavy, the extreme narrowness of this channel would occasion it to be sooner *choked* than would be the case with the heavier ices of the much wider (100 to 120 miles) McClintock Channel. There, there is greater space for drifting, a strong current, and, consequently, greater probability of open water and a passage. These considered, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that the balance of chances are in favour of McClintock Channel, while Franklin Channel affords

* See "Voyage of the *For*," p. 238.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 193-4.

‡ See "Plans for the Search," &c., pp. 261-362, 5, 7, 86; also, "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. i., part 6.

scarcely a hope. Again, the one is within the object of the plan, the other is not.

But we now turn to the third and only remaining channel offering the hope of a passage to the southward. We feel a particular interest in this strait, inasmuch as it is the primary cause of that south-east drift from Banks Strait through Melville Sound, and which Sir John Franklin, if enabled to follow No. 5 section of his Instructions, would have to encounter; in short, it is the cause of the fatal consequences which we now know have befallen the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and which we all so much deplore. Again, this is the strait which, from our investigations, we were the first to make known. We claim this honour, and that of having been the first to report it in the proper quarter at the Admiralty in 1854. Our attention and thought of inquiry in this quarter had its origin in the desire which we, in common with all Englishmen, had to clear the sad mystery enveloping the position and the fate of our long missing, unfortunate countrymen; in plain language, we saw in the search, *from the first*, a desire to depart from the original plan and Instructions, and we felt the crude theories suggested and often adopted were leading us into error, seeing there was no evidence of disaster or impediment to their having been fulfilled. We felt, too, that where we directed Franklin to go, there we ought to follow, and not to seek him in a direction at a right angle to that in which we sent him. Hence Cape Walker and Melville Sound were ever present with us, and with the latter, that constant *south-east* drift of the heavy ice masses through it. It was here we thought the Franklin Expedition would become involved; and then came the inquiry, where could all this ice drift to? There was no diminution, no emptying itself into Barrow Strait; the more we considered, the more we felt assured there must be some current-producing cause for this, some outlet or draining-off channel to the southward and eastward. The explorations of Osborn south and west, and of Wynniatt south and east, in Melville Sound, tended to confirm our views. We continued to inquire. We traced the southern coasts of the various disjointed lands lying off the American continent; gaps or open places presented themselves here and there, as that between Wollaston and Victoria Lands, and the latter and Prince of Wales and King William Lands. We consulted the most eminent Arctic explorers on these coasts,—a Franklin, Richardson, Dease and Simpson, and Rae, and found they invariably asserted that south of Victoria Land the flood came from the eastward; and Rae, having rounded the eastern extreme of Victoria Land, declared it came from the north.

We ought to notice here that that indefatigable traveller had already closed all the passages supposed to run out of the Gulf of Boothia to the westward; this flood tide could not, then, come from thence. We looked north to Peel Sound. Lieutenant Browne (Ominaney's division) had all but closed up that Sound, and Kennedy and Bellot finally sealed it: the flood tide could not come from thence; and even assuming that a passage did exist between the islands, and leading south out of this Sound, as we now know does, it must be so contracted as to be wholly incapable of feeding a flood tide over so vast an area.* Bellot Strait was altogether too insignificant. Again, the ices of Victoria Strait were not of the character of those of Barrow Strait; the former were of the description, in heavy masses, observed at Melville Island to drift south-easterly into Melville Sound. Now, we noticed, these were found on the north side of Victoria Land, which land Collinson had observed to trend to the westward from Point Pelly, in the direction of that Sound; therefore, there could be no doubt but they came from it, down between Prince of Wales Island and Victoria Land,† and also the conclusion that *a strait must exist, running north-west and south-east out of Melville Sound*. We then (in 1854) reported the result of our investigations to the present active and impartial hydrographer, Captain John Washington, R.N., at the Admiralty, who at once acknowledged it probable. When we broached the result of our inquiries, it was at once rejected by some, in consequence of the lowness of the land at the bottom of Melville Sound, such (it was said) seldom affording examples of passages or straits; others, for different but equally unsound reasons, would not admit the fact; some even wrote against it up to 1857. The principal advocates for its existence were those who cared not to give themselves any trouble to inquire in the matter; they were contented—*there was an unfilled blank on the chart; it must, therefore, be a strait*—and they claimed credit. This logic, it will be supposed, did not satisfy us; but there was one who had been on the spot—the talented and judicious Captain Collinson, R.N.; he at once acknowledged not only the reasonableness but the justness of our conclusions, and his authority—so valuable—strengthened our belief, and cheered us on. Our United States friends,

* See the Appendix to the "Probable Course of Sir John Franklin's Expedition," pp. 5, 6, by A. G. Findlay, Esq., F.R.G.S.; *et ante*, p. 425.

† See the Preface to the "Voyage of the *Fox*," by Sir R. I. Murchison, pp. xii *et* xvii, and foot-notes.

Henry Grinnell, Esq., &c., appear to have appreciated our views.* Our convictions regarding the existence of this strait were known on board the *Fox* before she sailed, and they have since been confirmed by Captain Allen Young, of that vessel. This strait has now been most worthily distinguished by the name of the gallant commander of the *Fox*, "McClintock Channel." We are satisfied; but if we were to say we are not proud of the result of our investigation we should greatly belie our real sentiments. We are proud. But to return. We know little of the true nature of McClintock Channel but what is supplied by Captain Allen Young, whose exertions need no praise of ours; they were most indefatigable; but from circumstances they were confined to its northern shores, from Cape Swinburne to Osborn's furthest. He says, "To the north-westward of the Cape (Swinburne) was pack, consisting of heavy ice—masses formed years ago in far distant and wider seas;" and adds, "This channel is so constantly choked up with unusually heavy ice as to be quite unnavigable; it is, in fact, a continuous ice-stream from the north-west."† Young attempted to cross this channel; but found it

* The *New York Journal of Commerce*, Nov. 5, 1859, has the following article on the Arctic Regions, with Map, "in the preparation of which," the Editor says, "he has been greatly aided by Henry Grinnell, Esq.,‡ and his son, Cornelius Grinnell, just returned from Europe:"—"It is singular, and at the same time deeply interesting, with the information we now possess, to compare the route that Franklin actually did take with the various routes which it has been supposed he would take. Some time since, the British Government required from most of the Arctic officers their opinions as to the route that Franklin most probably took; and, strange to say, not one of them suggested the true path, while some of them were very wide of the mark. Mr. John Brown, F.R.G.S., of London, and the author of a very clear and able book on the 'Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin,' a Review, published in London, 1858, was wonderfully correct in his prognostics. Accompanying his book is the best map (by Arrowsmith) that we have of the Arctic regions. On this map he traces the route which he supposes Franklin took. He runs his line through an unknown strait, which McClintock since ascertained does exist, and goes directly to the very spot where the record tells us the ships were abandoned. The criticisms that Mr. Brown makes on the orders given to the different searching expeditions by the British Government are severe, but just. He shows that not one of them contrived directions to explore that quarter where the Government itself directed Franklin to go. Franklin was ordered to make from Cape Walker a south-west course, as near as he could, to Behring's Straits; and Mr. Brown strongly insists that Franklin would rigidly adhere to his orders, and that he would be found in that unknown area, south-west of Cape Walker, then unexplored. McClintock has proved him to have been correct."

† See "Voyage of the *Fox*," pp. 337—339; also, "Plans," &c., p. 381.

‡ See "Plans," &c., pp. 39, 281, 365-6-7.

impracticable with his means and time. Collinson and Rae had previously noticed the presence of this heavy ice from Point Pelly and Gateshead Island. This is no more than, after what we have said, might have been expected; but that the channel is never navigable is questionable. Captain M'Clintock is of Young's opinion as to its navigability, in which Captains Ommaney and Osborn join. These latter explored the north-west shores of Prince of Wales Land. All are good authorities. That bays and inlets and low coasts, having a north-west aspect, abutting on the line of drift, should be headed with accumulations of ice, is likely; but the channel has depth, and this is proved by the heavy floating masses. Through such a channel as the one under consideration, so wide, having a powerful direct current setting through it, deep water and free drift—all these duly weighed—there must be, we think, at times, a passage practicable for ships.* We know, too, that occasionally the ice at the bottom of Melville Sound, whence the supply comes, cannot always be so heavy. In 1851, "*the ice was chiefly of that year's formation.*"† However, the sound, the coasts, and the strait, it must be admitted, bear an execrable character; but may this not arise from our as yet imperfect knowledge? However that may be, all this was unknown to Franklin and to us in 1845. In the course he was directed to follow he would unwittingly fall in with these very obstacles, and would have to dare the danger. The trending of the coast line at the bottom of Melville Sound to the south-east, and the current guided and limited by it, would force him in that direction, and on to the north-west entrance of M'Clintock Channel. Question, Did he get through it down on to King William Island? We firmly think he did.‡ We have endeavoured to show that the route by Regent Inlet and Bellot Strait is impracticable for ships of the size of the *Erebus* and *Terror*; we have also shown that, from the nature of Peel Sound, now Strait, and the Franklin Channel, and the experience of those who have examined Peel Sound and it—together with the entire absence of all traces of the Franklin Expedition in either—that those routes were not attempted by Sir John Franklin. We think a passage south by it, if not positively impracticable, is to the last degree improbable; and, lastly, it was not within the tenor of his

* See "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. iv., No. 1, pp. 8, 9.

† See Armstrong's "Personal Narrative of the Discovery of the North-West Passage," p. 345.

‡ See the "Plans," &c., pp. 368, 418, 421.

Instructions, but against them. Why, then, waste words and time on idle speculation? We have no proof that he was *unable* to follow out the original plan of the voyage: why not, then, assume that he was able rather than that he was not, and *follow him where we sent him, to Cape Walker, and through that tempting wide opening, to the south-west*, he was specially directed to? For ourselves, we have no doubt but he made the attempt, conformably with his Instructions; that he got hampered in that south-east drift, so often and so justly quoted as fraught with embarrassment, and in it was carried through McClinton Channel to where, by the record, we find the *Erebus* and *Terror* on the 24th May, 1847; having wintered in the ice, 1846-7, *beset, yet drifting through Victoria Strait, completing and solving the great question of a North-West Passage*. Here the great navigator yielded up his good and gallant spirit to Him who gave it, dying with the consciousness (as we shall show anon) of having accomplished the glorious object of "the Voyage." Hereabouts, too, were the ships abandoned.

It has been argued that Sir John Franklin could not have taken the route along the *western side of Prince of Wales Island*, because it is unnavigable for ships. To this we reply, there was *no necessity for his attempting to do so*. We know he did not land on Cape Walker, or a record would have been found deposited there. We know, too, it is seldom accessible, Barrow Strait about here becoming greatly contracted, by the islands (Lowther, Griffith, &c.) lying between it and Cornwallis Island arresting the free easterly movement of the ice; but though unable to land there, he might have been enabled to pursue a more westerly course (as Parry did, or Kellett), such as is known generally to offer along the south side of the Parry Group, and subsequently a south-west one, which would take him clear of this "low land, abounding with shoals and heavy ice." Another objection is founded on the insufficiency of the time: it is urged he could not, after leaving Beechey Island, have taken the route by Cape Walker and Melville Sound, and arrive off the north end of King William Island, where it is said the ships were beset, by the 12th September, 1846. *Now the record does not give the date when the ships left Beechey Island, nor does it give their position when first beset, i.e., on the 12th September, 1846.*

The charts recently published give as the position where the ships were first beset, *i.e.*, on September 12th, 1846, lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$: *but this is incorrect; we know not where they were beset; the position here assigned to September 12th, 1846, is really that of*

May 24th, 1847, after they had wintered—a difference of more than eight months: this is a very grave error, as it ignores all the movements by drift of the ships during that period; part of which is in the month of September, so well known to all Arctic explorers as the most open and favourable to navigation, and if to navigation, of drift too. The ships, we now know, notwithstanding they got entangled to the north-west of King William Island, did drift, and in the right direction for the completion of the passage. Again, by giving the above position to September 12th, 1846, instead of the true date (May 24th, 1847), false inferences as to the rate of drift are drawn. Between the former date and April 22nd, 1848, when the ships were abandoned, are nineteen months ten days, during which time the ships are found to have drifted nineteen miles, giving for the rate of drift one mile per month; hence it is inferred the drift is trifling. This is another error arising out of the former. Give the above position of the ships its true date, viz., May 24th, 1847, we have then a very different set of figures and results. From the latter date to April 22nd, 1848, are only ten months twenty-five days as the period for this nineteen miles' drift; this gives nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ per month, almost double that obtained by erroneously placing the above position as the spot of besetment on September 12th, 1846: but more, this error in misplacing dates involves other and most important inferences as to the direction and movements of the Expedition; in short, whether Sir John Franklin took the Peel Sound route, apparently in contradiction to his Instructions; or that by Cape Walker and the south-west, agreeable to them,—and also whether he was enabled, by adopting the latter, to obtain the position given in the record under date of May 24th, 1847, lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$ We think he did take the south-west route, and did reach the last-named position by it.*

The absence of other records where previous search has been made may, in this view, be greatly accounted for. But let us examine the amount of time, as afforded by the dates in the record, and compare these with the known dates and distances obtained and recorded by previous navigators in these regions. First, the probable date of his departure from Beechey Island. Second, the distances obtained.

First, as to the date of sailing from Beechey Island. In 1819, when Parry was here, on August 22nd, "not a particle of ice was to be seen,"† either in the north, up Wellington Channel, or to the west

* Lieutenant Gore and party left the ships in that position on May 24th, 1847.

† See Parliamentary Papers, No. 97, 1851, p. 71.

by Barrow Strait. In 1852, on August 10th, the *North Star* got into Erebus and Terror Bay. In 1853, August 20th, the ice broke up inside Beechey Island. In 1854, on the same date (August 20th), the *North Star* got free. In 1858, the *Fox*, Capt. M'Clintock, arrived and anchored, August 11th, at Point Riley; and on 15th, in the Bay. Now, if we take the mean of these dates, it will give August 17th as the average time for the ships being free, and the probable date of the sailing of Sir John Franklin from Beechey Island: but, by way of corroboration, let us take the dates of arrivals there. From 1819 to 1858 we find the average is August 19th for arrivals; we shall then not be far wrong if we assume the date for Franklin's departure to have been *August 20th*, 1846; between that date and September 12th, 1846 (the day he was first beset), are twenty-three days: now, assuming he took the western route by Melville Sound, how far is he likely (under favourable circumstances) to have succeeded in getting west and south? And this brings us to the second question, What are the distances obtained by preceding navigators? We have but scanty data, as only twice has the passage been made from Baffin's Bay through to Melville Island; but we shall avail ourselves of them. Parry, in 1819, from August 3rd, at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, to September 5th, at Winter Harbour, less fifteen days employed in his discoveries of and down Prince Regent Inlet, did the entire distance in eighteen days. His position at the entrance of Lancaster Sound, August 3rd, 1819, at noon, was lat. $74^{\circ} 25' 31''$ N., long. $80^{\circ} 40' 30''$ W.; on September 5th, in Winter Harbour, lat. $74^{\circ} 47' 10''$ N., long. $110^{\circ} 48' 15''$ W.: the difference of long. $30^{\circ} 43' 25''$. Now taking the mean parallel $74\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ —and it is rather higher—it will be seen that in these eighteen days he groped his way to the westward over perfectly unknown ground, and against the easterly set of the current, 493 geographical miles, or 567 English miles = $27\frac{1}{2}$ geographical or $31\frac{1}{2}$ English miles daily; and he sailed the same distance back, in 1820, in six days. Capt. Kellett, in 1852, deducting five days' detention at Beechey Island, was twenty-six days going over nearly the same ground; this would give his daily rate of sailing at 19 geographical or $21\frac{1}{2}$ English miles. It is admitted that Parry, in 1819, had a most favourable season, but his discoveries were made on entirely new ground, and he was compelled to be cautious; we need not add, he showed himself a daring and a skilful navigator. Kellett followed him, and had the advantage of his experience; but all shoals are not known and laid down, as the latter proved by grounding on an unknown one, and was

delayed the greater part of a day—a delay of immense consequence in regions where the season for navigation is so short. Not, then, to over-estimate the daily rate of sailing, we have adopted the mean of the days and distances obtained by these distinguished Arctic explorers, which gives twenty-two days at twenty-four miles and a half each as the rate of progress. Now we have for date of sailing from Beechey Island, August 20th, 1846, and the time when beset, September 12th, 1846 = twenty-three days for advance; we have also the mean daily rate (Parry and Kellett) of twenty-four miles and a half. These $(24\frac{1}{2} \times 23)$ would give a total distance of forward movement of 563 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Taking the facts as they stand—and they are undoubted—do they afford sufficient sound data, in the absence of more precise knowledge, to reason upon, so that we may arrive at something like a just conclusion? We have shown the improbability, if not impracticability, of the eastern routes; let us inquire if that by Cape Walker and the south-west offers any better hope of success; we think it does. Melville Sound is more extensive, and therefore offers greater space for the free drift of the ice. It is admitted that the ice is heavier; but the larger the area, the more freedom is there for the motion and drift of its heavy masses. Even now we know little or nothing as to the navigability of Melville Sound. Description represents it as appalling and impassable, and yet no one has ever dared its dangers, if Sir John Franklin did not. All the information we have goes to prove that a strong current sets through it to the south-east, bearing onward and relieving it of the very heavy ice masses it receives *via* Banks Strait from the north-west.

Here we would make some remarks on the strength or rate of this south-east current. It was first noticed by Parry's Expedition at Melville Island. The ice was observed always to be drifting past Banks Land, from the west to the south-east into Melville Sound; and, as it was never observed to empty itself into Barrow Strait, and as it was impossible but that this constant impouring must ultimately choke it up, which it never did, we thought there must be some outlet at or near the bottom, producing a current, and an escape for the ice in that direction. In the course of our inquiries as to the source whence came the flood flowing down into Coronation Gulf, having found it could not come from the north, south, or east, having traced it to the north of Victoria Land, and having noticed, too, the heavy character of the ice, so different from that of Barrow Strait, we were confirmed in our conviction that a strait must exist between Victoria and Prince of Wales Lands. The

journey of Capt. A. Young proved the fact. That a strong current exists, running between Banks Strait and M'Clintock Channel, is no longer doubted, and the heavy ice proclaims its depth; but whether it is practicable, or navigable for ships, is a question—and above all is the question, whether Franklin's ships passed through it to their known position off King William Island. We think they did, and not *via* Peel Sound. The rate of this current has been variously estimated by some at one mile, by others at two miles and upwards, an hour. When the *Investigator* rounded the north-western end of Baring Island, between Cape Alfred and on to Mercy Bay, ample opportunities were afforded of proving its velocity, and are recorded.* We have no account of its rate in Melville Sound, nor in M'Clintock Channel, but it must be considerable. As the pressure is found to be enormous when any obstacle is offered to the free drift of its floating masses, especially on coasts having a north-west aspect, and particularly where the coast is low and shoally, here its effects would necessarily become still more apparent; hence the north-west face of King William and Prince of Wales Islands are loaded with heavy ice, and are evidences of its strength. All this is easy of comprehension. But it should be remembered that this strait—now M'Clintock Channel—is nearly 100 miles broad; and that, while it is the great opening or channel for that current which brings down the ice-drift from the north-west, so also does it prevent the entire choking of Melville Sound, by the free passage it affords for its exit to the southward; it should be remembered also, that the source from whence these ice-masses flow is not always constant in its supply, that occasionally there is an intermission, as has been observed in the open water in Banks Strait.† Failure in the supply, from whatever cause, taken in connection with the perpetual emptying going on through M'Clintock Channel, as evidenced in Victoria Strait, and along the southern coasts of Victoria Land and King William Island, are facts which lead to the idea of open water occasionally occurring at the bottom of this Sound, and with it the probability of a navigable passage.‡ No better proof can be given than in 1851, from the notes made by an observer on the spot, "the ice was chiefly of that

* See Blue Book, "Arctic Expeditions," 1854, p. 60; also, "The North-West Passage," by Dr. Armstrong, pp. 390-2, 427, 432-9, 441-3, 445, 472; also, "McClure's Discovery of the North-West Passage," by Capt. S. Osborn, R.N., p. 219; and "Plans," &c., pp. 310, 311.

† "The North-West Passage, Plans," &c., p. 305; also, "Armstrong's Personal Narrative," &c., p. 472.

‡ See the "Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society," vol. iv., No. 1, pp. 8, 9.

year's formation, and only in the bays and inlets were there numerous old heavy flocs."* "Give a dog a bad name," &c.

But to return; we shall have occasion again to notice the effect of this current, and its rate. Here we have twenty-three days for navigation; is it possible for the Expedition to reach the position lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$, off the north end of King William Island, by Melville Sound in the time? We have picked off a course such as might occur in an ordinary season, avoiding too near an approach to the north and west sides of Prince of Wales Island, but penetrating south and west, as chances might be supposed to offer; such an one as we might imagine Sir John Franklin would take, with the limited knowledge we possessed at the time (1845), of the land to the east, south, and west of him, and what would result from his getting within the influence of this south-east current. We find the distance would be about 550 miles from Beechey Island to the position above-named. Now, the distance, by the mean average daily rate of Parry and Kellett, is twenty-four and a half miles; this rate, for twenty-three days, will give 563 miles; so that, if we make an allowance for more rapid progress in the early—*i. e.*, the northern or more navigable part of the passage, it will make up for the slow advance, or retard from ice, in the southern. We think, with the prevalent north-west winds, once in the drift, the current would do the rest. Its mean rate, from the authorities before quoted, is one and a half miles per hour; this will give thirty-six miles per day: but say one mile per hour, it will be twenty-four per day; and even this amount appears ludicrous. But then it is not constant: still we indicate it as proof of its strength. Spread over Melville Sound it would be less, but pressing through McClintock Channel, it must be considerable. From these observations it will be seen it is possible the passage might be and may have been made by the *Erebus* and *Terror* in the time—*i. e.*, twenty-three days between the points mentioned.

We shall not pursue the subject further: we have merely gone into it to show its possibility, even with the dates misplaced, as they are. But as we have said, they are wrongly placed; the position of *September 12th* is really that of *May 24th*. Now, if we take these corrected dates, it will be seen that the time elapsed between leaving Beechey Island, August 20th, 1846, to May 24th, 1847, the position off King William Sound, where they had wintered, is nine months and four days, or 277 days. This is ample time to make the passage

* "Armstrong's Personal Narrative," p. 345.

viâ Melville Sound. But let us follow them on the route laid down on the charts.

In the first edition of this volume, it will be seen, we have given them large westing, with some southing, to a point, lat. $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., long. 110° W. Of course, this is only an assumed position; but in choosing it, our view was that, after having attained the meridian of Cape Walker, Sir John Franklin would endeavour to get to the southward, as quickly as the presence of ice, known to exist in that quarter, would permit. The absence of all trace of his passage, by record or otherwise, along the southern shores of the Parry Group, is no proof that he did not take the route west of Cape Walker. In pursuing him, we thought, as he would be opposed by this ice—but persisting to the south-west—his westing would be prolonged. We had no doubt he would continue his westing, as long as he could, to the east of Banks Land, hoping to make southing in the meantime. As to returning to the eastward and northward, after he had attained large westing, because he could not get south, as wished, with the channel between the Parry Islands open, and leading to the north, close at hand—such an idea was out of the question, especially with such a determined, persevering commander as Franklin—the spirit of Arctic enterprise, and the director of the movements of the *Erebus* and *Terror*. His Instructions pointed to that quarter, and that was sufficient for him, and ought to have been for us. In fixing on this position, we took a common-sense view of what movements he was likely to make, with the knowledge of the positive impediments existing to obstruct his path. In $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., and 110° W., we considered he might be arrested—arrested by the current and that flow of heavy ice already noticed. He may have made less westing; he could not have made more, or he would have got within the indraught of Prince of Wales Strait, and if obtaining a sight of the land, would have communicated with its shores; but in such case, Collinson and McClure would surely have fallen on indications of his presence. He may have made less westing, and more southing; may have obtained a sight of the land, or its loom, more to the eastward, barring his passage in a south-west direction; may have observed its general south-east trend, and may have, hereabouts, been beset: in any case, he would be within the south-east drift, and, under its influence, be not only prevented getting further west, but would be borne helplessly in that (south-east) direction. All these are probable,—much more so than that he should be supposed, facts absent, to have abandoned the course prescribed to him by the

original plan—returned eastwards, and gone up the Wellington Channel, or down Peel Sound. But to the point assumed above, as the position where he was arrested: we find its distance from Beechey Island, in a west and south direction, allowing everything for deviation from the direct course, is 326 miles. Now, taking the mean rate of Parry and Kellett, $24\frac{1}{2}$ miles for daily progress, in twenty-three days (that is, from August 20th to September 12th, when beset), this would give 563 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles—far more than sufficient, in time. To bring the ships to the assumed position where beset, thirteen or fourteen days would have sufficed, and still leave eight or nine days to spare, to reconnoitre their position, the land in their vicinity, the prospect it offered, and its trending; the ice drift, its nature, direction, and rate. They would soon have become sensible that they were being borne to the south-east, along the northern coasts of Wollaston and Victoria Lands, and this would bring them to the consideration whether some channel might not exist as the primary cause of this current, and in the direction of their drift. The known lands and passages, as shown on the charts in 1845, would then recur to them, and be reflected on. James Ross's discoveries, in 1831, and Dease and Simpson, in 1839, and the latter in connection with his own discoveries on the American coast line,—all these would pass in review. Seeing they could not extricate the ships from their icy entanglement, to get to the northward again; seeing, too, that they were driving in the direction of James Ross's furthest, on King William Land, where he describes "*the land extending to the south-west,*" with a "*vast extent of ocean,*"* and supposed to be connected with Dease and Simpson's discoveries, or "*that land on which stands Cape Felix,*" by "*only fifty-seven miles from Ross's Pillar,*"†—this might give them hope of getting through to the American coast, and complete the passage in another quarter, although not in a south-west direction. The rate and time for drifting through would now be reverted to and calculated, and the results would strengthen that hope‡.

We will now endeavour to show that this reasoning has a sound basis. The current, as we have said, has been variously estimated at *one mile*, and *two and upwards, per hour*; this will give a mean of one and a half, or thirty-six miles per day, an amount having the

* Ross's "Second Voyage in Search of a N.W. Passage," p. 415.

† See "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," vol. x., part ii., p. 271.

‡ "Plans," &c., p. 421.

appearance of exaggeration; but it may not be constant; and then, again, there are the impediments of ice navigation, and those arising from the adverse winds. We know north-west winds prevail here, and therefore are favourable; still the drift might be retarded: but we have excellent examples to guide us in establishing an average rate of drift in this quarter, in those expeditions which were beset in Barrow Strait, and, under the influence of the same easterly current, were carried to Lancaster Sound. Sir James Ross's Expedition drifted at the rate of 11 miles per day. The first Grinnell Expedition, under De Haven, 42 per day. Again, there is that of the *Resolute*; but this we do not notice, as the time* and rate of her drift to Lancaster Sound is included in that of Baffin's Bay, having a different rate. Taking the mean of the above, we have $7\frac{1}{2}$ as the daily mean rate. Now, the distance from the position we have assumed as that where the ships were arrested, *i. e.*, $73\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., 110° W., to the one given by the record, May 24th, 1847, where they wintered, lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$, is about 307 miles, and the time between September 12th, 1846, and May 24th, 1847, is 8 months 12 days, or 254 days; these, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles per day, will give 1,905 miles for the linear drift of the *Erebus* and *Terror*,—more than six times the distance required,—which could be accomplished by an hourly rate of 3" of a minute, or less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles per day. Surely, with a direct drift south-east, and strong current from Banks Strait to King William Island, through a wide bay, and broad, deep channel,—desiderata admitted to exist,—surely all doubt as to the possibility and practicability of a passage for ships by this route must be admitted. If beset, the current would carry them through, as it did Sir James Ross's, De Haven's, and Kellett's ships through Barrow Strait. Why, then, should we continue to doubt that the western route was adopted? and finding the *Erebus* and *Terror* too, in a position in which, from our knowledge of the trending of the land, and the direction of the current along it, is *the position, above all others, where we could alone reasonably expect to find them.* Why doubt, then, that Sir John Franklin followed the intent and instructions founded on Sir John Barrow's original plan?†—in short, that he attempted the south-west route by Cape Walker, was arrested by the land and ice in Melville Sound, and was carried by

* See "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," paper, "Findlay, on the Probable Course of Sir John Franklin's Expedition," vol. xxvi., p. 33; also "Plans," &c., p. 425.

† "Plans," &c., pp. 20, 30, 368.

the south-east drift through (our) now M'Clintock's Channel, to the position where we find him on May 24th, 1847, lat. $70^{\circ} 5' N.$, long. $98^{\circ} 23' W.$? For ourselves, we cannot doubt the facts before us. We firmly believe this was the route he took, and by it realized the position from which he afterwards completed the great object of the plan of the voyage,—the discovery of the North-West Passage,—bringing imperishable glory on the name of Franklin and his gallant associates, and reflecting it on its talented progenitor, the “Father of Arctic Discovery,” Sir John Barrow.

We should scarcely have entered at such length on this question of route, but, as we have already shown, there has always existed erratic notions on the subject,—always a feeling to assume for Sir John Franklin intentions involving routes and positions quite at variance with the simple plan of Sir John Barrow, and the plain tenor of Franklin's Instructions, founded on it. All these were imaginary. We had no facts in proof. Hence the total failure of all our searching expeditions to find him. It seems to us passing strange; still such has been the result of ill-informed prejudice. We give Franklin credit for all the superior qualities of a commander, and as an active, enterprising navigator; and justly so; and yet we will not allow the merit of the results of these qualities; we will not tolerate the only conclusions to be drawn, namely—that he attempted and was enabled to complete the great object of his voyage, in the direction in which he was sent. If Melville Sound had been known, and found so full of horrors as has been depicted, it could not have been the favourable wide opening for the completion of the “Passage” it has been represented; and, if so, why did we send him to such fatal quarter? or, having sent him, why not have followed, despite the danger, and, at least, have endeavoured to dispel the mystery, and extricate him? The fact is, we knew nothing of Melville Sound then, and we know but little now. Many severe animadversions have been passed on the Franklin Expedition for not depositing notices and records *en route*. It is a very simple, but not justifiable matter, to blame the absent, “who cannot plead for themselves;” but if we had not been perverse,—if we had taken for granted, having no proofs to the contrary,—that the Expedition would be directed only on the principles of the Plan, we might have accounted for the omission. The Expedition was ordered to the south side of Barrow Strait, and there the first traces or notices were expected to be found. Sir James Ross's parties were, with one exception, confined to that side. The first traces were found at Beechey Island,

on the north side, most unexpectedly, and in a most unexpected spot. No record has been found. But may not Franklin have left one before he ascended the Wellington Channel, and recalled it on his return; feeling, as we did, that he would not be sought on the north, but on the south side of Barrow Strait? He left Beechey Island, but no record, that we know of, for the same reason. His course now lay to Cape Walker, and thence south-west. Unable to land on that Cape, he would try to pass it in the offing. From its meridian he would try to get to the south and west. There was no necessity for him to communicate with the Parry Group; and the heavy ices on the north and west sides of Prince of Wales Land would warn him off it; he would endeavour to make westing and southing, when he could. At last, "under the lee of Banks Land," he would push south. Here he would be beset and in the current, diverted in a south-east direction by the trending of the land. Drifting, he would pass through M'Clintock Channel, on to King William's Land, where we find him. It will be seen, from what we have said, following the line of his Instructions, he had no opportunity for leaving records. We have thought it due to the great Franklin's name, and that of his associates, to say thus much in their vindication. The blame rests with us, for not searching the promising area—Melville Sound—to which we sent him.

The slow rate of drift of the ships, calculated on the assumption that they were beset on September 12th, 1846, in the position they were on May 24th, 1847, has been noticed and brought forward as a proof of the weakness of the currents hereabouts; and hence M'Clintock Channel has been pronounced as "ice-choked," and quite "unnavigable." Having shown the error arising from applying the position of May 24th, 1847, to September 12th, 1846, which is not given in the record, it will be imagined we cannot subscribe to this conclusion. Another channel, Peel Sound, was so considered—we have no proof to the contrary, but rather a confirmation in all we do know—and yet the *Erebus* and *Terror* are assumed to have passed down it. The slow rate may be attributed to other causes. The ships were carried down to just that abutting point, Cape Felix, where the land is low, and the ice is arrested. Here, too, the current, checked, divides, one branch flowing down James Ross's Strait, and along the eastern coast of King William Island; the other down the western side, through Victoria Strait. At Cape Felix, it is remarked,—“The pressure of the ice is severe, but the shoalness of the coast keeps the line of pressure at a considerable

distance from the beach." This might have been expected. "Heavy masses of ice, of foreign formation," were found in James Ross's Strait, and "Victoria Strait was full of it."* Entangled in this ice, and at this point, the ships were not likely to drift so much as they would have done, were they more to the eastward, and especially if more to the westward, in the full stream of Victoria Strait. They could not have been in a worse position for deriving advantage from the current.

In conclusion, we repeat that Sir John Franklin, rejecting Bellot Strait, Peel Sound, and Franklin Channel, followed implicitly the tenor of the 5th and 6th Sections of his Instructions, which directed him to the meridian of Cape Walker, and from thence to the south-west; that in Melville Sound he was beset in the ice, and in it, under the influence of the powerful south-east current, was carried through McClintock Channel to the position where, by the Record, we find him on May 24, 1847, latitude 70° 5' N., longitude 98° 23' W., off the north end of King William Island.

* See "Voyage of the Fox," pp. 340-1.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE QUESTION, DID SIR JOHN FRANKLIN DISCOVER THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE? ANSWERED—HIS ANXIETY TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER A PASSAGE EXISTED BETWEEN THE SHIPS AND DEASE AND SIMPSON'S SEA—GORE AND DES VŒUX AND PARTY SENT—THEIR ROUTE S.W.—PROVED FURTHER BY THE RECORD AT POINT GORE—CAPE CROZIER SIXTY-FIVE MILES DISTANT, THE EXISTENCE OF A PASSAGE COULD BE PROVED THERE—GORE RETURNS IN JUNE—REMARKS IN PROOF THAT FRANKLIN KNEW THE PASSAGE EXISTED BEFORE HE DIED—THE HONOUR HIS—THE DISCOVERY FURTHER PROVED IN THE DERELICTA—BACK'S RIVER—WHY THE RETREAT IN THAT DIRECTION?—THE QUESTION ANSWERED—FRANKLIN'S PREDILECTIONS—REPULSE BAY—WAGER INLET—DID THE CREWS DIVIDE?—POINT WARREN—ARE THERE ANY SURVIVORS?—REMARKS—RISK, WASTE OF LIFE AND MONEY—REPLIED TO—THE "CUI BONO?" CRY ANSWERED—OUR SAILORS OUR STAY AND PRIDE—OUR ARCTIC EXPLORERS OUR ADMIRATION—ARCTIC HEROES—SCIENCE, ENGLAND'S POSITION—PHILOSOPHERS—PRINCE ALBERT'S OPINION OF THEM—CONCLUSION.

AGAIN we ask, Did Sir John Franklin discover the North-West Passage? Thinking the question set at rest for ever in the affirmative, and satisfied that he did ourselves, we should scarcely have entertained it again, but it has been again mooted and opened up. This we, amongst others, deeply regret. We regret it, as it has the appearance of an attempt to take from the fair fame of the Franklin Expedition generally, and from the merit of its commander, the much honoured Franklin, particularly. We cannot sufficiently condemn the feeling that would prompt a doubt on that which is so palpably clear. Again, its effect is to destroy the only solace remaining to the wives and families of those gallant heroes of the van embarked in the *Erebus* and *Terror*. To the illustrious lady whom all must reverence, these doubts and insinuations must be most painful, as their tendency is to stultify all her most approved actions,—shown over years of anxiety in her unwearied constant efforts to ascertain the fate of her husband and his companions, and would deny, indeed, would take from her

the only consolation now left to her,—the comfort and gratification of knowing that he had achieved the object he sought, and which was ever “nearest to his heart,” the Discovery of the North-West Passage. Is the Nelsonian motto so soon forgotten? Was it not to obtain the merit, the distinction, and the glory of solving the great question of centuries, these chivalrous, these valiant-hearted fellows, went forth from amongst us? Was it not for these Sir John Franklin, at an age when he might have claimed, from former deeds, the privilege of rest, guided by a noble enthusiasm in the cause of science, tempted again the risks and dangers of the frigid oceans of the North? He, with his gallant followers, solved the problem, were the first to do it, and have fairly won the reward they have sealed with their lives. Would we seek now to deprive them of that honour, that glory, they so justly, so hardly earned and so nobly won? Death has laid his icy hand upon them; their voices are no longer heard; they cannot plead for themselves; it is for us at home to claim for them their rights. We ask not generosity to make a wrong award. Let truth prevail, and the honour must be Franklin’s.

A great deal has been written and said on this subject, by some clever but mistaken, others prejudiced and false; and, lastly, the ignorant and captious have stepped in to confound. It is said we have no written proof to show that Sir John Franklin made the Passage; that the Record does not mention the fact, and, therefore, to Capt. McClure is due the honour of being the first to discover the North-West Passage. The Record does not specify the route taken by the *Erebus* and *Terror* to reach their known position off King William Island; but they were there, and no one with a head on would doubt it. We have no record to tell us of the horrors of that last sad march to Back River; but we know it, and can trace it step by step in the *derelicta*, in the boat and skeletons in Erebus Bay, in the skeleton on the tangled beach ten miles east of Cape Herschel, and in the boats and men who perished at the mouth of that river. We know they got there, and know further that they could not have reached there without solving the problem for which they were sent. But we will quote a few of the opinions of the day. We have no wish to be brought under the ban of “jealous geographical authorship,” for we are not even “half disposed to rob McClure of his crown, of determining a North-West Passage,”* still we must insist that the priority of discovery rests with Sir John Franklin,

* See “Titan,” December, 1859, p. 718.

as we shall endeavour to show. "He did forge the wanting link in the chain, by sailing down to the locality of his catastrophe, which communicates with Simpson Strait; these facts entitle him to the renown of having been the first discoverer of a North-West Passage, . . . the one thing left undone."* They were bound

"To sail beyond the sunset and the baths
Of all the western stars,"

until they died, and "it is all the more our duty to acknowledge that they did the work they were sent to do. That Franklin did virtually solve the problem which was the object of his voyage is a fact that rests on unimpeachable ground: if the re-appearance of M'Clure in England was a living proof of his discovery of the Passage, so is the skeleton found by M'Clintock ten miles to the east of Cape Herschel an imperishable memorial of that discovery having been anticipated by Franklin's Expedition four years earlier."† "The Expedition will ever be associated with this great achievement, the first discovery of the North-West Passage; and we have no doubt that Sir John Franklin died knowing that the great work of his life was accomplished."‡ "The *Erebus* and *Terror*, with their precious crews, perished; but, as if to mark the tenacity of purpose characteristic of the country that sent them forth, the shores are whitened with the bones of the forlorn hope; and the spars of their foundered ships cast themselves into the tide, and claimed for the *Erebus* and *Terror*, at Parker Bay and Finlayson Island, the honour of the discovery of the North-West Passage."§ Opposed to these comes, "No one ever solved a problem of the actual tidal communication between the two great oceans before Capt. M'Clure, and it seems an ungenerous course to insinuate that Sir John Franklin had made a prior discovery of the Passage; his case is not proven by his advocates. Again, that such communication by water does exist is only surmised,—not determined *even yet*. We heartily endorse the language of Brown, in his 'History of the North-West Passage:'—'That enterprising commander, M'Clure, settled the question—that truly British question—of a North-West Passage; and we feel it cannot be too often printed, or too widely known, that it was done by Britain.'"||

* See "Fraser's Magazine," February, 1860, p. 227.

† See "Macmillan's Magazine," February, 1860, p. 275.

‡ See "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine," January, 1860, p. 125.

§ See "Dublin University Magazine," February, 1860, p. 217.

|| See "The Eclectic," February, 1860, p. 121.

The author of the above paragraph quotes this opinion from our work, as far as it goes, quite correctly; but he forgets that *it is* a review of events, with running notes on them, as they occurred at the time. If he refers to pp. 391—393, he will see, after Dr. Rae's return in 1854, we had reason to alter our opinion; and the voyage of the *Fox* has now put us into possession of still better information. The Record, the journey of Capt. M'Clintock, and the skeleton cast of Cape Herschel, prove the Franklin Expedition *had already made the passage* five years before. The writer of this article must indeed be an inflexible doubter, or greatly wanting in knowledge of the subject, to assert that the "communication by water is only surmised." Rae's and Collinson's floating relics, M'Clintock's and Hobson's journeys, even the *very drift of the ships* in the ice, prove a passage exists. But the whole *drift of this paper* is an ungenerous generosity in favour of M'Clure. "The claim has, as it appears to us, with justice been advanced for Franklin and his companions, of the discovery in advance of M'Clure."* "The North-West Passage, none have effected it, even by foot or sledges, save Sir R. M'Clure."† "It will remain a notable fact that the North-West Passage was first disclosed by Franklin and his companions."‡ The Press generally and justly awards the priority of discovery to Franklin.

"Until the recent revelations respecting the actual success of Franklin in the solution of this problem four years before, M'Clure enjoyed the reputation of being the first discoverer of the Passage. That reputation will not be diminished by the facts which have since been brought to light. M'Clure's was a perfectly new discovery." The skill, perseverance, and intrepidity, by which the enterprise was marked, will always remain conspicuous, even in Arctic annals.§

But we must onward to our reasons for believing that Sir John Franklin made the Passage. Yet we would pause to notice two letters that have appeared: one by a Mr. Wm. Johnson, of King's College, Cambridge. This gentleman commences by rating the reviewers, "who, with one accord, are following Capt. M'Clintock in giving credit to Sir John Franklin. One of them (he remarks) actually says that he has no doubt Franklin, before he died, enjoyed the comfort of knowing that he had done what he was sent to do." (Wonderful! that any one should have arrived at such a reasonable

* "Good Words," March, 1860, p. 151.

† Colburn's "New Monthly Magazine," February, 1860, p. 229.

‡ See the "London Review," April, 1860, p. 249.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

conclusion.) He scolds Capt. M'Clintock for naming his discoveries—assumes a meaning for his words he never intended, and then proceeds to refute them—talks of Collinson, Richardson, Franklin, and Parry, of navigability, of cracked and splintered lands, overlapping, &c., in such glorious jumble, that one feels at a loss to know what, at times, the writer really is aiming at, unless captiously to attack M'Clintock, and, through him, deery Franklin. At last, out comes his object: "Sir R. M'Clure is entitled to the honour; and Franklin's voyage seems to be neither more nor less creditable than other Arctic voyages"—generous eulogy on our Arctic dead!—"and it shows either ignorance or carelessness in the reviewers not to have reminded Capt. M'Clintock of this. . . . If these attempts are ever renewed, it may be foretold that the explorer will try to reverse M'Clure's voyage." That is to say, will go from east to west, *against that current, and that stupendous ice-drift, that baffled a Parry, and forced M'Clure, from having placed his ship on the wrong side of Banks Strait, to abandon her, and rely on Capt. Kellett to bring himself and crew home.* Minerva! hast thou no bolt? Capt. M'Clintock replied to this tirade of Mr. Johnson's in a clear and kindly manner, the antipodes of his (Johnson's) feeling—yet pointing him to *his captious spirit and utter ignorance* of the subject. It was also ably replied to by Mr. Isbister and Mr. Weld, all of which we heartily endorse.*

But to the second letter. This emanates from "Justitia." This gentleman refers to a letter of Mr. Weld's,† in which the latter truly remarks, "Franklin and his companions forged the last link in the chain of a North-West Passage, which they were the *first* to discover;" and says, "Mr. Weld wanders rather from fact to hypothesis; there is not a single proof that" they "added any link;" and he "would calmly and dispassionately examine on what grounds the honour is taken from Sir R. M'Clure, and given to Sir John Franklin." Thus prepared, he speaks of "three ocean paths. Barrow Strait, the broad central highway: from this one channel runs northward; another runs southward (neither named). . . . His first efforts were to the northward, and then he turned southward, and sailed down a portion of it, . . . having proceeded no further than Sir John Ross had done eighteen years ago (?), when he discovered the Magnetic Pole. There perished the *Erebus* and *Terror*, just where the *Victory* had perished eighteen years before" (?). He "discovered no Passage, and the

* See *Athenæum*, January 7th, 14th, and 21st, 1860.

† See *Times*, January 7th, 1860.

wanting link remained undiscovered; he did not, and could not, prove that any navigable passage existed between the points where his ships were blocked in the ice and Behring's Strait; nor is there a single fact existing to show that he had any knowledge whatever of the route from one ocean to the other by this southern channel. One might better give the honour of the discovery to Sir John Ross, who had reached the spot so many years previously. Neither Franklin nor Crozier made any claim to discovery. In the first record, written during his lifetime, there is no word, no fact, no information given; not a line to prove that Sir John Franklin and his companions were aware they had solved the Great Problem; and when, abandoning their ships, a second record was written, not a word or claim made to a discovery of any kind. They seem to have made no investigations." "Justitia" then talks of "the channel (discovered by Dr. Rae, 1851 (?) on the east side of King William's Land;" says McClure was the first who passed from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and so on.* We have extracted some of the best portions of this letter, so full of errors, and absurdities, but only to show that ignorance is still rampant. We are much pleased to find it ably cut up, with its host of errors, by Mr. George Woods Mansell and by "An Old Salt."† Mr. Weld, also, in a full reply, shows up "Justitia's" letter, as full of "misconceptions and errors."‡

But our space is limited. We have made a fair selection from all sides the question. It will be seen, without inquiry assertions are made, bold but baseless. We now give our own views on it. If we examine the chart supplied to Franklin in 1845, it will be seen Sir James Ross, in 1831, crossed from Boothia to King William's Land. From its northernmost point, Cape Felix, the land trended to the south-west, with a "vast extent of ocean." He followed the coast line, and ultimately reached Point Victory; from thence he saw a point more to the south-west of him, which he named Point Franklin; this he estimated to be in lat. 69° 30' N., and long. 99° 5' W.§ Dease and Simpson, in 1839, from the south and east reached Cape Herschel, lat. 68° 41' N., long. 98° 22' W. Between these points, as it would appear on the chart of 1845, there was a space of fifty-five

* See *Saunders' News Letter*, Dublin, January 12th, 1860.

† See the same paper for both replies, January 14th, 1860.

‡ *Ibid.*, January 19th, 1860.

NOTE.—We are complimented by seeing our Book, "The Plans for the Search," &c., so frequently quoted; but it had been graceful to have acknowledged the source.

§ See the Appendix to "Ross's Second Voyage, 1829—33," p. xxii.

miles of undiscovered land.* "If I can but get down there," Franklin has been heard to say, pointing to the western entrance of Simpson's Strait, "my work is done."† It will easily be imagined, then, having just passed a winter, 1816-7, in the ice, with what anxiety he would look to explore this *unknown space*; and in proof that he was anxious, turning to the Record, we find that active officer, Lieutenant Gore,‡ despatched from the ships on the 24th of May, 1847, and that, on landing, he left a record at James Ross's cairn (1831), four miles to the northward of Cape Victory, dated 28th May, four days after leaving the ships, *all well*. The marginal notes by Captain Crozier, subsequently added, say it was deposited "*in June*;" but this we shall return to presently. It will be seen, looking to the relative positions, that is, of the ships and his own on the 28th of May, that he was travelling in a south and west direction. This is farther proved by the *second record*, found on the southern point (now Gore Point) of Back Bay, some eight or nine miles more to the south and west. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to the object for which he was sent; it was to *examine and fill up the coast line to Cape Herschel*; to *prove, in fact, the continuity or union of that "great extent of sea," seen by Ross from Point Victory, with the sea traversed by Dease and Simpson*.

We will now refer to the difference of dates, between that at the top of the Record and that in the margin. The 28th of May is given as the day it was deposited by Lieutenant Gore, but in the margin Capt. Fitzjames says *June*. There can be no mistake here, *as it is the correction of a mistake—May was written, but crossed through with the pen, and June substituted*. It seems to us, then, more than probable that May 28th was the day Gore deposited the Record on his outward journey; and *June*, as given by Fitzjames, *the time of his return*. That he did return is certain; as by the Record we find him promoted, consequent on the death of the lamented Franklin, on June 11th. This is only important as it regards the safety of Gore; his promotion would follow, whether before or after Sir John's death, but it would be desirable to know if he returned before. How long he was away, or to what distance he got, we have no dates to guide us, but the few days from May 28th to the early part of June. We now know, that in consequence of the elongation of King William Island

* See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," 1810, vol. 10, part 2, p. 271.

† See the "Career" of Sir John Franklin, by Capt. S. Osborn, R.N., p. 45.

‡ Lieutenant Gore was in the *Terror* in 1836, under Captain (now Admiral) Sir George Back.

to the westward, the distance between Point Victory and Cape Herschel, instead of fifty-five miles, as it would appear on the charts of 1845, is nearer 110; still, with the "vast extent of ocean" (of James Ross) running to the south-west in the direction of Point Turnagain (of Franklin, 1821), with the knowledge of the continuity of the sea from it eastward to $93^{\circ} 7' W.$, as acquired by Dease and Simpson, 1839—these, with the great object of his journey ever present to his mind and luring him on, it is scarcely probable that Gore returned without accomplishing his mission. It was not so imperative that he should fill up the whole coast line to Cape Herschel—Franklin's object was to get west, not east—as that he should establish the *fact that the waters, north and south, were united; i. e.*, that a passage existed between the position of the ships and the Sea of Dease and Simpson; and this could as certainly be proved at Cape Crozier, only sixty-five miles off, as at Cape Herschel; and in the time. Between May 28th and June 11th are fourteen days—but say thirteen days—at ten miles it equals the distance. This done, the discovery of the North-West Passage would be completed by June 10th, 1847, to the honour of Franklin, his shipmates, and himself, and the glory of his country. He would then return and report the "glad tidings" to his anxious commander, and we have no doubt did so before June 11th. We sincerely believe that the great Franklin died satisfied and happy in the knowledge that he had solved the Great Question, that lay "nearest to his heart." Were the ungenerous attempt not made to pluck from him this honour, it were little matter whether Gore returned before Sir John's death or not, for still to Franklin must the palm of discovery be awarded. Founded on the truths of his long experience, especially along the American coast line, was the journey doubtless designed. Following his plans, and acting under his orders, was it completed, and therefore would the honour be his. To suppose that Franklin remained inactive from September 12th, 1846, to May 24th, 1847, or June 11th (when he died), without attempting to establish and prove the existence of a passage between his ships and the sea traversed by Dease and Simpson, only sixty-five miles off, is a libel on that great man's memory, and the whole Expedition. It is impossible to conceive of such a man, with his knowledge, ardent feeling, and experience, his whole heart imbued with the spirit of the "Old Worthies," urging him to the solution of the only one thing "notable left undone," with a Crozier, and Fitzjames, and 100 men, chivalrous and gallant, devoted to him and to the object of the voyage,—we say, it is impossible to

conceive it was not done—done at once, and for ever solved, and by Franklin. There is no doubt Gore, under his direction, did it. It was not impracticable, as shown by Dease and Simpson; they sailed from Cape Herschel, traversed a deep bay to the southward, and returned north to Victoria Land (to 105° W.) in twelve days; deducting four days of forced detention, we have eight days for the run, but, in fact, they did more than the distance between Cape Herschel and Point Victory in six days. We have no reason to assume, then, that he did not do it in thirteen, and prior to his commander's death. We remember Gore, and think he was not the man to leave his work incomplete. Again, is it not monstrous and absurd to suppose that Crozier and Fitzjames did not complete the examination of this limited unknown space between May, 1847, and April, 1848? In the prosecution of the object of the voyage they were called upon by duty to do it; and here their efforts would be concentrated. There can be, therefore, no doubt they did it; and still the honour and renown would be Franklin's; for his spirit ruled and directed them, so that "we might possess and keep that passage." We may add, this is further proved in the route adopted by Crozier and Fitzjames, in their retreat to the Great Fish River. If it had not been known that the passage existed, why have taken the longer route by the west side of King William Island, in preference to that by the east? Both presented unknown or doubtful coast lines, and yet the longer route is taken; the fact is, from Point Victory southward this coast had been examined, and a water communication proved. The North-West Passage had been discovered; and when it was determined to abandon the ships, it was adopted as presenting the readiest and most certain facilities for retreat to Back's Fish River. It was known. That it should be doubted seems to us so extraordinary, that we doubt the doubter, and question whether the ungenerous feeling shown does not arise from some more objectionable motive—well knowing that the lost ones of the *Erebus* and *Terror* can no longer plead for themselves. Does it prove nothing in their favour that we find their *derelecta* bestrewing the course of their track, southward by the west side of King William Island, to Capes Crozier and Herschel, and even to Montreal Island, mournful evidences of their sufferings and their sorrows on that sad march? Is no proof afforded in their bleached skeletons? for "they fell down and died as they walked along;" none when we see their clothes, their plate, even their boats, so many evidences of their having made the passage in 1848? These all claim for them the priority of the discovery—a

claim with their death seal attached. We ask what greater proof can be offered? It is replied, the Record does not mention the fact. A paper such as the Record was not intended to be an abstract of the entire voyage; it is the record of the act at the moment. The one found is most important, as it imparts more than usual information. But there is a record that time only can obliterate. At the risk of being tedious, we repeat it, every step of their passage is written down, and may be traced in their sad remains—in the mournful *vestigia* dotting everywhere the path they pursued. The boat found at Erebus Bay, her head to the north-east, containing the skeleton remnants of part of her crew, identified by the numerous relics of those who once had happy homes in the *Erebus* and *Terror*—where did she come from? There can be but one answer. From the southward; perhaps from the far east of Cape Herschel, or mayhap, only from Cape Crozier, returning from some unhappy cause—sickness, or want, to the ships, here to die. Herein is proof, surely, and one of the most touching. But it may be objected, this is west of—they may not have reached, Cape Herschel. Look, then, on that poor wreck of blighted humanity, the skeleton ten miles east of Cape Herschel. He thus “dropped as he walked along”—“prone on the tangly beach he lay!” This poor fellow had passed over the unknown space; “the silent but certain witness that in this, the last dread hour, this dying remnant of the Expedition *had first proved the existence of a North-West Passage.*”*

Again, there is Montreal Island and its vicinity, with its boats and thirty-five or forty men; where did these forlorn ones come from? They could only reach there by making the passage from the ships, and thereby solve the problem. Surely, here is record enough; but why multiply proofs further to remove doubt, and to convince those who doubt not—that truth might reign, but rather to unsettle the facts she would establish. How much more to be admired had been the prompt and truthful acknowledgment, that to Sir John Franklin and his associates is due the honour and renown of being the first to discover a North-West Passage; that in achieving it he died, leaving “a name that will ever stand as a synonyme of pure and disinterested heroism—a name that shall nerve fresh generations of Englishmen for the battle or the labour of their life.”† The ships were abandoned; and in their retreat to Back’s Fish River, passed through this *newly*

* See Introductory Notice to “Dr. Hayes’ Boat Journey,” by Dr. Norton Shaw, p. xxii.

† See “Sharpe’s London Magazine,” “The End of an Epic,” November, 1859.

discovered passage. They died, one by one, as they walked along, martyrs to science. Their heroic spirit and fortitude failed not; resting on hope they drew comfort from that Great Source, inexhaustible, the Creator and Upholder of all things.

We trust we have removed all doubt as to who was the "First Discoverer of the North-West Passage." We think Sir John Franklin and his associates.* In this opinion we find ourselves joined with many eminent Arctic and other authorities—Sir Roderick I. Murchison, Capts. Washington, Collinson, M'Clintock, S. Osborn, Ommaney, Hobson, A. Young, and a host of others.† In taking up this subject, we have had no desire to detract from the merit due to Sir R. M'Clure; he has, in an independent direction, discovered a North-West Passage. All we wish to claim for Sir John Franklin is the priority of discovery—*i. e.*, in June, 1847. "*Palmas qui meruit ferat.*"

We have seen that, forced to abandon the *Erebus* and *Terror* the 22nd of April, 1848, five leagues north-north-west of Point Victory (Jas. Ross's), 105 of our hapless countrymen landed there under the command of Capts. Crozier and Fitzjames, intending, says the Record, to "start on to-morrow, the 26th, for Back's Fish River." Did they proceed in a body? or divide into two or more parties?‡ We are inclined to the opinion they divided; one party taking the direction of that river, and the other a western one, for the Coppermine or Mackenzie. There has been a great deal written and said since 1847 regarding the direction the missing ones would take if forced to abandon their ships. Some said they would be found on the west side of North Somerset, or here about Back's Fish River, six degrees more southward. We do not pretend to the gift of prophecy; there have been false prophets, and there may be more; we think it will be found, as we shall show, that the true spirit of prophecy did not rule in this case. First, the west side of North Somerset was unknown at the time, therefore, to assume it as a point to retreat upon is imaginary. The long range between it and Back's River includes all points of retreat; a party then, falling back on any one of these from the westward, would realize the prophecy of some one, and yet be greatly in error. Our unfortunate countrymen were brought in *the direction of the Fish River by the combination of a variety of circumstances wholly distinct and disconnected with those*

* See "Plans," &c., p. 391.

† See evidence, "Report of Select Committee, 1855," pp. 10, 18, 31.

‡ See "Plans," &c., p. 421.

put forward as reasons why they should or might be found there. It is very pretty to call this the "great highway for retreat" through "a land flowing with milk and honey;" and yet, "not a tree along its whole line;"* but we should say, Back's Fish River is one of the most execrable in the world, and entirely destitute of that life-supporting sustenance so necessary to famishing, scurvy-stricken men such as we imagine the condition of the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror* likely to have been, and therefore the last place to be chosen as the medium for saving their lives. The fact of finding them here arose, in the first instance, out of a concatenation of events over which Sir John Franklin had no control. In the prosecution of his orders to the south-west from Cape Walker, he was intercepted by land having a south-east trend directly athwart his course, here arrested by heavy ice, and under the influence of a powerful current from the north-west, he was carried through Melville Sound and M'Clintock Channel to the position we find him, lat. $70^{\circ} 5'$, long. $98^{\circ} 23'$: see the charts and assumed track already given. Being here, and under a new condition of circumstances, new thoughts and plans would arise, and the reason for attempting to escape to the south by Back's Fish River becomes capable of clear explanation. *Otherwise it was the last place we should have looked to for a retreating party.* Again, it is a well-known fact, that prior to the sailing of the Franklin Expedition, a channel was supposed to exist between the mouth of the Great Fish River and the Gulf of Boothia; and it is equally well known, in considering the means by which the great problem might be solved, that Sir John Franklin's predilections were in favour of an expedition to Repulse Bay or Wager Inlet; so much so, that in 1828, when commanded by the late King William IV. for an opinion on the subject, he suggested those routes. Again, he proposed Wager Bay (Inlet) in a plan submitted to the Royal Geographical Society in 1836,† in which he says, "The delineation of the coast east of Point Turnagain to Hecla and Fury Straits would be best attained by Wager Bay, the northern parts of which cannot be farther distant than forty miles from the sea."‡ There can, therefore, be no doubt that, influenced by his sound judgment, Crozier and Fitzjames decided on taking the route by Back's Fish River, with the hope of getting south by the supposed channel above mentioned to Boothia

* See Back's "Land Expedition," p. 390; *et* King's "Arctic Ocean," p. 14.

† See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. vi., part 1, p. 43; and "Plans," &c., p. 23.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. x., part 2, p. 271.

Gulf, and on to Repulse Bay ; or, by crossing over from that river to Wager Inlet, ultimately, in either case, to reach the *H. B. Company's posts in Hudson's Bay*. We will now turn to the west. Have we any material for tracing a party in that direction ? As far back as 1848, from Behring's Strait to the Mackenzie, there have been constant rumours and reports of ships wrecked, and boats landing. One report seems to carry truth with it ; it is that two boats full of white men landed at the Kopak (east of the Mackenzie, and afterwards identified with it) bartered their arms for food, and were afterwards murdered by the natives. At Point Warren this report received remarkable confirmation in the confession of the chief, viz., "that a party had landed there, and had built huts, and that one white man had been killed and was buried there ; the rest went inland."* We must think, then, connecting these Esquimaux reports with the buttons, scalp-ers, files, &c., said to have been in their possession, that they are based on fact, and, therefore, that the 105 men who landed at Point Victory were divided into two or more parties.

Are there any survivors ? We are fearful to venture an opinion where all is so dark around us. It is said an Arctic climate is inimical to a European constitution ; we have no evidence of this in the sanitary reports of the various searching squadrons, despite the extreme exposure, labour, and privation of the travelling parties.

Of the 134 gallant men who embarked on this ill-fated expedition, five individuals returned by the transports ; and we know that up to the time of abandoning, nine officers and fifteen men had died, leaving the number 105 who landed at Point Victory. We can trace death in the three skeletons on King William Island, and thirty-five or forty at Back's Fish River, according to Esquimaux report. Again, there is the Point Warren confession, said to be two officers and ten men, equal to twelve ; still there will remain fifty or fifty-five of our unhappy countrymen unaccounted for. We know that the spirit of the distinguished Franklin has departed ; we know that the manly Gore is no more ; but where is the Antarctic Crozier and the chivalrous Fitzjames ? where the other officers and men to make up the deficiency of that noble band of adventurous Englishmen who went forth from amongst us in 1845,—the *élite* of our sailor-nation ? Surely it is due to these hapless wanderers that their fate should be

* See "Plans," &c., pp. 89, 171, 177, 230, 295, and 322 ; also, Armstrong's "Narrative of Discovery of the North-West Passage," pp. 152 *et seq.* ; also, McClure's "Discovery of the North-West Passage by Capt. S. Osborn," p. 89.

ascertained.* Dr. Rae says positively that some of our unhappy countrymen were alive in 1850; and if we compare his Esquimaux report with the Record and the boat found in Erebus Bay, it would seem not improbable. The first report brought by Rae says, "A party of white men were seen travelling south; by signs the natives were made to understand that their ship or ships had been crushed by ice." From this it follows that the fatal event had occurred before they left; now we know the ships were safe when they were abandoned in April, 1848, the catastrophe must, then, have taken place after that date, which implies *a return to the ships*. And this is further confirmed by the position of the boat found in Erebus Bay, with her head to the north-east, in the direction of the ships. The Esquimaux told Capt. M'Clintock "it was in the fall of the year—August or September—when the ships were destroyed." This may have been 1848—but more likely 1849; they might have wintered on board the ship forced ashore, and started, spring, 1850, for Back's Fish River. It would almost seem that this second party retreated to that river. We cannot bring our minds to think that all have perished, that not one survives. Where are they? We have traced a part of our unfortunate countrymen to Back's Fish River, and we have given the causes and motives influencing the decision in favour of that route, very different to what is generally put forth; but the fact of their having been there is positive. Did they attempt to ascend that river with the hope of reaching Great Slave Lake, and on through the Hudson's Bay Company's territories to get south, a distance at least of 2,000 miles? The officers of the Franklin Expedition were too well aware of the obstacles this river presented,—its falls, its rapids, and, above all, the scarcity of animal life along its whole course,—to attempt it;† added to these, the enormous distances to travel afterwards, even assuming they succeeded in ascending it. For ourselves, we think they did not, and we can only regard the supposition that they did as visionary. But had they, their fate is certain, and we should have had rumours and traces of their death-march reach us through the natives, or by Anderson and Stewart.

We do not think it likely that they attempted the route by Repulse Bay, or that indefatigable traveller, Dr. Rae, in 1854 would have heard of them there. It seems not improbable that they may have ascended the river to the Esquimaux encampment, in about

* See "Voyage of Fox," p. 252.

† See Back's "Arctic Land Expedition, 1833—35."

lat. 66° 50' N., being the nearest point; and then attempted to cross to Wager Inlet. It is a remarkable coincidence, but at this encampment the greatest number of Franklin's relics were found by Anderson and Stewart. It is much to be regretted they had not an interpreter. They may have ascended higher up to the nearest point, and crossed to Chesterfield Inlet. Should an expedition be sent by Back's Fish River, it is of the greatest importance that the points indicated should be minutely examined, and also in the direction of the inlets named, if possible,—particularly the former. We fear there is little hope, still there may be a chance survivor.* It is our duty, and it should be done. A life rescued, or a stray leaf containing abstracts of the journals, would be invaluable, and might set for ever at rest the uncertainty and gloom still hanging over the fate of the gallant remnants of the crews of the *Erebus* and *Terror*.

But we must now close. Lady Franklin's final search was well conceived and admirably carried out; but let it not be supposed that it is the *finale* to all Arctic Expeditions. It is not, nor can it be while England is true to herself. Science advances,—“science is not of yesterday,” and she will have the new questions arising out of her onward progress replied to. She should, for it is for man's use and happiness. There may be an intermission, but Arctic enterprise will yet be renewed. Franklin and his followers achieved the great object for which they were sent. Their fate is, we fear, too certain, but how could they have died more gloriously? Much has been the talk of risk and waste of life and money to solve a question which, now that it is solved, is of no value; such is the cry of the maunders. What nonsense! Was anything *great* ever gained for the good of man without risk and probable loss of life? There is risk in everything,—on the water and on the land; in mining, to obtain the crude ore, and the coal for its useful conversion; in building, whether churches, bridges, or ships: there is risk in our workshops, our manufactories, even in our hospitals. It seems almost inseparable to life that risks should be incurred; and that, even, for our daily wants—the wants animal. But these are not all; there are others arising out of aspirations of a purer and loftier nature. It has pleased the Almighty in creating man to separate him from the brute, by implanting in him a spirit that stirs and prompts him to seek to know; can it be imagined, that this beautiful earth of ours, with its gorgeous, soul-enlivening sun, and its starry influences, so full of wonder and mystery above, so replete with all to charm the senses below,—can

* See “Plans,” &c., pp. 407, 421.

it be supposed that man—so separated, so endowed—to him is vetoed—"Thou shalt not inquire"? If not, man inquires, and risk and loss of life follows, "as night the dying day!"—waste, in short, as these maunderers would call it. If we are forbidden to inquire, let us to the burrow, to the forest, or the mountain cave; eat of Nature's vilest roots, and sleep; it were "better to sleep than to wake, better to die than all." If so, life is not here. But it is not so. *He* gave us the "talent," and it may not be "hidden in the earth." We shall have to render an account of it, disguise it how we will. The fact is, this outcry of waste of life is altogether false. The Arctic Circle has given to death only a minute fraction of that contributed by home,* in our harbours, where, it is said, "ships ground on their beef-bones." Waste of money! Well, no doubt money has been spent; but let us comfort ourselves it was not for war, that scourge and depressor of our race! but for the happiness and exaltation of mankind. It should be remembered, too, that England stands high among the nations of the earth, if not the highest; and she is at the head of freedom and of science. Isolated in herself, yet has she vast dependencies; the sun *always shines on her realm*. She got these by discovery, by her ships and her sailors; hence she is maritime—salt to the backbone. Long may she be so! Still, money was required and money was spent, and these *cui bono* people may call it wasted; we think not. Has she gained nothing by the outlay, especially in the case before us, *the discovery of the North-West Passage*? Look to the Newfoundland fishery; the Hudson's Bay fur trade; the whale fishery; and lastly, the discovery of the American continent. Look at the United States and the Canadas, with their thousands and tens of thousands of happy homes, increasing and extending from the broad Atlantic to the boundless Pacific. Look at the populations and their wealth. They sow, they reap, and replenish the earth,—those smiling fields of plenteousness, rich as they are on the surface, cover inexhaustible mines of wealth beneath. The end of these benefits to our race is beyond human calculation. Know, then, that all these are the direct results of seeking the Passage, by the *north*, from the "Orient to the Occident." England should value highly her sailors. The merchant trained them in the olden time, as well for his individual interest as for those of science. The Government now backs the merchant, and caters for science. Our sailors, for daring and courage, for perseverance and fortitude, are the first in the world; and here we

* See "Plans," &c., pp. 422, 423.

take occasion to ask, where has this been more exemplified than in our Arctic expeditions? Officers and men, from the highest to the lowest, England may well be proud of them. Their efforts in the cause of humanity have been unparalleled; their exertions world-wide; "where'er they go, whatever realms to see," they leave their *mark*. In fond allegiance they claim continents for Victoria their Queen, lands and sounds for the royal Consort and the rest of the royal family, peninsulas and islands for our dukes, lords, and commons. Science is not forgotten, nor loving friends at home. Lastly, they seal with their own gallant names the honour to their country. See, are they not inscribed everywhere, from the Arctic Pole to the Equator, from the Equator to the Antarctic Pole? All this proves the untiring zeal and activity of our Arctic heroes. Surely sufficient has been said. Money spent in the cause of science and humanity cannot be deemed to be wasted. That the Passage is useless for the purposes of commerce, it may be; but this could not be known until it was discovered. Still the pursuit has yielded rich results to the world and to science, which in the end exalts and benefits mankind. Again, we are not assured of the fact. M'Clintock thinks the passage may be made by the east side of King William Island. He says,—“Perhaps some future voyager, profiting by the experience acquired by the Franklin Expedition, and the observations of Rae, Collinson, and myself, may succeed in carrying his ship through from sea to sea.”* But whether available or not, the problem was bequeathed to us by the “old worthies.” England made the question of three centuries her own,—Franklin solved it. Had she relaxed her exertions, it not only had been disgraceful, but another nation might have stepped in and gained the laurel which, worthless as it may seem, now adorns Victoria's brow. Let us have no more maundering, it is unworthy the theme; rather let us rejoice—we sincerely do—that the spirit of the “old worthies” still rules amongst us; that in our own age has been added to the list, commencing with John Cabot, a host of gallant names, ending with a M'Clintock, a Young, and a Hobson. This is most gratifying, for already we hear of other expeditions starting, or being about to start, for the north. We would not envy the exertions of any nation, but to have been supplanted in a quarter lighted by the flame resulting from our own exertions over centuries, would have been most mortifying. There are yet questions to which, in the advanced state and progress of science, replies must

* See “The Voyage of the *Fox*,” p. 316; also, “Plans,” &c., pp. 11–18.

be given. Hence we have said Arctic Expeditions will be renewed. We are not arrived at decrepitude or dotage yet. Hitherto we have been foremost; we may not lag; we must continue to lead. The genius of England points to the van as our position; we must take it, or adieu to England's fame,—the meridian of her greatness and her honour will be past. Thanks to God, the old spirit is still warm within us, and we have nothing to dread on that account. Let no one scoff at science, she is our fast friend. "Philosophers (it has been justly said) are not vain theorists, but essentially men of practice; not conceited pedants, wrapped up in their vain, mysterious importance, but humble inquirers after truth; proud only of what they may have achieved or won for the general use of man. Neither are they daring and presumptuous unbelievers, but rather the pious pilgrims to the Holy Land, who toil in search of the sacred shrine, in search of truth—God's truth—God's laws, as manifested in His works,—in His creation."*

* See "The Address of H.R.H. the Prince Consort to the British Association at Aberdeen," 1859.

NEW SEARCHING EXPEDITIONS.

MAY 29, 1860, sailed from New London, Connecticut, U. S., the *George Henry*, for the north, having on board a new Arctic Expedition, called the Hall Franklin Research. This expedition consists of a Mr. Hall, of Cincinnati, an Esquimaux guide, Cud-le-ja-ah, and one whale-boat. The *George Henry* will land Mr. Hall and his guide at Sussex Island, between Frobisher and Cumberland Straits, where he hopes to obtain a crew of five Esquimaux. His object is to reach Cape Willoughby, Fox Land, and to search the lands north to the entrance of Fury and Hecla Strait, during which exploration he hopes to find further traces of parties from Franklin's Expedition. Mr. Hall expects to be gone three or four years. In New York this Expedition has been characterized as "hair-brained."

Advices from the United States inform us that Dr. Hayes sailed for Smith's Sound on the 7th July, 1860. The object of this Expedition has already been noticed, see *ante*, Dec. 16, 1858.

Another Expedition for renewed Arctic Search, by subscription, proposed by Mr. Parker Snow, already known as having sailed in Lady Franklin's vessel the *Prince Albert*, under Capt. Forsyth, R.N., in 1850. Mr. Snow's object is to ascertain more certain information as to the fate of the lost Expedition, and to search for journals, records, &c.; this he thinks could be best accomplished by a summer search. He proposes to equip a small schooner of 75 or 90 tons; to take the Behring's Straits route, *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope and China, and to return by the eastern route through Baffin's Bay.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS, ETC.

"Mr. Brown's is a Blue Book in other respects than the ultramarine cover; it is a most valuable collection of facts and arguments. . . . In our opinion, his own zeal and perseverance are not inferior to those of any of the voyagers whose exploits he commemorates. We think his labours will be remembered; we are sure they deserve to be."—*Literary Gazette*, June 19, 1858.

"Commencing with a sketch of the enterprises of the 'old worthies,' who battled with thick-ribbed ice for upwards of three centuries in their attempts to discover a North-West Passage, Mr. Brown dwells at greater length on the services of modern Arctic explorers, and particularly on those of Sir John Franklin. . . . As a *résumé* of the various Expeditions sent out in search of Franklin, this publication is undoubtedly of value."—*Athenæum*, June 19, 1858.

"The author of the volume before us has devoted a very large share of time and close attention to his favourite subject. Beginning with the early days of Arctic discovery, he has enlarged on it as he advanced, and the proceedings of every Arctic Navigator, from the first voyage of Ross and Parry, are given with a fidelity that will always render this work a complete epitome of what it assumes to be—Arctic discovery. He has really produced a book which we would cordially recommend."—*Nautical Magazine*, July, 1858.

"Persons best acquainted with the subject will be slow to believe that by this time all the members of the Expedition have perished. . . . Mr. Brown is of similar belief—nay, more, he gives ample reason for the hope that is in him. . . . An authority our readers may consult with advantage."—*Daily News*, July 1, 1858.

"I cannot quit the theme of Arctic researches, upon which I have long thought with intense anxiety, and on which I have dwelt so much at length at former anniversaries, without expressing my obligations to an associate, Mr. John Brown, for his work entitled 'The North-West Passage and the Search after Sir John Franklin,' which he has dedicated to the Royal Geographical Society and myself. In this volume the philanthropic author, in all times in the front rank of those who have sustained the search after our missing countrymen, and who has never given way to despondency, has placed before the reader an able epitome of all the efforts which have been made, as well as the theories which have been formed on this engrossing topic. . . . We must admire the warm-hearted earnestness with which Mr. Brown has acquitted himself of his task, and has placed before us in a compact form the services of so many of our Arctic heroes."—*Extract from Sir R. I. Murchison's Anniversary Address to the Royal Geographical Society*, London, May 24, 1858.

"The author is of our mind in clinging to the hope that at least some of the Franklin party may still survive."—*Jersey Independent*, June 26, 1858.

"In the volume before us, Mr. Brown has given the question of the North-West Passage, and the Arctic inquiries arising out of it, much and long consideration. . . . Fully and conscientiously does it appear to us to record all that has been said and done regarding the original Plan and Instructions for the unfortunate voyage to accomplish which Franklin and Crozier were despatched in 1845. . . . Mr. Brown's straightforward truthfulness, and doing justice to the zeal and devotion of our seamen, will particularly recommend his volume to the attention of the naval profession."—*Naval Chronicle*, Sept. 1, 1858.

"Mr. Brown's, as it is the last so it is also one of the most valuable of our books on the Arctic question. . . . The book is handsomely got up, it is enriched with a copy of the chart supplied to the Franklin Expedition, an excellent map of recent discoveries, and a sketch of Erebus and Terror Bay, where the ill-fated ships wintered."—*Dover Express*, Sept. 4, 1858.

"It seems to us the subject could not have fallen into more efficient hands, as Mr. Brown has made Arctic inquiry a study since 1817. . . . Mr. Brown bases all his arguments on sources that cannot be doubted, and gives ample references to the works themselves. . . . It would be impossible here to enter upon all the bearings in

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which Mr. Brown grasps the entire question. He takes nothing upon trust, but deals with it with a firm hand. Irrespective of name or rank, he seems anxious that our searching sailors, officers and men, should have justice done them; an old sailor himself, he records, with unswerving fidelity and truthfulness, their heroic acts, and their generous daring and devotion to the sacred cause in which they were engaged. . . . This book has been highly spoken of by Arctic authorities of the greatest eminence, both civil and naval, as a truthful record of Arctic enterprise."—*Dover Telegraph*, Sept. 18, 1858.

"The author of this work has evidently given the subject on which he writes his undivided attention since 1817, and has well studied it in all its phases. Every Expedition to the Arctic Seas from that period has been narrowly watched by him, to the starting of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and all the subsequent Expeditions that have gone to rescue their crews since. . . . A faithful record of Arctic voyages."—*Naval and Military Herald*, Oct. 23, 1858.

"Of 218 works, including different editions of the same book, there is not a single volume which contains one tithe of the general information which Mr. Brown has collected respecting the features of the Arctic Regions, and none of the recent ones can compare with that before us as a rational appreciation of the circumstances which have led to the failure of every Exploring Expedition despatched from these shores to ascertain poor Franklin's fate. . . . To all Englishmen, this history of the search for Franklin presents a subject of grave interest, and it must be read with avidity. Mr. Brown's labours have been of a most arduous nature in working out his idea, and we sincerely trust that the *first work par excellence* on the Arctic Regions will obtain an extensive circulation."—*Westeyan Times*, Oct. 25, 1858.

"The volume before us is written by one of our warmest zealots for Arctic enterprise—by one who thoroughly understands the subject on which he writes, having studied it since 1817. . . . As a high class authentic book of reference, it is invaluable; whilst the views contained in it as to the search for Franklin we consider to be the soundest we have ever read. . . . Most unquestionably does Mr. Brown's book throw more light on the subject than any previous work. Truthful and unbiassed, all will find it a book of the most undoubted accuracy. . . . The highest authorities are quoted, and references are in every case given to those authorities; in short, the whole subject is analyzed in a most masterly way. . . . We think the highest praise is due to him for his exertions; and heartily do we recommend the book to our readers."—*Kentish Gazette*, Dec. 10, 1858.

"The author having studied this, his favourite topic, since 1817, and promoted and generously aided with his counsel and his resources the departure of most of the private Expeditions, has at length given to the world what is literally a history of Arctic discovery, entering largely upon the plans and the means that have been adopted in the attempts to rescue the ill-fated Sir John Franklin and his unhappy band from the icy fetters of the north. . . . Many have been the plans and opinions on this painful subject, yet Mr. Brown has condensed all, with the departure and results of every Expedition, in so skilful a manner, that his work will be of value, and interesting to every one. . . . In conclusion, we cannot but admire and duly appreciate the industry of Mr. Brown in compiling this most valuable work: the information it contains is gathered from the Parliamentary Blue Books, as well as from other undoubted sources, and ample references are given."—*Liverpool Mercury*, Dec. 23, 1858.

"From the beginning of the long line of Arctic Expeditions, the object of which has been the search for Sir John Franklin, John Brown, a zealous member of the Geographical Society of London, has taken every opportunity of stating his opinion, that Franklin, according to his Instructions, pressed onward from Beechey Island in a south-westerly direction, and that consequently all search in the more northern regions—as, for instance, in the Wellington Channel, must be fruitless. . . . This book is at the same time a history of the Arctic Explorations, which the author has compiled by a sketch of the Expeditions carried out before Franklin's; and possesses a still greater value, from a number of interesting notes, extracts, documents, and such like, which the author has gathered with astonishing industry and perseverance."—*PETERMANN'S "Geogr. Mittheilungen,"* 1858, part xiii., p. 580.

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"Full of the deepest interest, both scientific and human."—*Bengal Harkara*, Nov 9, 1858.

"Sir John Franklin and his 135 companions have deserved sufficiently well of their country to be entitled to a tomb-stone at her hands, and a brief record of their fate upon that stone—a longer record elsewhere. They clung to her cause, and to their duty, till death itself,—and it was a death of horrors; and she should not abandon their remains unseparated, or she merits never more to be served with the like devotedness while the world endures. . . . Is it possible to refuse a hearing to a sensible and earnest man, who has such a cause to plead, and such a story to tell? The case made out by Mr. Brown is, in our opinion, specious; probably truthlike."—Second notice.—*Bengal Harkara*, Jan. 8, 1859.

"Mr. Brown has long and deservedly been an authority on all subjects relating to Arctic discovery; and therefore, whatever opinions he might advance relating to the unhappy fate of poor Franklin and his gallant companions, would assuredly obtain both respect and consideration; but a careful perusal of his 'Review,' entitles him to much more than this, inasmuch as he has conclusively shown, at least to our mind, that his theory is right. . . . At first we were disposed to dispute his notions, and to disagree with his theory; but as we weighed the calm and deliberate evidence he offers, and compared his views with the details already before the public, we became convinced that his opinion is right."—*Bell's Weekly Messenger*, April 16, 1859.

"A well-intentioned review of the various Expeditions which have been despatched in search of the ever-to-be-regretted Sir John Franklin. If anything could induce us to cling to a hope, where no substantial ground for hope exists, it would be this excellent volume, which is written in a calm and argumentative style. . . . Our author will carry universal sympathy with him."—*Constitutional Press*, May, 1859.

"Mr. John Brown, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and author of a very clear and able book on 'Plans for the Search for Sir John Franklin: a Review,' published in London, in 1858, was wonderfully correct in his prognostics. Accompanying his book is the best map (by Arrowsmith) that we have of the Arctic Regions. On this map he (Mr. Brown) traces the route which he supposes Franklin took. He runs his line through an unknown Strait, which McClintock has since ascertained does exist, and goes directly to the very spot where the 'Record' tells us the ships were abandoned. . . . Franklin was ordered to make from Cape Walker a south-west course, as near as he could, for Behring's Straits; and Mr. Brown strongly insists that Franklin would rigidly adhere to his orders, and that he would be found in that unknown area south-west of Cape Walker, then unexplored. McClintock has proved him to have been correct."—*New York Journal of Commerce*, Nov. 5, 1859, with Map.

"This work, published towards the end of the year 1858, does not appear to have received the attention it deserves. It contains an elaborate and trustworthy account of all the Expeditions which have sailed from England in search of Franklin. . . . A map is prefixed to the work, in which a line is conjecturally drawn, indicating the opinion of the author as to the probable course and position of the ships. It is but just to Mr. Brown to say that the wisdom of his conjecture has been remarkably verified by McClintock's discoveries; and the spot indicated in the map coincides most curiously with that in which it has since been ascertained that the *Erabus* and *Terror* were abandoned; and that the whole book, read in the light of the recent revelations, furnishes a most creditable proof of the judgment and foresight of its author."—*London Quarterly Review*, No. xxvii., April—July, 1860.

"For a résumé of all the plans of research, and the speculations of seamen and geographers, see the interesting and most useful volume of Mr. John Brown, entitled, 'The North-West Passage, and the Search for Sir John Franklin,' 1858."—See Preface to the "*Voyage of the Fox*," by Sir R. I. Murchison, late President of the Royal Geographical Society.

"In his volume, before cited, Mr. John Brown gave strong reasons (which he had held for some time) for believing in the existence of the very channel which now bears the name of McClintock."—See Preface to the "*Voyage of the Fox*," by Sir R. I. Murchison, late President of the Royal Geographical Society.

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"Berlin, August 16, 1858.

"SIR,—I have been much touched, my dear Sir, with the mark of interest you have kindly wished to show me, in sending me your handsome and original work on the 'North-West Passage,' the most complete and most instructive that I know, accompanied by such kind expressions. If I have delayed too long proving to you my gratitude, it is that for three months the little health that remains to me at the age of eighty-nine has been much changed by my occupation being always the same. I am printing the fifth and last volume of the 'Cosmos,' which has fortunately had so worthy an interpreter in my old and illustrious friend, General Sabine, master, at the present time, of the great magnetic empire, which extends even to the sun. The pages which concern my young and courageous friend, Lieut. Pim, have had for me a heartfelt interest. Little persuaded that he would meet with traces of Sir John Franklin on the northern shores of Siberia, to which, in 1829, I myself made a geological and magnetic expedition, I have not been less desirous of being useful to Lieut. Pim in an enterprise inspired by such noble sentiments. He has not been so well received at the court of St. Petersburg as I hoped; because he mentioned too often the great name of Admiral Wrangell, for some time past fallen into disgrace. I was much flattered to find one of my letters inserted in your book: and our excellent king, now so sadly ill, has preserved an affecting remembrance of your young countryman, whom he had invited to his table at Sans Souci, and who read to him, one day, the admirable and dramatic letter of the worthy Captain M'Clure to Captain Kellett (May, 1853):—'All descriptions must fall below the reality; the heart was too full to articulate; the sick forgot their maladies.' The King said: 'Behold, here, an extraordinary moment of life well expressed! What pleasure to know but one moment such as this!' Be kind enough, Sir, to attribute the little interest of these lines to the necessity of limiting my correspondence, my writing being so illegible. I had the honour of being invited, the day before yesterday, to the family breakfast of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria; and it gives me pleasure to inform you, that she is in the full and sweet enjoyment of affectionate impressions, which the sight of the young Princess, so pure, so charming, so simple, and so natural, renews.

"Accept at the same time, Sir, the assurance of my most lively gratitude, and the highest consideration, which is due to you for your labours.

"Your very obedient and much obliged servant,

"ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

"John Brown, Esq., F.R.G.S., &c."

16, 1858.

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